

HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME IX

9
1940



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1940

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY J. H. FURST COMPANY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

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THE TEMPLE OF ARES AT ATHENS

The little that we knew about the temple of Ares,¹ before the Agora excavations, has been summarized by Judeich:² the topographical description by Pausanias (I, 8, 4), and a few inscriptions referring to the cult (*I.G.*, II², 948, 1072, 2953), formed the total sum of our knowledge. Sacrifices to Ares are mentioned in an honorary decree of 166/5 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 948). A sculptured votive monument, of which a part of the inscribed base (*I.G.*, II², 2953) is reported to have been found at Menidi but may have been transported thither from Athens, was dedicated to Augustus and Ares apparently during the reign of Augustus. The archon of 116/7 A.D. was at the same time priest of Ares, according to a decree of this year (*I.G.*, II², 1072).³ Pausanias, toward 165 A.D., saw the temple, containing its cult statue by Alcamenes, an Athena by Lokros of Paros,⁴ and such later works as Enyo by the sons of Praxiteles (I, 8, 4), adjacent to the statues of Demosthenes, Pindar, and the Tyrannicides, of which the first is otherwise known as having been near the Altar of the Twelve Gods ([Plutarch], *X Orat. Vit.*, p. 847 A), the second as having been in front of the Stoa Basileios ([Aeschines], *Epis.* 4, 3), and the third as having been opposite the Metroon (Arrian, *Anab.* III, 16, 8). In modern times no temple remained visible in this section of the city apart from that building of many appellations, the "The-seum"; and so this in turn was assigned to Ares by Cyriac of Ancona in 1436 and by Ross in 1838.⁵

During the first campaign in the Agora, in 1931, a single Doric marble triglyph (Inv. No. A 64)⁶ was uncovered in this region (Fig. 1). It comes from the corner

¹ For permission to study these remains I am indebted to T. L. Shear, whose generosity greatly facilitated my effort during the summer of 1937 to assimilate the new architectural data of the Periclean age. I have also to thank Homer Thompson and John Travlos of the excavation staff for pointing out to me the various scattered portions of the temple, and Miss Lucy Talcott and Miss Alison Frantz for helping me with the Agora inventories.

² Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 349.

³ Graindor, *Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale* (*Rec. Trav. Univ. Gand*, LIII-LIV, 1924), p. 28, no. 36, pl. XXVIII.

⁴ The upper part of a Pentelic marble torso of excellent workmanship (Inv. No. S 654, illustrated in *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 199, fig. 14), was discovered in 1936 only 16 m. S. E. of the S. E. corner of the temple of Ares, 26 m. N. of the middle of the Odeion, in a Byzantine wall. Homer Thompson suggests to me that this may well be the actual statue by Lokros seen by Pausanias, and hence that it furnishes another clue to the identity of the foundations.

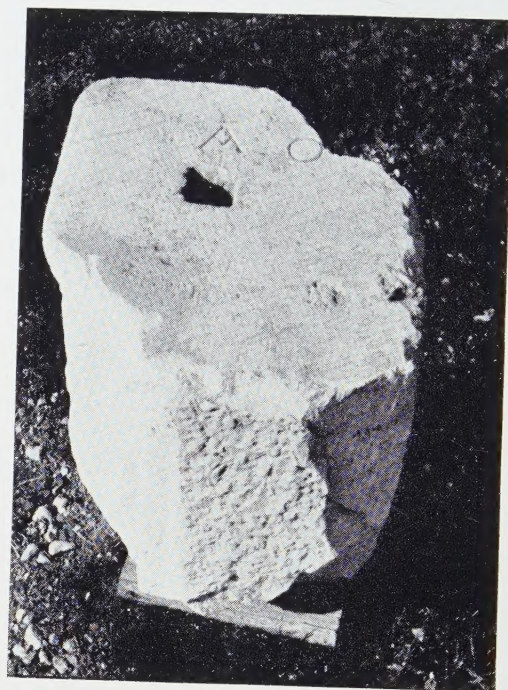
⁵ Ross, *Das Theseion und der Tempel des Ares* (1852; Greek edition, 1838).

⁶ A 64 (Agora inventory of architecture), found July 27, 1931, in late Roman level near northwest corner of marble altar, at a point which later proved to be 30 m. south of southwest corner of temple of Ares.

of a building; and if, following Cuvier's example, we were to attempt to restore the whole from this single part, we should infer that we were dealing with a temple of six by thirteen columns, measuring about 14.51×34.04 m. on the frieze,⁷ erected in the age of Pericles (as indicated by the workmanship), but reconstructed four centuries later (as shown by the Roman dowel hole and the Augustan letters AO



a



b

Fig. 1. Corner Triglyph (Inv. No. A 64)

on the top). As yet, however, there could be no suspicion that we were concerned with the temple of Ares.

In later years, even before the discovery of the temple foundations, several other scattered fragments of Pentelic marble (now known to have belonged to the temple) were turned up in the course of the excavations. Profiles from some of these were

⁷ The width of the triglyph is 0.372 m. across two glyphs and so presumably 0.558 m. across all three. Assuming normal proportions (triglyph two thirds of a metope width and so two fifths of a triglyph spacing, two tenths of a column spacing), the fronts would be $0.558 + (5 \times 2.790) = 14.508$ m., the flanks $0.558 + (12 \times 2.790) = 34.038$ m.; but these dimensions are subject to slight variation of proportions.

published in 1936 by Miss Shoe,⁸ who noted the close similarity of the cornice mouldings to those of the "Theseum" and assigned them to the early part of the second half of the fifth century, though assigning the ceiling beam to the late fifth century. She conjecturally attributed the cornice and sima to the Stoa Poikile, at a moment when no such structure as the temple of Ares was expected.⁹

Finally, in the campaign of 1937, there appeared below Byzantine structures in the northwest quarter of the Agora, where the Metroon, the Altar of the Twelve Gods, and the approximate position of the Stoa Basileios have been located by the excavations, the east end of a large temple foundation which was immediately identified by means of the topographical description by Pausanias as the temple of Ares.¹⁰ Its relation to the three reference points mentioned by Pausanias, and the size, shape, and easterly orientation, left no doubt as to its identity.¹¹ The outline of the foundation is indicated in the Agora plan of May, 1937.¹² Brief descriptions of the founda-

⁸ Shoe, *Greek Mouldings* (1936), p. 35, pl. LXXVI 2 (sima); p. 44, pl. XXI 10 (coffer); p. 45, pl. XXI 28 (ceiling beam); pp. 108, 158, pl. LIII 23, LXXIII 16 (cornice).

⁹ At this point the provenances of the scattered fragments hereafter to be discussed may be classified according to the levels or strata in which they were discovered, and the directions or distances from the temple foundation. It will be seen that they occur in all levels beginning with late Roman (significant for the assumed date of destruction about 277 A.D.), and also in all directions immediately surrounding the temple foundation (significant for the identification). *Late Roman* levels, south of temple: Inv. No. A 64 (triglyph, 30 m. S. of S. W. corner), Inv. No. A 394 (sima, 45 m. S. of S. W. corner), Inv. No. A 698 (cornice, 28 m. S. of middle of flank, as curbing of late wall), Inv. No. A 699 (wall block, same place), Inv. No. A 701 (acroterion base, 20 m. S. W. of temple), Inv. No. A 704 (orthostate, 10 m. S. of middle of flank), Inv. No. I 2517 (wall block, 55 m. S. E. of temple). *Late Roman* levels, north of temple: Inv. Nos. A 238, 238a (cornice, 17 m. N. of middle of flank), Inv. Nos. A 239a, b (cornice, 19 m. N. of middle of flank), Inv. No. A 600 (capital, 25 m. N. of middle of flank), Inv. No. A 601 (anta cap, same place), Inv. No. A 602 (cornice, same place), Inv. No. I 690 (wall block, just N. of N. E. corner). "Wall of Valerian," south of Stoa of Attalos: Inv. Nos. A 387, 388 (ceiling beams and numerous coffer fragments not separately numbered); also a great number of coffer fragments, bits of ceiling beams, and parts of interbeam blocks extracted in 1939 and not separately numbered; also Inv. No. A 169 (epistyle fragment, from modern house wall just S. of Stoa of Attalos) and Inv. No. A 747 (triglyph fragment, from modern cellar E. of "wall of Valerian" and 150 m. S. of Stoa of Attalos) both undoubtedly come at second hand from the "wall of Valerian." *Byzantine* levels or foundations: Inv. Nos. A 238b, c (wall blocks, 20 m. N. of temple), Inv. No. A 238e (wall block, 100 m. N. W. of temple), Inv. No. A 700 (lion head, filling of cistern 130 m. S. W. of temple). *Turkish* foundations: Inv. No. A 248 (bottom step, 35 m. N. W. of temple), Inv. No. A 249 (euthynteria, same place). *Modern* levels and foundations: Inv. No. A 146 (euthynteria, 20 m. W. of temple), Inv. No. A 215 (euthynteria, 22 m. W. of temple), Inv. No. A 238f (wall block, at middle of N. flank), Inv. No. A 238d (wall block, reused as column base in latest 19th century stage of church of Vlasarou, 50 m. S. of temple), Inv. No. A 272 (lion head, in backfill of railroad wall 25 m. N. of N. W. corner), Inv. No. A 439 (sima, 70 m. S. E. of temple), Inv. No. I 315 (wall block, middle of N. flank). *Uncertain* contexts: Inv. No. A 263 (wall block, left by Dörpfeld in area of new Bouleuterion), Inv. No. A 702 (anta cap, 15 m. S. of middle of flank), Inv. No. A 896 (epistyle fragment, in marble dump 90 m. S. of temple).

¹⁰ Communication by T. L. Shear of June 12, 1937.

¹¹ See below, p. 43.

¹² Shear, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 360, pl. IX.



Fig. 2. View of Foundations from North

tions and of some of the scattered remains have appeared in the annual reports of the 1937 campaign.¹³ For the following more detailed description of the foundations (Figs. 2-4) we are indebted to Homer A. Thompson.

THE FOUNDATIONS

"The place of the temple is marked by a great rectangular pit, the bottom of which lies as much as 2.60 m. below the contemporary level of the market square. Blocks, a good many of them, remain in place in the east half of the depression; near the middle of its east end three blocks of the topmost course of poros lie undisturbed. Toward the west the blocks have been stripped away down to a packing of rough stones in the bottom of the pit. But in this part the edges of the scar are sharply defined and permit of fairly accurate measurements. Scores of poros blocks, obviously from this building, were recovered along with a few of the marbles from its superstructure in the mediaeval foundations which overlay and surrounded the site of the temple. The foundation cutting has an overall east to west length of 37.25 m., and a width of 17.30 m.

"In preparing his foundation, the architect exposed bedrock throughout the whole rectangle. In the mid-part of the area he encountered a ridge of rock running north to south and sloping down toward the north. This he cut away to a maximum depth of *ca.* 1.50 m. along the south side, leaving only irregular islands where he found the rock firmer and more trustworthy. Over most of the area he next laid a packing of broken stone: irregular masses of Acropolis limestone, of the size of a man's head on the average, bedded in gray clay. The mean thickness of the layer is 0.30 m. On top of this packing, and more rarely on the dressed bedrock itself, were set the blocks of the first regular course.

"Between the broken-stone packing and the marble euthynteria were five courses of squared poros blocks. This foundation would seem to have been uniformly massive; i. e., no special underpinning can be distinguished for walls or columns. Each successive course was spread like a blanket over the entire area; its top was then levelled and the next course laid. The courses are alternately high and low, the top and bottom series both being low. This alternation was effected by laying the blocks flat in one course, on their edge in the next. The heights of the courses from the bottom upward as measured at the east end are 0.40 m., 0.50 m., 0.39 m., 0.585 m., and 0.43 m. Within each course little regularity was observed in the placing of the blocks; i. e., their long axes lie almost indiscriminately north and south or east and west, this because of the variety in the dimensions of the material employed.

"The foundation blocks that remain were all used at second hand in their present

¹³ Shear, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 177-178; XLII, 1938, pp. 1-4; *Classical Weekly*, XXXI, 1938, p. 76; Riemann, *Arch. Anz.*, 1937, pp. 102-103.

position. This is clear from the indiscriminate distribution of hard and soft material and from the lack of correspondence in joint surfaces. Most but not all of the surviving blocks may be supposed to derive from a single earlier building. They comprise chiefly two large groups. The first is of soft gray poros; the joint surfaces of the blocks are but slightly worked and their outer faces are rough. These obviously came from deep down in the original building. The second group is of harder gray poros;



Fig. 3. Temple of Ares: Foundations at East End, from the Northeast

the joint surfaces are finished with careful anathyrosis and the edges of the exposed faces are lightly drafted. We may suppose that these blocks formed the upper and outer parts of the earlier foundation. There are besides a few large blocks of hard gray poros drafted on all four exposed corners: hence from piers or monument bases. I note but a single piece of marble (a broken block of Hymettian), and only three blocks of conglomerate.

“Against the east front of the temple foundation there remain in place two poros blocks from the north side of a supplementary stairway or ramp. Their tops lie 0.035 m. below that of the uppermost poros course of the main foundation; and they project 1.30 m. from the face of that course. This bedding, if centered on the front

of the temple, had a north to south length of *ca.* 5 m. The two surviving blocks are both reused and similar to many in the main foundation.

"To the east of the building have appeared the poros foundation blocks of a substantial bedding, conceivably an altar. For its further exploration it must be freed of a maze of superincumbent mediaeval foundations.

"The foundations of another large monument may be distinguished against the south side of the temple at its east end. The uppermost poros course of the temple foundations was cut back 0.20 m. to admit the north edge of the monument. At ground level the base measured *ca.* 3.08 m. \times 4.10 m. Its lower courses and its upper core are of conglomerate, its euthynteria of hard gray poros. Nothing remains above the euthynteria.

"The problem of ground levels around the temple is at present puzzling and cannot be resolved until the area has been more thoroughly exposed. It may be said, however, that the ground level contemporary with the building has been well established along the east front. It is flush with the top of the topmost surviving (fifth) course, which may be supposed with assurance to have carried the marble euthynteria. Along the south side of the building the level slopes gently down westward; along the entire north and west sides the contemporary level would seem to have been *ca.* 1 m. lower than that to the east. No trace of retaining walls has yet been observed.

"The original working of the great majority of the reused foundation blocks is worthy and characteristic of the fifth century. The variety and the distribution of the poros are also typical of that century and may be paralleled in the Periclean buildings on the Acropolis, in the Hephaisteion, and in the Stoa of Zeus. The question of when the blocks reached their present position is another matter. In the hope of securing evidence, a certain amount of the broken-stone packing has been removed. The pottery from among the stones is remarkably consistent and may be placed in the second half of the fourth century. Practically none of it is earlier than this period and probably none of it need be counted later than the end of the century. With it were found eleven silver-plated bronze coins of Athenian type which have been dated in the third quarter of the fourth century (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 339; V, 1936, p. 123). Of the same period are three fragmentary dikast's name-plates of bronze, which also appeared among the stones of the packing. This material provides a *terminus post quem*, though not necessarily an immediate *terminus*; nor should this evidence be pressed until more of the filling has been examined.

"Other considerations suggest a later date for the laying of the foundation on the present site. The practice of using a *deep* packing of broken stone beneath foundation walls is known for many periods. In the Agora, for example, it has been noted in the first Temple of Apollo of the mid-sixth century before Christ, in the Tholos of *ca.* 470 B.C., in the second Temple of Apollo of the third quarter of the fourth century, in the stoa that borders the ancient road to the north of the Hephai-

steion of the Augustan period. More unusual is the thin layer of small stones beneath the first course of squared blocks. The best parallels thus far available in the Agora are a large monument base beneath the exedra in front of the Stoa of Zeus, and the exedra to the east of the Tholos.¹⁴ Both of these are to be dated in the early Roman period, to about the turn of the era. Apart from the broken-stone packing, the use of a massive, continuous underpinning may be regarded as an indication of a late



Fig. 4. Temple of Ares: Foundations at Middle of North Side, from the Northwest

date. It stands in striking contrast, for instance, with the individual foundations beneath each separate wall and colonnade of the Hephaisteion. The difference is scarcely all due to the less favorable ground conditions of the market square. The relatively high ground level demanded by the foundations of the present temple would also be more appropriate to the early Roman period than to the fourth century before Christ. The balance of the evidence here reviewed thus seems to favor a date in the early Roman period for the laying of the temple foundations in their present position."

[HOMER A. THOMPSON]

¹⁴ For the base, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 58; the exedra to the east of the Tholos will be published in a forthcoming supplement of *Hesperia*.

Accurate measurements of the foundations are unobtainable because of the irregularity of the protruding and receding blocks, and also because the west foundation is entirely missing, so that the evidence is limited to the rough bed cutting in hardpan. Thus the dimensions necessarily vary in accordance with the differing locations selected for measurement; the width has been variously obtained as 16.76 m., 16.87 m., and 16.95 m., the length as 36.25 m., 36.28 m., and 36.36 m.¹⁵ Such differences are to be expected, and are immaterial to the ensuing discussion. Even with the minimum dimensions of 16.76×36.25 m. it is clear that the temple was slightly larger than the "Theseum," of which the bottom step measured 15.180×33.241 m.

It may be assumed from these dimensions that we are concerned with a hexastyle temple; and this assumption is confirmed by a hasty calculation which also determines the number of columns on the flanks and even the approximate column spacing. For the excess of length over width of foundation varies from 19.30 m. ($36.25 - 16.95$ m.) to 19.60 m. ($36.36 - 16.76$ m.). From this it appears that, if there were only twelve columns on the flanks (giving six more axial spacings than on the fronts), the axial spacing would have been about $\frac{1}{6}(19.30/19.60) = 3.22/3.27$ m.; but if there were thirteen columns on the flanks, the axial spacing would have been about $\frac{1}{7}(19.30/19.60) = 2.76/2.80$ m. The former calculation is much too great for the front, since $5 \times 3.22/3.27 = 16.10/16.35$ m. (slightly diminished by angle contraction) would allow little more than 0.205/0.425 m. on either side for the radius of the column and the projections of the steps and foundations. This, of course, is absolutely impossible. The second result is more suitable, since $5 \times 2.76/2.80 = 13.80/14.00$ m. (slightly diminished by angle contraction) would allow a little more than 1.38/1.525 m. on either side for the column radius and these projections. Thus, from the foundations alone, we are entitled to believe that this was a temple with six by thirteen columns, and with a column spacing of approximately 2.76/2.80 m. (Fig. 5).

The conditions thus derived from the foundations accord too exactly with the inferences drawn from the marble corner triglyph (A 64) to be the results of pure coincidence. The discrepancy between the Periclean design of the triglyph and the Augustan letters parallels the discrepancy between the Periclean date of the cult statue and the early Roman rebuilding of the foundations. This association is confirmed by the dimensions. For, as we have seen, the triglyph would seem to demand a frieze rectangle of about 14.51×34.04 m., thus permitting foundation projections of 1.105/1.16 m. on the fronts and 1.125/1.22 m. on the flanks,¹⁶ reasonable in amount

¹⁵ Shear gives 16.76×36.36 m. (*A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 1), correcting his previous dimensions of 17×34 m. (*A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 177), obtained while the west end was still partly obscured by superincumbent foundations. The other measurements here quoted are my own, obtained at different times on the east front and south flank.

¹⁶ I. e., $\frac{1}{2}(36.25/36.36 - 34.04) = 1.105/1.16$ m., and $\frac{1}{2}(16.76/16.95 - 14.51) = 1.125/1.22$ m.

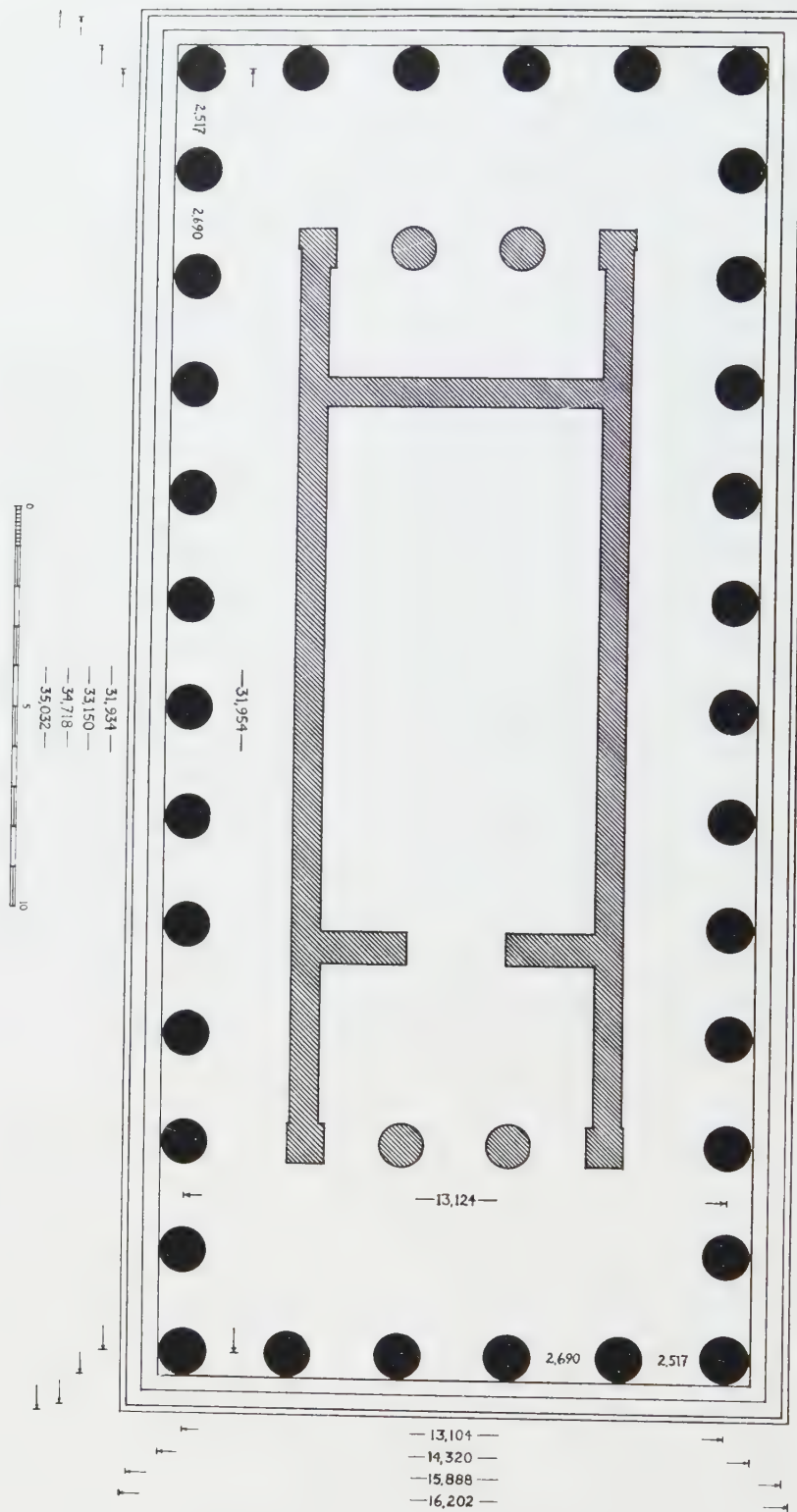


Fig. 5. Restored Plan, Temple of Ares

and logical in their equality. Conversely, the triglyph width required by the axial spacing derived from the foundation, $\frac{1}{5}(2.76/2.80) = 0.55/0.56$ m., agrees exactly with the actual triglyph width 0.558 m.; and this width, furthermore, is slightly greater than the triglyph widths in the "Theseum" (0.519 m.) and at Sunium (0.518 m.), just as the slightly larger foundation dimensions would require.

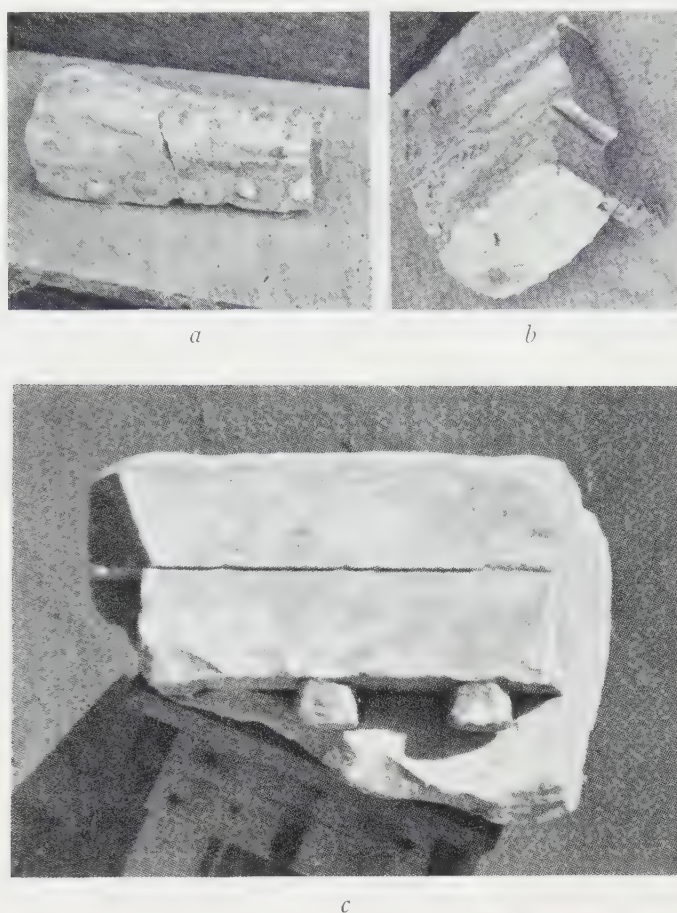


Fig. 6. Epistyle (Inv. No. A 169 [= c]) and Cornice
Fragments (Inv. Nos. A 239a [= a]
and A 238a [= b])

A more accurate calculation of the axial spacing may be derived from other fragments of the superstructure. In addition to the corner triglyph of 0.558 m., another fragment of a triglyph, with the mason's letter Θ cut on its top (Inv. No. A 747), measures 0.180 m. across one glyph, suggesting a total width of 0.540 m. A half regula on an epistyle fragment (Inv. No. A 169), likewise with traces of mason's letters on the top, has a length of 0.259 m. (Fig. 6c). A mutule on a

fragment of cornice (Inv. No. A 238) retains its complete width of 0.555 m., while another (Inv. No. A 239a) has its complete width of 0.554 m. (Figs. 6a, 9). The average result from all of these measurements is $\frac{2}{7}(1.920)^{17} = 0.5485$ m. for the triglyph or mutule width. But, since epistyle joints were often slightly off-centered, it is preferable to disregard the epistyle and to calculate the average width as $\frac{1}{3}(1.661)^{18} = 0.554$ m. The only extant complete via, on one of the above-mentioned cornice fragments

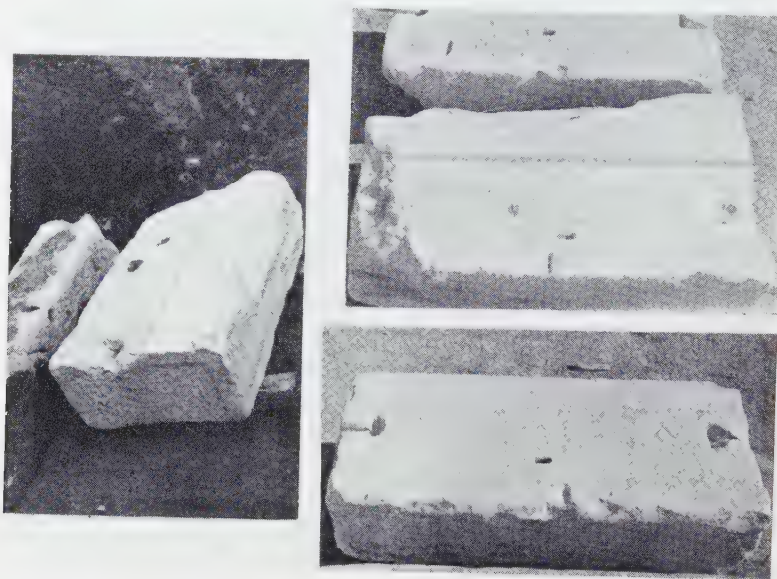


Fig. 7. Bottom Step (Inv. No. A 248) and Euthynteria Block (Inv. No. A 146)

(A 238), has a width of 0.139 m.¹⁹ Thus the mutule spacing would be $0.554 + 0.139 = 0.693$ m., implying a triglyph spacing of $2 \times 0.693 = 1.386$ m. and so a column spacing of $2 \times 1.386 = 2.772$ m. (A, Fig. 8), agreeing with the rough calculations from the foundations.

From the stepped platform there survive four marble blocks (two in Fig. 7), one a fragment of the euthynteria (Inv. No. A 249), while the three others are of complete length, two belonging to the euthynteria (Inv. Nos. A 146, and A 215), the other to one of the steps, presumably two, between euthynteria and stylobate (Inv. No. A 248). All four pieces now lie to the west of the temple. The three com-

¹⁷ I. e., $0.372 + 0.180 + 0.259 + 0.555 + 0.554 = 1.920$ m. should be equivalent to $3\frac{1}{2}$ triglyph widths.

¹⁸ I. e., $0.372 + 0.180 + 0.555 + 0.554 = 1.661$ m. should be equivalent to 3 triglyph widths.

¹⁹ Another fragment (A 239b) was found with A 238 and retains traces of the back of a via above the lower fascia of the cornice. The via was again 0.139 m. wide, but is probably the same via as that preserved on A 238 (see below, on the reconstruction of this corner cornice block, Fig. 9).

plete blocks retain mason's letters of the same Augustan type as those on the entablature fragments. From these facts, and because of the identity of the workmanship, there can be no doubt that the platform blocks came from the same temple to which we must attribute the triglyph, epistyle, and cornice fragments. The three complete lengths are 1.349 m., 1.343 m., and 1.343 m.; obviously these were intended to be uniform, and we may accept the average result, 1.345 m., for purposes of calculation. The positions of the dowels and pry cuttings on their tops indicate that the blocks above them in every case broke joints exactly at their centres. Consequently we seem to be dealing with a regular jointing system based on units of 1.345 m. and, with blocks of uniform length both under the columns and midway

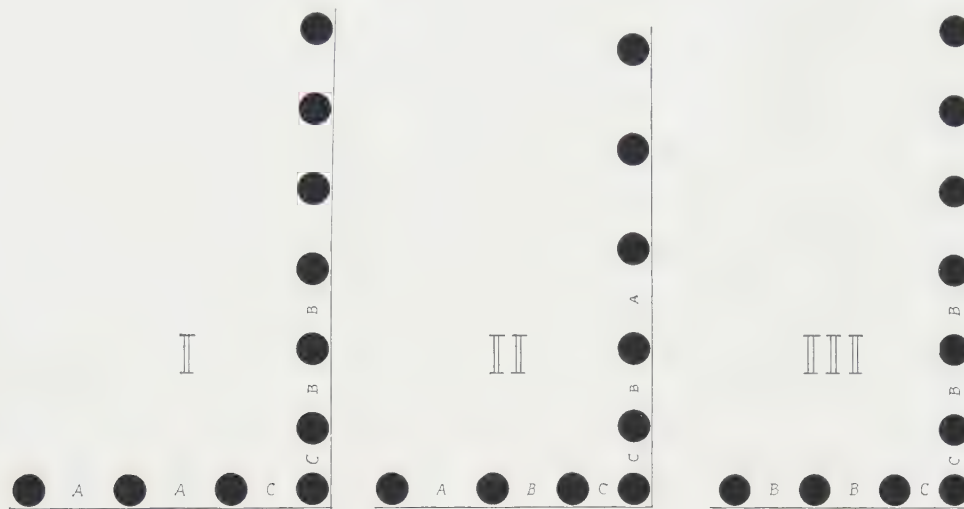


Fig. 8. Three Systems of Column Spacings

between them, to have a column spacing of only 2.690 m. (B, Fig. 8), slightly less than the rough calculations from the foundations.

Minor differences from the approximate result yielded by the rough foundations would be negligible. The real difficulty in the present case is the difference between the two accurate calculations of 2.772 m. and 2.690 m., a difference of 0.082 m. which demands explanation. For such an explanation it would seem that we must choose one of three solutions, herein designated as I, II, and III (Fig. 8).

I. In the first place, it would be possible to assume that there were different spacings on front and flank, 2.772 m. and 2.690 m. respectively. The difference of 0.082 m. would not be unreasonable in such a case. The width of the temple, measured on the entablature, would then be reckoned as $0.554 + (5 \times 2.772) = 14.414$ m., the length as $0.554 + (12 \times 2.690) = 32.834$ m. Thus the rough foundation would project 1.72/1.76 m. from the entablature on either front, but only 1.17/1.27 m. on either

flank.²⁰ This discrepancy of 0.45/0.59 m. between front and flank foundation projection seems a little too large to be ignored; but even more objectionable is the lack of precedent for unequal spacing on front and flank in any other Attic temple of the Periclean period.²¹ Solution I may, nevertheless, be retained for consideration.

II. A second explanation would be that the crepidoma blocks of 1.345 m., and consequently the smaller column spacing of 2.690 m., were exceptional. In other words, these would be shortened blocks, located where they were affected by the contracted column spacing at the corners of the temple. With such an explanation we could assume that the normal spacings were uniformly 2.772 m. as required by the entablature, the contraction being $2.772 - 2.690 = 0.082$ m. Hence the dimensions of the temple, measured between the axes of the opposite colonnades, would be $(2 \times 2.690) + (3 \times 2.772) = 13.596$ m. in width, and $(2 \times 2.690) + (10 \times 2.772) = 33.100$ m. in length. Thus the rough foundation would project 1.08/1.13 m. from the column centres on either front and 1.08/1.18 m. on either flank,²² with remarkable uniformity.

There come to mind, however, two objections to such an interpretation of the step blocks of 1.345 m. The survival of exceptional blocks alone, and the total disappearance of all normal blocks, might well be regarded as suspicious and indeed as an unacceptable interpretation. Furthermore, the angle contraction in a Periclean hexastyle temple should be very much greater than 0.082 m. ($2.772 - 2.690$ m.). To obtain the angle distortion, according to the formula $\frac{1}{2}(E - T)$,²³ we need both the known *T*(riglyph) width 0.554 m. and also the unknown *E*(pistyle) soffit; the latter, however, can be roughly estimated as approximately in the same ratio to the column spacing (1:2.638) as in the "Theseum" and at Sunium, giving about 1.05 m.²⁴ Thus the angle distortion would be about $\frac{1}{2}(1.05 - 0.554) = 0.248$ m. Of this, a small portion (about 0.04 m.) would be taken up by the inward inclination of the column axes,²⁵ and perhaps an equal amount by the expansion of the endmost metopes. The angle contraction itself usually amounted in this period to about one-sixth of the column diameter;²⁶ and since, in a hexastyle temple of this size, the column diameter was about two fifths of the axial spacing,²⁷ it follows that the con-

²⁰ I. e., $36.25/36.36 - 32.834 = 3.416/3.526$ m., and $16.76/16.95 - 14.414 = 2.346/2.536$ m.

²¹ In the only other example of the period, but outside Attica, at Bassae, we find a difference of only 0.041 m. between front and flank spacing.

²² I. e., $36.25/36.36 - 33.100 = 3.15/3.26$ m., and $16.76/16.95 - 13.596 = 3.164/3.354$ m.

²³ This is the formula invented by Koldewey and Puchstein (*Gr. Tempel in Unteritalien*, p. 198).

²⁴ I. e., in "Theseum" $0.980:2.581/2.583 = 1:2.633$; and at Sunium $0.954:2.522 = 1:2.643$. Hence, in the temple of Ares, $2.772 \div 2.638 = 1.051$ m.

²⁵ The inward inclination is 0.04 m. in the "Theseum."

²⁶ E. g., in "Theseum" $\frac{1}{6} \times 1.018 = 0.170$ m. (contraction 0.168/0.170 m.); at Sunium $\frac{1}{6} \times 1.043 = 0.174$ m. (contraction about 0.175 m.).

²⁷ E. g., in "Theseum" $\frac{2}{5} \times 2.581/2.583 = 1.032/1.033$ m. (diameter 1.018 m.); at Sunium $\frac{2}{5} \times 2.522 = 1.009$ m. (diameter 1.043 m.).

traction should be about one fifteenth of the axial spacing,²⁸ or $\frac{1}{15} \times 2.772 = 0.185$ m. Thus the available amount 0.082 m. (i. e., $2.772 - 2.690$ m.) would be quite inadequate.

Both of these objections, however, could be overcome if we permitted the hypothesis that there was duplex contraction, such as we find in some of the western colonial temples of Sicily and South Italy,²⁹ but of which no example has hitherto been reported from the Greek mainland. In other words, the exceptional blocks of 1.345 m. would be more numerous, extending as far as the third column from the corner; and the aggregate amount of the contraction at each corner would be at least $2 \times 0.082 = 0.164$ m., and presumably more. And, while the application of duplex contraction to a Periclean temple of the Greek mainland may seem to be a startling suggestion, it so happens that all three of the surviving complete blocks could be made to agree with such a restoration, since they can be proved to be the fourth and fifth from the corners, exactly in the positions where such reductions would have occurred.

Each of the three blocks has on its top, on the bed surface which was covered by the superimposed block, a series of three mason's letters of Augustan type, widely spaced, about 0.40 m. on centres.³⁰ These were obviously intended, like the letters on the triglyph blocks, to permit reconstruction in their proper sequence after dismemberment. All the letters were cut by masons standing inside the temple, so that the heads of the letters are toward the exterior. On the step block we read ΓΓΕ (A 248); on the two euthynteria blocks appear ΕΔΔ (A 146) and ΥΔΔ (A 215). These letters or numbers are presumably to be interpreted as 3:3:5 on the step block, and as 5:4:4 and 23:4:4 on the euthynteria blocks.

Since varying numbers occur on blocks of a single course (the euthynteria), it is manifest that they must form a horizontal series; in other words, they are the serial numbers within the course. From a study of the dowel holes we can ascertain, furthermore, in which direction the series numbers ran. On the step block (A 248) appears, at the middle of the top and toward the back, a dowel hole 0.61 m. behind the face and about 0.05 m. long; its right end is located almost (within 0.015 m.) at the median line of the block; and more to the right, exactly on the median line, is a pry hole showing that the superposed block was doweled at its right end. On the bottom is a dowel hole likewise at the right end, 0.22 m. behind the face. Both dowel holes indicate that this step block and the block above were members of a series laid

²⁸ E. g., in "Theseum" $\frac{1}{15} \times 2.581/2.583 = 0.172$ m. (contraction 0.168/0.170 m.); at Sunium $\frac{1}{15} \times 2.522 = 0.168$ m. (contraction about 0.175 m.).

²⁹ These are at Acragas (Olympieum and "Concord"), Syracuse (Athena), Himera, Selinus ("A"), Paestum (Poseidon), and Segesta. The measurements by Koldewey and Puchstein require considerable modification.

³⁰ The other fragment of euthynteria block (A 249) is too worn on the top to show such letters.

inward from a left corner. As for the two complete euthynteria blocks (A 146, A 215), each likewise shows at the middle of the top, toward the back, a dowel hole 0.375-0.465 m. behind the face and about 0.04-0.045 m. long; the left end of the dowel in both cases is located exactly at the median line of the block; and a pry hole is located to the left of the median line, showing that the superposed blocks of the bottom step were doweled at their left ends. The fragment (A 249) gives similar evidence. On the bottom of each of the two complete blocks a dowel hole is located 0.14-0.16 m. from the face at one end only, the right end in one case (A 146), the left in the other (A 215). Hence the two complete euthynteria blocks were laid from opposite directions, that with the bottom dowel at the right (A 146) being part of a series which was laid inward from a left corner, while the other with the bottom dowel at the left (A 215) was part of a series laid inward from a right corner. This evidence shows that the step block $E = 5$ (A 248) was nearer a left corner and also that, of the two euthynteria blocks, $E = 5$ (A 146) was nearer a left corner and $Y = 23$ (A 215) nearer a right corner. We necessarily draw the inference that the blocks were numbered from left to right, as one faced the temple. Furthermore, the step block $E = 5$ (A 248), being doweled at its right end (0.22 m. behind the face), could not have rested on the euthynteria block $E = 5$ (A 146), where the upper dowel hole shows that the superposed block was doweled at its left end (0.395 — 0.159 = 0.236 m. behind the face).

We now turn to the two other letters on each block. Since the normal Greek temple has three steps, in some cases (as here) resting on a fourth course, the euthynteria, it might seem reasonable to assume that $\Delta\Delta$ appears on the two complete euthynteria blocks for the reason that this was the fourth course down, and hence that $\Gamma\Gamma$ appearing on the only extant step block (either the middle or bottom step, of which the profiles would undoubtedly have been identical) thereby identifies it as coming from the third course down, the bottom step. According to this system, the mason's letters applied during the dismemberment to mark the courses would have been, from top to bottom: (AA) missing stylobate, (BB) missing middle step, ($\Gamma\Gamma$) bottom step, ($\Delta\Delta$) euthynteria.³¹ This system, however, appears to be unsatisfactory for two reasons. In the first place, a pair of letters designating the course is redundant; a single letter would have been equally satisfactory. In the second place, it provides no distinction between the different sides of the temple. Since a temple with six by thirteen columns, and with columns centered on alternate stylobate blocks, would require eleven by twenty-five stylobate blocks,³² twelve by twenty-six blocks in the middle step (and euthynteria),³³ and thirteen by twenty-seven blocks in the bottom

³¹ This seems to be Riemann's opinion (*Arch. Anz.*, 1937, p. 103).

³² Counting the corner blocks twice.

³³ A less satisfactory mode of construction would be the addition of one block again to the euthynteria, which would then have fourteen by twenty-eight blocks. But the small size of the resulting angle blocks would make this unlikely.

step, the masons had to number sixty-eight blocks in the first course, seventy-two in the second, seventy-six in the third, and seventy-two in the fourth. Thus we should have to assume that, after passing once through the alphabet, at least two additional alphabets were distinguished by special symbols (index strokes, ivy leaves, etc.), and that our three extant blocks all come from the first alphabet. Further consideration suggests an alternative solution.

It seems more reasonable to suppose that the three letters on each block bore some relation to the three elements of position which had to be recorded during the dismemberment, if the blocks were ever to be reassembled in their proper order. The first element was the course: stylobate, middle step, bottom step, and euthynteria, obviously lettered consecutively Α, Β, Γ, and Δ from top to bottom. The second element was the face of the temple: and we may surmise that the four faces would be lettered Α(*νατολη*),³⁴ Β(*ορρας*), Γ, and Δ from left to right, beginning with the east and ending with the south. Finally, each block of any face would be lettered consecutively from left to right, beginning always with the left corner block. Under these circumstances the blocks would be numbered as follows:

	<i>east</i>	<i>north</i>	<i>west</i>	<i>south</i>
stylobate	ΑΑΑ-ΑΑΚ	ΑΒΑ-ΑΒΩ	ΑΓΑ-ΑΓΚ	ΑΔΑ-ΑΔΩ
middle step	ΒΑΑ-ΒΑΛ	ΒΒΑ-ΒΒΑ'	ΒΓΑ-ΒΓΛ	ΒΔΑ-ΒΔΑ'
bottom step	ΓΑΑ-ΓΑΜ	ΓΒΑ-ΓΒΒ'	ΓΓΑ-ΓΓΜ	ΓΔΑ-ΓΔΒ'
euthynteria	ΑΑΔ-ΑΑΔ	ΑΒΔ-Α'ΒΔ	ΑΓΔ-ΑΓΔ	ΑΔΔ-Α'ΔΔ

In the euthynteria it will be noted that the order of the three numbers is reversed, the serial number of the stone being placed first rather than last. This change of order might possibly have been a further distinction between the courses, or even between different sides of the temple; but it would have been such an obvious source of confusion that an intentional distinction of this sort is hardly credible. It seems more reasonable to assume that the transposition of the numbers in the euthynteria was an accidental and perfectly natural error, resulting from the fact that the masons cut the numbers to read from left to right as they stood *inside* the temple, but in a sequence to follow one another from left to right as one stood *outside* the temple. The slight amount of resulting duplication in the numbers³⁵ would have been counteracted by the distinctive profile and dimensions of the euthynteria blocks. Under these circumstances, ΓΓΕ (Α 248) would have been the third course down (bottom step), the third side (west), the fifth block (from the northwest corner). And ΕΔΔ (Α 146) would have been the fourth course down (euthynteria), the fourth side (south), the fifth block (from the southwest corner). Also ΨΔΔ (Α 215) would

³⁴ While this is a mere guess, we may compare the evidence from the triglyph block (Α 64) which seems to confirm it (p. 29).

³⁵ E. g., ΑΑΔ, ΒΑΔ, ΓΑΔ, ΑΒΔ, ΒΒΔ, ΓΒΔ, ΑΓΔ, ΒΓΔ, ΓΓΔ, ΑΔΔ, ΒΔΔ, and ΓΔΔ.

have been the fourth course down (euthynteria), the fourth side (south), the twenty-third block (from the southwest corner). Confirmation of this arrangement may be derived from the fact that $\Gamma\Gamma E$, instead of resting directly on $E\Delta\Delta$ as would be the case if both came from the same side of the temple, is now assigned to a different side as required by the non-fitting dowels.

By means of the mason's letters, therefore, we have found that the fifth block of the bottom step, counting from either corner of the façade, was of the 1.345 m. type, and that the fourth and fifth blocks of the euthynteria, counting from either corner of the flank, were likewise of the 1.345 m. type. The shortened fifth block from the corner in the euthynteria would reach as far as the axis of the third column from the corner; the shortened fifth block of the bottom step would come exactly under the interval between the second and third columns. It is evident that the dimensions could be reconciled with the mason's letters, on the assumption that we are here dealing with a very unusual situation, wherein the angle contraction was spread over two intercolumniations. The dimensions of the temple, measured between the axes of the opposite colonnades, might be reckoned as $(4 \times 2.690) + 2.772 = 13.536$ m. (at most), and the length as $(4 \times 2.690) + (8 \times 2.772) = 32.936$ m. (at most). Thus the rough foundations would project about 1.66/1.71 m. from the column centres on either front and about 1.61/1.71 m. on either flank,³⁶ with remarkable uniformity. This solution, also, must be retained for consideration, in spite of the implication as to the unique employment of duplex contraction on the Greek mainland.

III. Finally, a third explanation would be that the via of 0.139 m. was exceptional and, consequently, the larger column spacing of 2.772 m. (A) fictitious. In other words, the width of the via is obtained from a single complete example, which might conceivably be one of the viae over a metope adjoining a corner triglyph; and, since these endmost metopes were usually widened to help counteract the angle distortion, it follows that the viae above them were correspondingly widened and so, if applied to the general spacing, would yield misleading results. As a matter of fact, the cemented group of fragments (A 238), containing one mutule and the only known via, has the face broken away and presents the same stratified fracture that appears in the group (A 239a) containing the second known mutule, and I am confident that, while the via does not make a direct join with the second mutule, it nevertheless belongs to the same block (Fig. 9).³⁷ This is proved also by the fact that the top surface, running horizontally for 0.59 m. from the left joint on A 238, then begins to slope downward at a rate of 1:4; the same slope continues on A 239a until, at a distance of 0.83 m. from the left joint (A 238 + 239a being placed in their proper

³⁶ I. e., $36.25/36.36 - 32.936 = 3.314/3.424$ m., and $16.76/16.95 - 13.536 = 3.224/3.414$ m.

³⁷ Homer Thompson, when consulted on this matter, wrote, "The third fragment (A 238) does not make a direct join with the other two (A 239a + 602), though it probably comes from the same corner block."

relation), it again becomes horizontal after having descended 0.06 m. It is evident that these must be portions of the right corner block from a façade, with the bevel forming the transition from the usual raised step on the pediment floor to the lower plane of the flank cornice. Verification comes from a third group (A 602), containing only the overhang of the cornice but showing on the soffit a bit of the forty-five degree

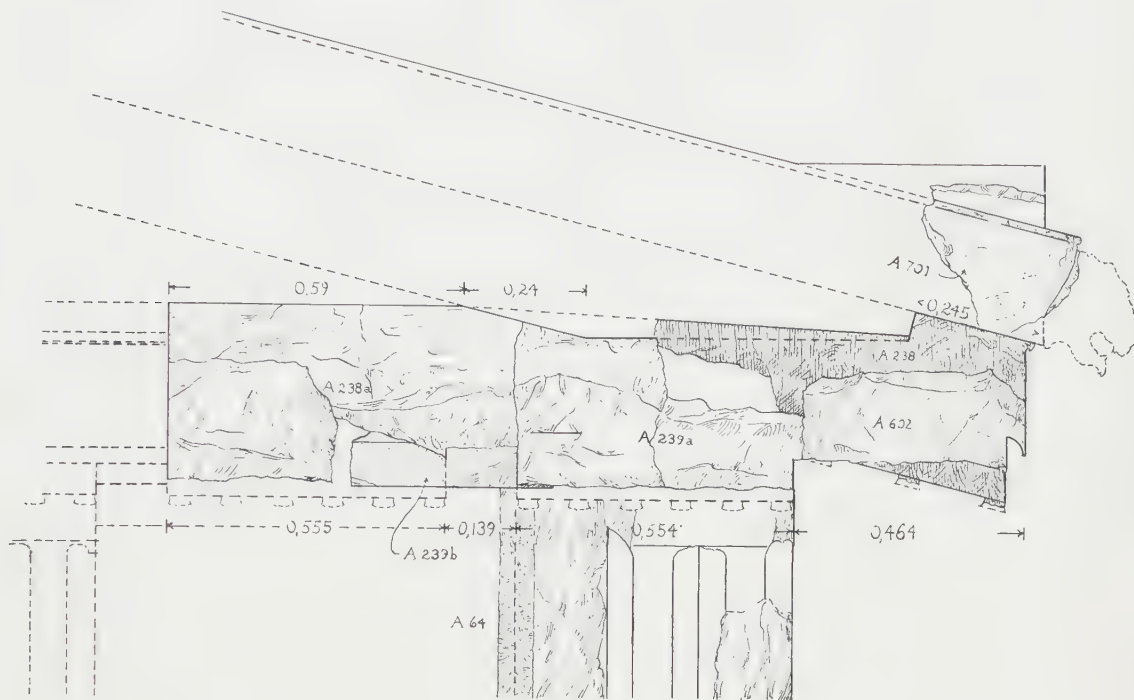


Fig. 9. Reconstruction of Angle Cornice Block (Nos. A 238a and A 238 to be interchanged)

mitre in the corner panel of the cornice. Its fracture joins accurately that of A 239a, and shows that it forms the return of the cornice on the right flank. As thus recombined, we have the complete length of the right corner block of the façade cornice, with a length of $0.555 + 0.139 + 0.554 + 0.464 = 1.712$ m. from the joint at the left to the face of the return cornice at the right.³⁸ Thus the only extant complete via just happens to be one which was above the endmost metope, and adjoined the endmost mutule, at the right corner of a façade. Consequently we are justified in assuming that this via might have been wider than usual. Now, if the normal spacing

³⁸ I may add that the fragment A 239b, found with A 238 + 239a + 602 at a late Roman level north of the middle of the flank, seems to be part of the same corner block, forming the fascia just below the exceptionally wide via. Also the group A 238a, found in the same place, is clearly part of a corner block as shown by the form of its top, and seems to be the right flank return of the same corner block, just behind A 602, from which it is separated by a gap (Fig. 9).

were 2.690 m. as required by the crepidoma blocks, the triglyph spacing would be 1.345 m., the mutule spacing 0.6725 m., and the normal width of the via $0.6725 - 0.554 = 0.1185$ m. Thus the extant via would be 0.0205 m. wider than the normal, implying that the endmost metope was widened by 0.041 m. If the angle distortion, $\frac{1}{2}(E - T)$, were reckoned on the assumption that the epistyle soffit was about 1.02 m.,³⁹ we should obtain a distortion of about $\frac{1}{2}(1.02 - 0.554) = 0.233$ m.; and, if the angle contraction were about one fifteenth of the normal spacing, or 0.18 m., and the inward inclination of the column axis about 0.04 m., it is obvious that the remainder of the distortion would not permit the expansion of more than one metope. Even at this, the dimensions would require a slight readjustment, giving perhaps 0.041 m. ($\frac{1}{8}$ Doric foot)⁴⁰ for the expansion of the endmost metope, an equal amount for the inward inclination of the column, and 0.163 m. ($\frac{1}{2}$ Doric foot) for the contraction, so that the distortion would be 0.245 m. ($\frac{3}{4}$ Doric foot), requiring an epistyle soffit of about 1.044 m.⁴¹

With such dimensions, the width of the temple measured on the entablature would be reckoned as $0.554 + (2 \times 1.386) + (8 \times 1.345) = 14.086$ m., the length as $7 \times 2.690 = 18.830$ m. more or 32.916 m. Thus the rough foundation blocks would project 1.67/1.72 m. from the entablature on either front and 1.34/1.43 m. on either flank.⁴² The discrepancy of 0.24/0.38 m. between front and flank foundation projections, while not mathematically as perfect as in solution II, is less discrepant than that obtained in solution I. Hence we retain solution III, like the others, for future consideration.

It is obvious that a decision between those three solutions, in the absence of additional fragments, can be attained only by consideration of the proportions of the Doric order. For this purpose it would be desirable to know the lower diameter of the columns, the height of the columns, and the height of the entablature, to be brought into relation with the spacing of the columns; useful minor comparisons may be made between widths of triglyphs and metopes.

Now the lower diameter of the column is unknown; but there are several methods of estimating it. The diameter, for instance, should be very close to twice the width of the triglyph, giving about $2 \times 0.554 = 1.108$ m.⁴³ The height of the column must necessarily lie between $5\frac{1}{2}$ and 6 lower diameters; and in three works stylistically most closely related to the temple of Ares the proportions are 5.612 ("Theseum"), 5.776 (Sunium), and 5.743 diameters (Rhamnus). With this minimum and maximum, and

³⁹ I. e., $2.690 \div 2.638 = 1.020$ m. (see p. 14).

⁴⁰ The term "Doric" rather than "Attic" is here employed because of the widespread dissemination of this foot of 0.326-0.327 m. over continental Greece and Sicily. For the exact length of the Doric foot in this temple, see p. 23.

⁴¹ I. e., $\frac{1}{2}(1.044 - 0.554) = 0.245$ m.

⁴² I. e., $36.25/36.36 - 32.916 = 3.334/3.444$ m., and $16.76/16.95 - 14.086 = 2.674/2.864$ m.

⁴³ E. g., in "Theseum" $2 \times 0.519 = 1.038$ m. (diameter 1.018 m.); at Sunium $2 \times 0.518 = 1.036$ m. (diameter 1.043 m.).

with the estimated diameter of 1.108 m., the limits in height would be 6.218/6.400 m.⁴⁴ The height of the entablature should be approximately one third of the height of the column; among the three above-mentioned temples the proportions are 0.350 ("Theseum"), 0.332 (Sunium), and 0.335 times the height of the columns (Rhamnus). With these limits, and the estimated column height, the height of the entablature would be 2.064/2.225 m.⁴⁵

It so happens, however, that we can determine the height of the entablature almost exactly. For the height of the corner triglyph (A 64) is 0.836 m., barely higher than those of the "Theseum" (0.828 m.) and Sunium (0.829 m.), but identical with the epistyle height in both of these temples (0.836 m. in both). Since a curious repetition of dimensions runs through many of the Periclean temples, it seems probable that the unknown epistyle height of the temple of Ares was likewise 0.836 m., in this case being identical with the height of the triglyph, following the system of equality in height observed also in the Parthenon.⁴⁶ As for the cornice, we can measure the maximum height from the bottom of the mutule nosing to the top of the little hawk-beak moulding on the face of the flank cornice (A 238a) as 0.323 m. (Figs. 6, 9). The relationship of the nose of the mutule to the bed of the cornice is nowhere preserved. But the soffit of the mutule, which projects 0.425 m., slopes upward at a rate which, if the face be placed in a vertical plane, would be 1:4, thus meeting the rear fascia at a height 0.106 m. above the nosing of the mutule. Two fragments (A 238g, 239b) preserve the rear fascia under the mutules, 0.088 m. high. It is evident, therefore, that the nosing of the mutule dropped 0.018 m. below the cornice bed. Consequently the height to the top of the hawk-beak moulding on the face was 0.323—0.018 = 0.305 m. above the bed. This same level was evidently observed along the front edge of the corner block, though on the flank return the top rises in a slight inclination toward the rear edge,⁴⁷ an inclined bed which does not concern the question of proportions. On the other hand, we have noted that on A 238 + 239a the top rises 0.06 m. higher to the pediment floor, where the height between the bottom and top beds must have been 0.365 m.; a similar height may be measured on another fragment (A 238h) showing a portion of the pediment floor. In this case the difference is important, since, coming from the façade, it undoubtedly represents the usual raised step in the pediment floor (0.040 m. in the "Theseum," 0.020 m. at Sunium).⁴⁸ Here the difference of 0.06 m. indicates that the mean height (the basis of calculation in the other tem-

⁴⁴ I. e., $5.612 \times 1.108 = 6.218$ m., and $5.776 \times 1.108 = 6.400$ m.

⁴⁵ I. e., $0.332 \times 6.218/6.400 = 2.064/2.125$ m., and $0.350 \times 6.218/6.400 = 2.176/2.240$ m.

⁴⁶ Even if one should disagree with my restoration of the epistyle height, the difference must be less than 0.01 m.

⁴⁷ Thompson writes, "Note that the upper bedding surface is not quite at right angles to the face of the cornice, and if it were brought to the horizontal, the face would tilt backwards."

⁴⁸ I. e., in the "Theseum," flank cornice height 0.316 m., façade height 0.356 m.; at Sunium flank height 0.325 m., façade height 0.345 m.

ples) would be about 0.335 m. And the mean total height of the entablature would be about $0.836 + 0.836 + 0.335 = 2.007$ m., almost identical with the total mean heights in the "Theseum" and at Sunium (2.000 m. in both).

We may now reverse our calculations, regarding the column height as between 2.856 ("Theseum") and 3.012 (Sunium) times the entablature height, or 5.732/6.045 m. With the diameter contained in the column height between 5.612 ("Theseum") and 5.776 (Sunium) times, the lower diameter would be about 0.992/1.077 m. In view of the fact that the slightly smaller temples, the "Theseum" and that at Sunium, have column diameters of 1.018 m. and 1.043 m., it is probable that a dimension greater than these would have been selected for the temple of Ares, i. e., between 1.043 m. and 1.077 m. In fact, even this maximum may be slightly deficient; for the great width of the triglyph would justify, as we have noted, such a diameter as 1.108 m. And the analogy of the Parthenon would permit a ratio as great as 1:3.169 between entablature and column heights, thus yielding columns as high as 6.360 m. in the temple of Ares, and, with the lowest proportion of 5.612 diameters, a maximum lower diameter of 1.134 m. The last, however, is an improbable extreme; we may definitely assume that the lower diameter was between 1.043 m. and 1.108 m.

Now the greater column spacing of 2.772 m. would contain 2.502/2.658 of these lower diameters. Or the smaller column spacing of 2.690 m. would contain 2.428/2.579 lower diameters. Since our best analogies are 2.535/2.537 diameters in the "Theseum," 2.418 diameters at Sunium, and 2.667 diameters at Rhamnus, it is evident that it would be possible to restore either or both spacings.

The true test of the two spacings, however, is found when we examine them with reference to scale rather than mere proportion. For in the Periclean Doric temples the interval between the columns was always larger than the column diameter by a constant excess, deviating very slightly from $1\frac{1}{2}$ Doric feet or 0.49 m.⁴⁹ But if from the spacing of 2.772 m. we subtract twice the minimum diameter of 1.043 m., we obtain an excess of 0.686 m., far too great for any Periclean temple.⁵⁰ And even twice the maximum diameter 1.108 m. would leave an excess of 0.556 m., so large as to be without analogy. On the other hand, if from the spacing of 2.690 m. we subtract twice the minimum diameter of 1.043 m., the excess would still be too great,

⁴⁹ For this rule, to be discussed in my *Athenian Architecture*, see temporarily *Architecture*, XLVIII, 1923, p. 242.

⁵⁰ The maximum excess is 0.545/0.547 m. in the "Theseum" ($2.581/2.583 - [2 \times 1.018 \text{ m.}]$); next follow 0.517 m. in the Propylaea Central Building ($3.627 - [2 \times 1.555 \text{ m.}]$), 0.4775/0.4825 m. in the Parthenon ($4.2915/4.2955 - [2 \times 1.907 \text{ m.}]$), 0.475 m. at Rhamnus ($1.903 - [2 \times 0.714 \text{ m.}]$), 0.436 m. at Sunium ($2.522 - [2 \times 1.043 \text{ m.}]$). We exclude the secondary order of the Propylaea West Wings (excess 0.358 m.) and the provincial temple at Bassae (excess 0.388 m., 0.429 m., and 0.470 m.) as abnormal. Thus the maximum deviations are 0.057 m. more and 0.054 m. less than 0.49 m.

0.604 m. But twice the maximum diameter 1.108 m. would leave an excess of 0.474 m., well within the bounds of possibility. This test suggests that we must employ the smaller spacing of 2.690 m. with a diameter between 1.073 m.⁵¹ and 1.108 m.

In other words, we are now limited to solution III. We are still dealing with a hexastyle temple, with thirteen columns on the flanks. And the three complete step blocks are still to be identified as the fifth block from the northwest corner on the west front, in the bottom step, and the fifth from the southwest and fourth from the southeast on the south flank, in the euthynteria. But these step blocks are now to be considered as of normal length.

The axial spacing of 2.690 m. is equivalent to $8\frac{1}{4}$ Doric feet, with a unit of 0.32606 m., practically identical with that employed in the "Theseum" (0.32600 m.). The column diameter, between 1.073 m. and 1.108 m., is probably to be restored as $3\frac{3}{8}$ Doric feet (1.1005 m.),⁵² so that the excess was $1\frac{1}{2}$ Doric feet (0.489 m.). The mean height of the entablature was probably intended to be $6\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet (1.997 m.), as in the "Theseum" and at Sunium. If the column height were three times that of the entablature (as at Sunium), it would be $18\frac{3}{8}$ Doric feet (5.991 m.), or only 5.444 lower diameters, considerably lower than the proportions employed in the analogous temples (5.612/5.776 diameters). But we are at liberty to assume that the column height was more than three times the entablature height, as noted above for the Parthenon (likewise for the Propylaea and temple at Bassae). Adopting a column height of 5.612/5.776 diameters, it is to be observed that the average of 5.710 lower diameters (obtained from the "Theseum" and the temples at Sunium and Rhamnus) would yield a height of $19\frac{1}{4}$ Doric feet (6.277 m., or 3.143 entablature heights).

⁵¹ I. e., $\frac{1}{2}(2.690 - 0.490 - 0.054) = 1.073$ m.

⁵² Among the Pentelic marble column drums found in the Agora, several were employed in mediaeval or modern times as millstones. Of these, two (one lying southwest of the Stoa of the Giants, the other immediately at the north of the Stoa) are now 1.07 m. in diameter, very roughly tooled, and seem never to have been fluted; they are in any case too large for the temple of Ares, even if we admit the improbable assumption that the fluting was entirely hacked off. A third (also north of the Stoa of the Giants) retains its fluting and is now 0.80 m. long; but the trace of a square empolion hole on the bottom indicates that the bottom has been rubbed off to the extent of 0.06 m., giving an original height of about 0.86 m. The diameter at the present bottom is 0.89 m. within the flutes and so, restoring the flutes, would be about 0.94 m. in full diameter, which would be correct at a level about three fifths of the height of the columns in the temple of Ares. A fourth, likewise with its fluting, now lies west of the "Valerian Wall," and measures 1.030 m. in diameter within the flutes across the top, and apparently 1.08 m. in full diameter; the bottom is entirely worn off. On the top is the letter Δ. The dimensions are satisfactory for a bottom drum of the temple of Ares. Two other drums employed as millstones, and formerly lying near the Beulé Gate of the Acropolis and at the west entrance to the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, were brought by Orlandos to the "Theseum" and there rejected as unsatisfactory; they lie at present just south of the "Theseum." These might conceivably have been topmost drums in the temple of Ares, since their upper diameters measure 0.78/0.793 m. within the flutes, and so would have been about 0.83/0.84 m. in full diameter; or possibly they should be assigned to the porches of the temple of Ares. A more injured drum used as a millstone, and now lying on the east stylobate of the "Theseum," measures 0.83 m. in diameter within the flutes or about 0.88 m. in full diameter, and so is likewise a possible candidate.

The factors requisite for the calculation of the total dimensions of the plan, in addition to the normal axial spacing, are the following. The angle column was presumably enlarged by 1 dactyl, as in the "Theseum," increasing the diameter to $3\frac{7}{16}$ Doric feet (1.121 m.). Thus the angle contraction, which according to solution III would be $\frac{1}{2}$ Doric foot (0.163 m.), is in reality enlarged by the displacement of the angle column centre to $1\frac{7}{32}$ Doric foot (0.173 m.), so that the true angle axial spacing would be reckoned as $7\frac{23}{32}$ Doric feet (2.517 m.). The face of the stylobate, as in most of the Attic temples of this period (Parthenon, "Theseum," Sunium, Rhamnus), may be assumed to have protruded $\frac{7}{48}$ Doric foot (0.0475 m.) outside the face of the column. On the single extant step block (A 248), at a distance of 0.400 m. behind the protective face (and so of 0.392 m. behind the finished face) is an engraved line defining the position of the next step. This width of 0.392 m. (accurately $1\frac{19}{64}$ Doric feet), was probably intended to be $1\frac{5}{24}$ Doric feet (0.395 m.),⁵³ and was undoubtedly uniform for both steps and on all sides of the temple. On the top of the euthynteria are engraved lines marking the position of the bottom step, 0.155 m. (A 215) or 0.159 m. (A 146) inside the face of the euthynteria. This width of 0.157 m. ($\frac{23}{48}$ Doric foot) must have been carried uniformly all around the temple. From these figures we should calculate the total dimensions as follows:

Front, three normal axial spacings (2.690 m.)	8.070 m. =	$24\frac{3}{4}$ D. F.
two angle axial spacings (2.517 m.)	5.034 m. =	$15\frac{7}{16}$ D. F.
twice displacement angle column centre (0.010 m.)	0.020 m. =	$\frac{1}{16}$ D. F.
twice radius normal column (0.5505 m.)	1.101 m. =	$3\frac{3}{8}$ D. F.
twice projection of stylobate (0.0475 m.)	0.095 m. =	$\frac{7}{24}$ D. F.
four step treads (0.382 m.)	1.568 m. =	$4\frac{5}{6}$ D. F.
Total	15.888 m. =	$48\frac{3}{4}$ D. F.
Flank, add seven normal axial spacings (2.690 m.)	18.830 m. =	$57\frac{3}{4}$ D. F.
Total	34.718 m. =	$106\frac{1}{2}$ D. F.

The euthynteria projected 0.157 m. or $\frac{23}{48}$ Doric foot beyond the bottom step on all sides. And the rough foundations, therefore, projected 0.61/0.66 m. beyond the euthynteria on either front and 0.28/0.37 m. beyond on either flank.

The total dimensions of the plan thus became $40\frac{3}{16} \times 97\frac{15}{16}$ Doric feet (13.104×31.934 m.) for the axial rectangle, $40\frac{1}{4} \times 98$ Doric feet (13.124×31.954 m.) between the axes of opposite colonnades, $43\frac{1}{12} \times 101\frac{2}{3}$ Doric feet (14.320×33.150 m.) for the finished stylobate, $48\frac{3}{4} \times 106\frac{1}{2}$ Doric feet (15.888×34.718 m.) for the bottom step, and $49\frac{17}{24} \times 107\frac{11}{24}$ Doric feet (16.202×35.032 m.) for the euthynteria.

⁵³ The finished width of the euthynteria, as noted below, varies up to 0.004 m.

Having ascertained the dimensions of the peristyle plan, we may pass in review the other facts to be gleaned from the surviving marble fragments.

The euthynteria is 0.302 m. high ($1\frac{5}{16}$ Doric foot). The bottom step has a finished height of 0.357 m. ($1\frac{3}{32}$ Doric feet),⁵⁴ besides the increase of 0.016 m. caused by the protective surface on the tread. The middle step may be restored as identical with the bottom step.⁵⁵ The missing stylobate would presumably have been higher than the other steps, by approximately 1 dactyl;⁵⁶ the dimension may have been 0.374 m. ($1\frac{7}{8}$ Doric feet). Thus the aggregate height of the three steps would be 1.088 m. ($3\frac{1}{3}$ Doric feet), and the total height of the four marble courses 1.390 m. ($4\frac{1}{4}$ Doric feet).

The marble euthynteria was doweled to the poros foundation, the location of the dowels showing that, on the south flank, the two south corner blocks were laid before the intervening blocks, and that the last laid block was one of the central seventeen. Of the bottom step, as shown by dowels on the top of the south euthynteria, the southeast corner block was laid first, and work proceeded thence westward, at least as far as the fourth block from the west; if the southwest corner block was laid before its neighbors, the last laid block on the south must have been the second, third, or fourth from the west. The northwest corner block of the bottom step, in any case, was laid before its neighbors and work proceeded southward from this point, at least as far as the sixth block. And in the middle step on the west front, as shown by the dowel on the top of the bottom step (A 248), the northwest corner block was likewise laid first and work proceeded thence southwest at least as far as the fifth block. Thus we have two possible alternatives: either the two diagonally opposite corner blocks, southeast and northwest, were laid first in each course, with the last laid blocks somewhere near the southwest and northeast corners; or all four corner blocks were laid first, with the last laid block in the bottom step on the south flank coming abnormally close to the southwest corner.

The euthynteria,⁵⁷ more formal than that in the "Theseum," has its lower part protruding about 0.04 m. in the form of a rusticated panel, though at the vertical joints are dressed margins 0.03 m. wide continuing the plane of the finished upper portion. This upper portion, 0.135 m. high, has a smoothed margin 0.035-0.04 m. wide surrounding a panel of picked or stippled surface, recalling the euthynteria treatments in the Parthenon and the temple of Poseidon at Sunium. The width of the blocks is 0.59-0.61 m. (measured on the top), so that they run back under the

⁵⁴ In the "Theseum" 0.349 m., at Sunium 0.353 m.

⁵⁵ The gradation in height which occurs at Bassae, for instance, is unusual and contrary to Athenian analogies.

⁵⁶ In the "Theseum" by 0.015 m. (giving 0.364 m.), at Sunium by 0.028 m. (giving 0.381 m.).

⁵⁷ Three extant pieces, Inv. Nos. A 146, 215, 249, of which A 146 and A 215 are complete blocks, while A 249 is merely a fragment 0.70 m. long.

bottom step to the extent of 0.435-0.455 m.; the backs are roughly tooled (Fig. 7). At each end is a single T-clamp cutting, 0.115-0.145 m. long, with the head 0.065 m. wide, centered 0.255-0.27 m. behind the face of the euthynteria; the head of the clamp cutting has been widened in some cases to permit extraction of the clamp.

The bottom step has a finished sunken band 0.083 m. high at the lower edge of the face, beyond which the drafted margins of the protective surface project by 0.008 m. (Fig. 7).⁵⁸ The protective surface is bordered by drafted margins 0.035-0.045 m. wide, enclosing a slightly projecting rusticated panel. Presumably the faces of the middle step and stylobate would have been similarly treated; and it is evident that if the steps had been finished they would have been perfectly smooth, as in most

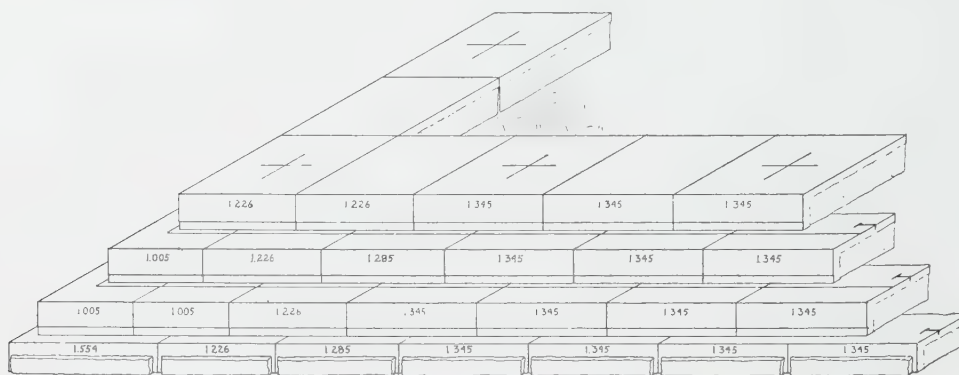


Fig. 10. Jointing System of Crepidoma

Periclean examples, without the decorative sunken margins that occur in the temple of Athena Nike or at Bassae. The protective surface of the tread of the bottom step has a width of 0.331 m., including the bevel 0.013 m. wide at the rear edge; beyond this bevel the surface drops to the finished height of 0.357 m. The width of the block is 0.745 m., thus running back 0.345 m. under the step next above; the back is roughly tooled. At each end is a single T-clamp cutting, centered 0.49-0.51 m. behind the face.

Though the blocks of the middle step and stylobate are missing, it is possible to work out the probable system of jointing the platform (Fig. 10), and also the adjustments toward the corners. The column centres being $0.0475 + 0.5505 = 0.598$ m. inside the face of the stylobate, the width of the stylobate might have been double this amount, 1.196 m.; or more probably, as in other temples, the inner projection may have been slightly greater. It so happens that such a dimension (1.226 m.) would leave an equal amount for the intermediate stylobate block in the endmost intercolumniation;⁵⁹ and the blocks of the lower courses would break joints accordingly, with corner blocks of 1.005 m. and 1.554 m.

⁵⁸ One extant block, A 248, of complete length.

⁵⁹ On the stylobate, distance from axis of second column to corner $2.517 + 0.5605 + 0.0475$

It is possible that some of the column drums have been preserved; these are discussed above, p. 23, note 52. There are no other identifiable fragments of the columns, with the possible exception of a fragment of a Doric capital (Inv. No. A 600). The fragment is 0.20 m. high and 0.25 m. wide, and consists of about 0.09 m. of the height of the echinus, with the core of the abacus above; the face of the abacus, however, is entirely broken away and the identification cannot be regarded as certain.

Of the epistyle, there are only two small fragments of the upper part of the face with the regulae and guttae (Inv. Nos. A 169 and 896). One of these (A 169) is from the right end of an epistyle block (Fig. 6c), containing the left half of a regula; as a matter of fact, the half regula is a little deficient, 0.259 m. instead of 0.272 m., the joint being for some reason off-centered by 0.013 m.⁶⁰ There are traces of a mason's letter on the top, merely two parallel strokes which cannot be deciphered. Thus we have no clue to its position in the temple. The other fragment (A 896) is the left end of a block, with the end of a complete regula, which terminates 0.001 m. from the joint;⁶¹ the only position in which such a block could appear would be at the southeast or the northwest corner, forming the flank return of the corner epistyle block. The top of the fragment is broken away, together with the mason's letters, so that we cannot decide which of the two corners is in question. In any case, we are assured that the first joint on the flank was $0.554 + 0.001 = 0.555$ m. from the corner; and, since the epistyle soffit would not have been twice as wide as this (1.11 m.), it is probable that the corner block of the outer face of the epistyle was L-shaped, as in the Propylaea. The total width of the soffit can only be estimated as 1.044 m.,⁶² or, more probably, as $3\frac{3}{16}$ Doric feet (1.039 m.), $\frac{3}{16}$ foot less than the lower diameter. The height, as we have seen, was undoubtedly 0.836 m. ($2\frac{9}{16}$ Doric feet), identical with that in the "Theseum" and at Sunium (0.836 m. in both).

The epistyle has a crowning taenia 0.076 m. high and 0.045 m. in projection; the height is exactly one eleventh of the total height of the epistyle. The regulae are 0.065/0.070 m. high, and 0.042/0.043 m. in projection; the guttae are 0.025 m. high and 0.040 m. in diameter. The three heights are proportioned as 9:8:3; hence it would seem that the taenia was first determined as one eleventh of the total height

= 3.125 m. Since half of normal stylobate block (under second column) is 0.6725 m., remainder of 2.4525 m. would be divided into two blocks of 1.226 m.

⁶⁰ It is probable that this was a mere inaccuracy of workmanship, the epistyle block falling short of reaching the column centre by 0.013 m. The alternative explanation, that the epistyle joint was accurately located on the column with the triglyph off-centered by 0.013 m., would imply a systematic displacement of all the triglyphs such as exists in the Parthenon façades, and a few other examples, for harmonic reasons; but this interpretation seems to be contradicted by the widened endmost metope. For the only purpose of off-centering the triglyphs would be to avoid such widening at the corners.

⁶¹ Thus it is clearly not a joint in the middle of the regula itself.

⁶² See p. 20.

and the other members proportioned therefrom geometrically, without use of the foot rule. The guttae have the flaring concave curved sides, with a rather sharply protruding lower lip, that characterize the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios.⁶³ The surface of the regula is roughened with the toothed chisel for the adherence of color (necessarily blue). The top bed surface is also roughened to within 0.035 m. of the front edge of the taenia. The joints have anathyrosis bands 0.095 m. wide across the top and 0.065 m. wide down the edge of the exposed face. A clamp on one piece, 0.16 m. long, is centered 0.25 m. from the front edge of the taenia.

The height of the triglyphs, 0.836 m. ($2\frac{9}{16}$ Doric feet), is barely greater than the height employed in the "Theseum" (0.827 m.) and at Sunium (0.829 m.), but is identical with the epistyle height below. The triglyph width of 0.554 m. was apparently intended to be $1\frac{1}{16}$ Doric feet. Thus the proportions of width to height are 27:41 or 1:1.519 in the temple of Ares, as contrasted with 1:1.599 both in the "Theseum" and at Sunium. In other words, the triglyph proportions in the temple of Ares seem unduly heavy (Fig. 17). Since the triglyph spacing was $4\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet (half of the column spacing), the width of the metopes must have been $2\frac{7}{16}$ Doric feet (0.791 m.), or $\frac{1}{8}$ foot less than the height. Thus the proportions of width to height were 39:41 or 1:1.051, as compared with 1:1.066 in the "Theseum" and 1:1.115 at Sunium. In other words, the metope proportions harmonize with those of the triglyphs in being wide and heavy. The ratio of triglyph to metope widths was 9:13 or 1:1.445 in the temple of Ares, as compared with 1:1.500 in the "Theseum" and 1:1.434 at Sunium. The endmost metope, adjoining each corner triglyph, was widened by $\frac{1}{8}$ Doric foot and so was exactly square. The resulting total dimensions of the frieze (and epistyle) rectangle may be calculated as follows:

Front, $(11 \times 0.554) + (8 \times 0.791) + (2 \times 0.832)$	14.086 m.
Length, add 7×2.690	18.830 m.
	<hr/>
Total	32.916 m.
Or, in terms of Doric feet,	
Front, $(11 \times 1\frac{1}{16}) + (8 \times 2\frac{7}{16}) + (2 \times 2\frac{9}{16})$	$43\frac{3}{16}$ D. F.
Length, add $7 \times 8\frac{1}{4}$	$57\frac{3}{4}$ D. F.
	<hr/>
Total	$100\frac{15}{16}$ D. F.

The triglyph is crowned by a simple fascia 0.112 m. high and 0.0045 m. in projection, with no trace of a crowning moulding; the height is two fifteenths of the triglyph height. The triangular glyphs and the intervals between them were pro-

⁶³ Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 29, fig. 17.

portioned geometrically according to the ratio $\sqrt{2}:1$, so that the width of the triglyph was divided as $3(\sqrt{2}+1)$, in order that the half glyph on the corner triglyph, chamfered at 45 degrees, might have the same actual width as the interval between the glyphs, and yet would seem from the front to be an ordinary half glyph.⁶⁴ The resulting widths of 0.0765 m. and 0.1082 m. so closely coincided with recognized divisions of the Doric foot that they were possibly readjusted to give $1\frac{1}{8}$ Doric foot (0.076 m.) and $\frac{1}{3}$ Doric foot (0.109 m.). The glyphs are 0.056 m. deep, perhaps intended as $\frac{1}{6}$ Doric foot (0.0545 m.), and so are cut back exactly at 45 degrees. Each glyph rises to a horizontal top with rounded corners barely below the fascia; the rear groove, however, rises 0.035 m. above the bottom of the fascia to form the characteristic undercut vault. The end half glyph, however, rises only 0.015 m. above the bottom of the fascia. The corner glyphs show traces of the characteristic corner pendants, though these are invariably broken away. The metope receded 0.070 m. behind the triglyph face, and was crowned by a simple fascia 0.082 m. high and 0.016 m. in projection, as we see from traces on the side of one of the triglyph fragments (A 747). No actual portion of a metope has been identified.

The extant corner triglyph (A 64) was a separate block, independent of the metopes, with measurements of 0.586 m. and 0.636 m. from finished fascia to the rear joints which meet at right angles. A fragment of an intermediate triglyph (A 747) has a rough back only 0.19 m. behind the face, evidently forming a mere revetment. Both on the corner triglyph and on the small intermediate fragment appear metope grooves, about 0.03 m. deep, and, in the case of the corner triglyph, 0.09-0.10 m. wide.⁶⁵ These metopes were separate thin slabs, dropped in between the triglyphs from above, and so evidently were designed to contain sculpture in relief. No fragments of sculpture appropriate for such metopes have been identified.

The corner triglyph (A 64) bears on its top the mason's letters ΛO , which are equivalent to 1:15. The smaller piece (A 747) bears the single letter $\Theta = 8$, and may, of course, have had a second letter on the missing portion. In any case, each was sufficiently designated by two letters; apparently the course was regarded as of such distinctive form as to require no third letter. We may assume, therefore, that one letter fixed the direction or face of the building, the other the serial number from left to right. As in the platform, $\Lambda(\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\eta)$ probably marks the east façade, but the problem of locating $O = 15$ at a corner is more difficult. With a peripteral temple of six by thirteen columns there were five by twelve intervals, the thirty-four intervals surmounted by sixty-eight metopes separated by sixty-eight triglyphs. If the triglyphs

⁶⁴ I. e., 0.554 divided by $3(\sqrt{2}+1)$ or by 7.2426, giving 0.0765 m., and so 3×0.0765 m. for the three intervals, and 3×0.1082 m. for the three glyphs.

⁶⁵ The backs of the grooves (on A 64) are 0.16 m. and 0.17 m. behind the faces of the triglyphs; since the metope faces were 0.070 m. behind those of the triglyphs (on A 747), the width of the grooves must have been 0.09 m. and 0.10 m. respectively.

were all numbered from one corner, the corner triglyphs would be numbered either 1, 11, 35, and 45, or 1, 25, 35, and 59. In no case would number 15 fall at a corner. In view of the fact that some of the metopes, at any rate, were sculptured, and keeping in mind the propensity of the temples of this group ("Theseum," Sunium, Rhamnus) to isolate and emphasize the façade pteroma, two column spacings deep, with decorative sculpture, we may here follow the analogy of the "Theseum." Assuming that A indicated not merely the east façade but the east pteroma system, we begin numbering from left to right, not from the southeast corner triglyph, but from the fifth triglyph from the southeast corner on the south flank. With this system, the southeast corner triglyph would be AE, and the northeast corner triglyph AO (i. e., the extant block A 64). The small fragment might then be [A]Θ, the fourth triglyph from the left on the east façade.

The mean height of the cornice, of which the reconstructed splinters yield heights of approximately 0.365 m. on the fronts and 0.305 m. on the flanks, seems to have been 0.335 m. With the fragments of the flank return (A 602 and 238a) adjusted to the angle block (A 238 + 239a)⁶⁶ we obtain the projection of the cornice beyond the triglyph, for the vertical bed fascia must have been exactly flush with the plane of the triglyph; the mutule projects 0.425 m. from this fascia, and the face of the cornice 0.039 m. more, or 0.464 m. in all. The crowning moulding, as preserved on still another fragment (A 238a), was a small Doric hawksbeak projecting only 0.017 m.,⁶⁷ and so making the total projection 0.481 m. ($1\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{4}$ Doric feet). With this projection added to the dimensions of the frieze rectangle, those of the cornice rectangle become 15.048×33.878 m., or $46\frac{1}{8} \times 103\frac{7}{8}$ Doric feet.

The mutules were $1\frac{1}{16}$ Doric feet wide, like the triglyphs. Consequently the viae, half of the difference between the triglyph and metope widths, were normally $\frac{3}{8}$ Doric foot or $\frac{1}{2}(0.791 - 0.554) = 0.1185$ m. in width. None of these happens to be preserved. The two viae above each endmost metope were both enlarged by 1 dactyl, giving 0.139 m. (A 238). The mutules are 0.058/0.060 m. high, and slope at the rate of 1:4, or $14^{\circ} 2'$ from the horizontal. The guttae are 0.019 m. high, and present the same concave flaring profile that we observed on the epistyle, but to an even more marked degree; the diameter at the top is 0.042 m., diminishing slightly to 0.041 m., and then enlarging to 0.046 m. Most unusual is the manner in which the nose of the mutule descends 0.018 m. below the cornice bed, and the lower edges of the guttae as much farther. As if to compensate for this, the fascia above the mutule, forming the back of the "scotia," is unusually high (0.068 m.) and unduly exposed; for, though the scotia is fairly deep (0.035 m.) in proportion to its projection,⁶⁸ yet the drip moulding is very high (0.033 m.) above the top of the mutule,

⁶⁶ See pp. 18-19.

⁶⁷ A 238a = H 441 (profile published by Miss Shoe, *Greek Mouldings*, p. 108, pl. LIII, 23).

⁶⁸ Profile published by Miss Shoe, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXIII, 16.

so as to leave much of the back of the scotia visible in direct elevation. Another curious feature of this cornice is the miniature size of the crowning hawksbeak, only 0.023 m. high and 0.017 m. in projection.

The rear fascia under the mutules retains clear traces of red paint; red paint is preserved also on the viae. Blue occurs on some of the mutule fragments. On the bottom of each gutta, 0.0045 m. from the circumference, is an engraved circle 0.037 m. in diameter, for the demarcation of color, such as we find in the Parthenon and Propylaea. The back of the "scotia" above the mutules is slightly roughened with the toothed chisel for the reception of paint, in this case red.

The cornice blocks were evidently in lengths containing two mutules and two viae, that is, 1.345 m. or half of the axial spacing. Just how the transition was effected toward the middle of each face of the temple remains unknown. The bed of the cornice is smoothed for a margin of 0.06 m. back from the rear fascia, and beyond this point is roughened with the toothed chisel. In one case (A 238) a gutta is separately cut with a rectangular marble tenon, 0.014×0.028 m. in plan, which is cemented—somewhat diagonally—into a hole 0.018×0.029 m. The top of the façade cornice, with the beveled surface on the corner blocks to fit the bed of the raking cornice, has been described. The top of the flank cornice, instead of being horizontal, inclines upward slightly toward the back as in the Parthenon; but in the corner block it ascended in accordance with the roof slope for a distance of about 0.245 m., and then dropped about 0.056 m. to the inclined bed. Whether the latter was intended for a special course provided with rafter sockets, as at Bassae and in the "Theseum," or merely supported the ends of the rafters directly, remains unknown. Mason's letters ΑΓ appear on the top of a fragment (A 238a) of the great corner block; since this block came from the right corner of a façade (Fig. 9), we might assume that it was the southwest corner block, Α indicating the first block (numbered right to left) and Γ the west façade.

The total width of the temple, measured on the horizontal cornice of the façade, being 15.048 m., or $46\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet, it may be estimated that the height of the pediment was about 1.79 m. to the apex of the raking cornice.⁶⁹ No fragment of the raking cornice has been preserved; but its height, if 0.215 m. as at Sunium (0.198 m. in the "Theseum"), normal to the slope, as Fig. 9 would seem to indicate, would limit the height of the tympanum to about $1.79 - 0.221 = 1.57$ m. From this we must also subtract the amount by which the pediment façade cornice rises above the flank cornice, 0.060 m., leaving 1.51 m. for the clear height of the tympanum.

The raised step on the façade cornice, strengthening it to the extent of 0.060 m., undoubtedly means that pedimental sculptures were planned. Whether they were

⁶⁹ Since the pedimental slopes in the Periclean Attic Doric temples vary between $1:4\frac{1}{3}$ and $1:4\frac{1}{12}$, it would seem that the height of the pediment, measured to the apex of the cornice, was between 1.736 m. and 1.843 m. I here adopt the mean, 1.79 m.

actually executed is another question. And, if they were executed, Roman rapacity would undoubtedly have diverted them to Rome instead of permitting them to be replaced in the reconstructed temple. This raises the interesting comparison with the Niobid group at Copenhagen and Rome, which I have assigned to the temple at Bassae.⁷⁰ It happens that the width of the façade cornice in the temple of Ares, 15.048 m., is almost identical with that at Bassae, 15.031 m. The conditions for the exposure of the statues, however, are very different. The steeper pedimental slope at Bassae, in spite of the insertion of a special marble plinth, left a clear central

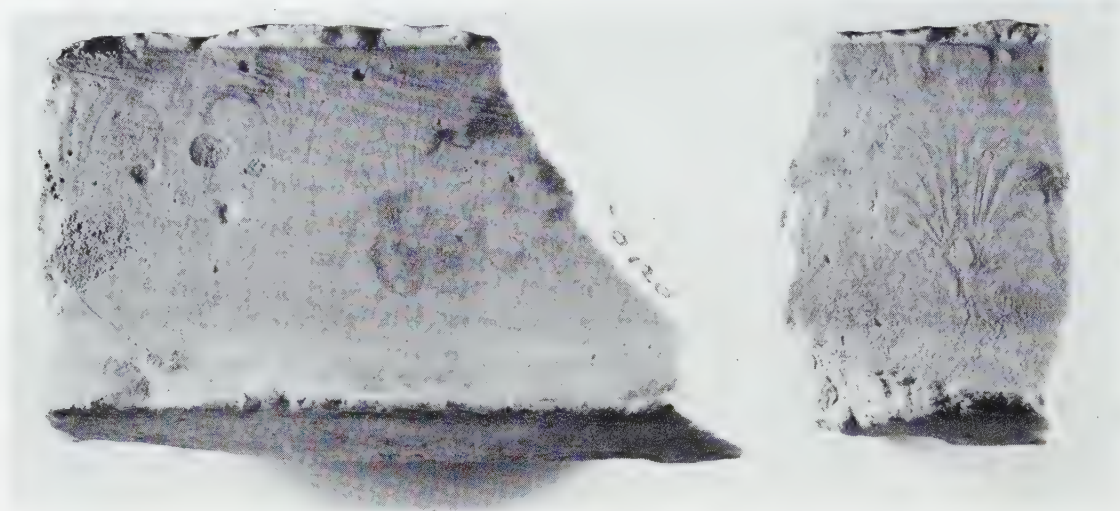


Fig. 11. Raking Simas of Left (Inv. No. A 439) and Right (Inv. No. A 394) Slopes

height of 1.756 m., suitable for figures with an erect stature of 1.60 m. such as those of the Rome-Copenhagen Niobids. The pediment statues required for a tympanum 1.51 m. high, in the temple of Ares, should have an erect stature of only 1.29-1.37 m., or, even with the steepest available slope of $1:4\frac{1}{2}$, giving a tympanum height of 1.56 m., the erect stature of the figures should not have been greater than 1.34-1.42 m.,⁷¹ considerably less than in the Rome-Copenhagen Niobid group.

Several marble simas of the temple of Ares have been discovered. Two of these are raking simas, one (Inv. No. A 439) from a left slope, the other (Inv. No. A 394) from a right slope (Fig. 11).⁷² Neither retains its complete length, A 439 having its left joint with a length of 0.45 m., and A 394 likewise its left joint but a length of only 0.18 m. The sima is 0.224 m. high, with a little astragal of 0.01 m. at the top (Fig. 12); below this appears the cyma reversa profile (which developed out of the old

⁷⁰ *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 27-47.

⁷¹ The erect stature is figured as 86-91% of the central clear height of the tympanum (*loc. cit.*, p. 32).

⁷² A 394 = E 424 (profile published by Miss Shoe, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXVI, 2).



Fig. 12. Restoration of Raking and Flank Sima (P. de Jong)

Corinthian terracotta tiles), occurring also in the "Theseum" and at Sunium.⁷³ The face is painted with a lotus and palmette ornament, limited by two horizontal engraved lines 0.0385 m. and 0.042 m. above the bottom. The axes of the ornament are spaced at intervals of 0.07/0.073 m., giving double repeats of 0.14/0.146 m.; but they do not seem to have coincided exactly with the tile joints.⁷⁴ The palmettes had thirteen petals, the central one lancet shaped, with six S-shaped petals on either side with rounded ends, with two volutes below.

On the bottom of one of the raking simas (A 439) are clear traces of weathering for a distance of 0.02 m. from the edge; on the other (A 394) the weathering is more irregular, penetrating to 0.025 m., probably because of leakage. The latter, furthermore, from the right slope, has also a cutting 0.01 m. wide for the end of a metal dowel centered 0.110 m. from the front edge and beginning 0.18 m. from the rebate at the left or upper joint; and, since the overlap was probably about 0.05 m. (as suggested by an analogous fragment from the "Theseum," A 1097), it seems clear that we are dealing with a dowel which lay parallel to the face of the raking cornice, centered about 0.09 m. behind the cornice nosing and located about 0.23-0.29 m. below the visible upper joint. This position of the dowel is important in that it constitutes our only definite evidence that the fragment A 394, in any case, is not to be assigned to the "Theseum" in spite of the identical profile. For, in the "Theseum," the raking simas were fastened by dowels parallel to the face of the raking cornice, but centered 0.55/0.585 m. from the cornice nosing and located exactly at the upper joint, and also by dowels perpendicular to the face of the raking cornice, located 0.09-0.14 m. or 0.10-0.15 m. behind the cornice nosing and centered about 0.16 m. below the upper joint.⁷⁵ Only at the apex joint of each pediment of the "Theseum" are the front dowels parallel to the face, and these occur 0.14/0.15 m. behind the cornice nosing on the right-hand slope of each pediment. Since A 394 is not an apex sima (as shown by the non-vertical upper joint) and has a dowel which is improperly located for the

⁷³ The identity of the "Theseum" sima, of which the profile coincides with that of the temple of Ares, will be discussed in a later report concerning the Hephaisteion; see also below.

⁷⁴ In A 439 a palmette is centered 0.229 m. from the left joint, a lotus 0.159 m. from the joint; consequently a lotus axis must have been 0.019 m. from the joint (not preserved). In A 394 a palmette axis is about 0.11 m. from the rebate behind the left joint, and, with the spacing 0.146 m., the next palmette would have been 0.036 m. outside the rebate (now broken off); it seems improbable that this would have coincided with the joint, thus allowing only 0.036 m. for the depth of the rebate.

⁷⁵ In the "Theseum" the raking sima joints (in accordance with normal practice and also as demonstrated by the pry holes) coincided with the upper ends of the dowel holes, showing that the joints of the raking simas were 0.65 m. apart (one of the four topmost being of the exceptional length 0.72 m.), so that the fifth joint lay 2.67 m. from the apex, the eleventh 6.57 m. from the apex. The dowels perpendicular to the face are centered 0.835/0.845 m., 1.495 m., 2.17 m., 2.835 m., 3.49/3.495 m., 4.135/4.145 m., 4.75/4.80 m., 5.41/5.44 m., 6.08/6.095 m. from the apex, and so 0.115/0.205 m. (averaging 0.161 m.) from the upper joint of each tile.

apex dowel of the "Theseum," and is also at right angles to the front dowels at all the other raking sima joints of the "Theseum," it is obvious that A 394 cannot be placed anywhere on the "Theseum" and so must be assigned to the twin temple in the Agora below.

One portion of the flank sima (Inv. No. A 700) retains its full height of 0.225 m., with a similar cyma reversa profile and a central lion head spout. The presence of the lion head, and the fact that the lower fascia forms an acute rather than right angle

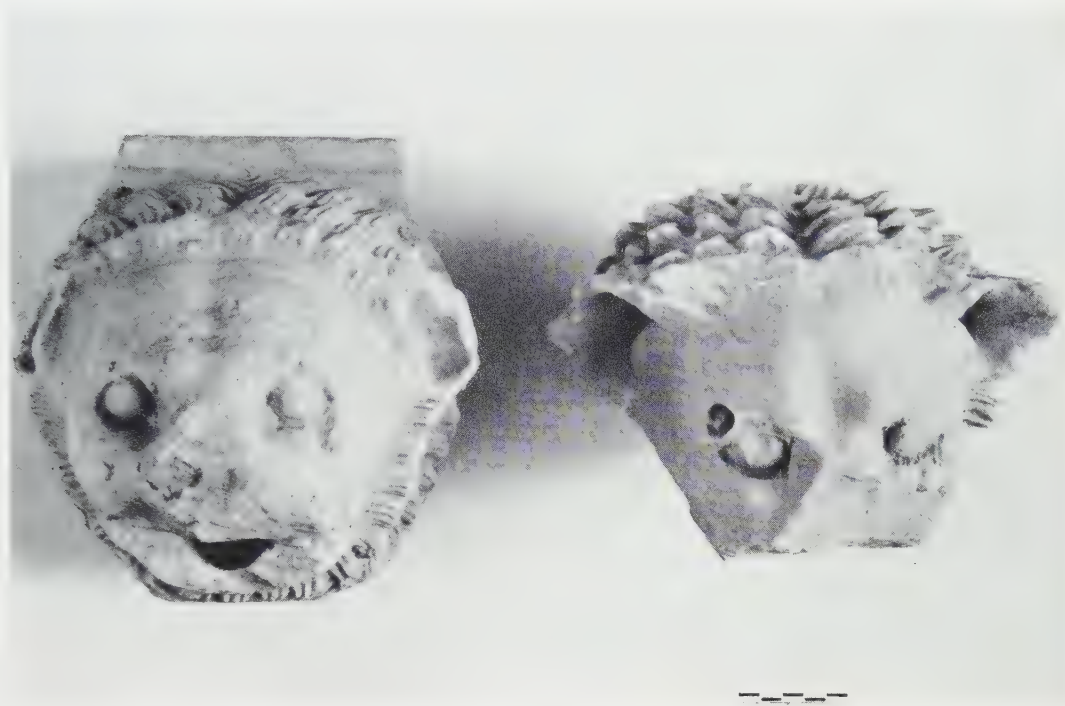


Fig. 13. Lion Head Spouts (Inv. Nos. A 700 and A 272)

with the surviving bit of lower bed—implying that the bed inclined (Fig. 12)—indicate that we are concerned with the flank. The profile is identical with that of another fragment (Inv. No. A 1094) which is clearly to be assigned to a flank of the "Theseum."⁷⁶ Unfortunately our piece A 700 is so small that no technical evidence survives (like that in the case of A 394) to prove that it must be excluded from the "Theseum"; nor is the place of discovery, in a Byzantine cistern 130 m. southwest of the temple of Ares and 125 m. southeast of the "Theseum," in any way conclusive. Equally inconclusive are the facts about another fragment of lion head (Inv. No. A 272) with more spiky locks, found only 25 m. north of the northwest corner of the temple of Ares but in modern fill. Both are of the same size and period (Fig. 13);

⁷⁶ See a later article concerning the Hephaisteion.

both may be assigned to the same building (either temple of Ares or "Theseum"), assuming it to have had spouts of alternating designs, or they may be divided between the two temples. In Fig. 12 it is assumed that A 700 belongs to the temple of Ares. In any case, the length of the tiles and the spacing of the lion heads in the temple of Ares cannot be ascertained from these pieces. But, since a quarter of the column spacing ($8\frac{1}{4}$ Doric feet), or half of the mutule spacing ($4\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet), coincided very closely with the normal tile standard of 2 Doric feet, we may conclude that the tiles were $2\frac{1}{16}$ Doric feet (0.6725 m.) wide, and that the eaves tiles were of double length so that the lion heads were spaced $4\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet (1.345 m.) on centres, coming above alternate mutules.

Another important piece is the lower right corner of a façade sima (Inv. No. A 701) with the return on the flank, a portion of a lion head spout (too insignificant

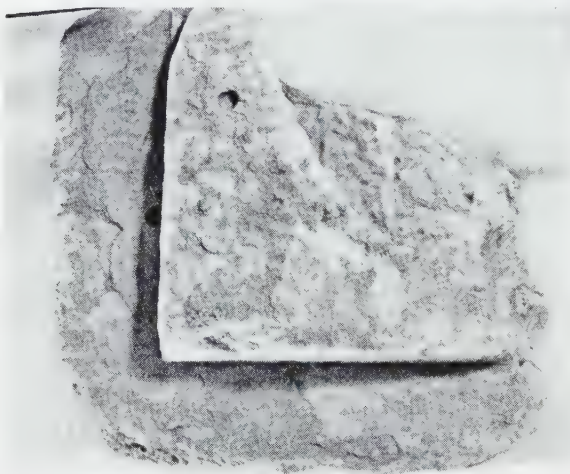


Fig. 14. Top of Corner Sima with Acroterion Base (Inv. No. A 701)

to assist in identifying the lion heads), and an acroterion base (Figs. 9, 14). Here again we are confronted by the problem of the identity of the profiles and hence of the attribution to the "Theseum" or the temple of Ares. It so happens, however, that in the "Theseum" a large dowel hole, 0.05 m. square and 0.065 m. deep, exists at each corner of the temple, only 0.11/0.145 m. from the front cornice nosing, 0.115/0.135 m. from the flank cornice nosing, in each case with a pour channel leading down from the joint next above. The upper half of such a dowel hole must have existed on the bottom of each corner sima block of the "Theseum"; and, if

A 701 were to be attributed to that structure, we should expect to find such a hole, or rather its upper counterpart, on the bottom. On A 701, to be sure, only a small portion of the actual bottom survives, extending 0.05-0.10 m. from the front edge, 0.05-0.09 m. from the edge of the right flank; yet the manner in which the fractured surface tapers off, and the fact that a break at this point would almost inevitably have passed through such a deep dowel hole rather than two or three centimetres away, makes it fairly clear that no such upper half of a dowel hole ever existed on A 701. In other words, A 701 was fastened in some other manner or in some other position than in the case of any of the four corner acroterion bases of the "Theseum," and so may definitely be assigned to the temple of Ares. The axis of the lion head seems to have been about 0.205 m. from the lower edge of the corner of the sima. If the

latter overhung the cornice moulding by 0.02 m., as the weathering on the raking sima (A 439) would suggest, the axis of the lion head would have been 0.185 m. from the corner of the cornice, and so about 0.296 m. ($2\frac{9}{32}$ Doric foot) outside the face of the entablature, 0.573 m. ($1\frac{3}{4}$ Doric feet) from the centre of the first mutule.⁷⁷ Apparently, therefore, the next lion head was located above the second mutule, that is, above the endmost metope; and, in the total length of each flank of the temple, there would have been twenty-four lion heads above the metopes and these two extra heads on the overhanging corners of the cornice. The total length of the flank entablature (below the cornice) being $100\frac{1}{16}$ Doric feet, we add $2\frac{9}{32}$ Doric foot at each end for the distance to the last lion head, giving $102\frac{3}{4}$ Doric feet. From this we subtract twenty-three normal spacings of lion heads at $4\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet, leaving $7\frac{7}{8}$ Doric feet, or rather $3\frac{1}{16}$ Doric feet at either end.⁷⁸ It is evident that the endmost spacing was slightly contracted, in sympathy with the colonnade, by $\frac{3}{16}$ Doric foot.

If the question of the execution of the pedimental sculptures remains uncertain, there can be no doubt with regard to the acroteria. The corner sima fragment (A 701) retains also a portion of the acroterion base from the lower right corner of a pediment. The original dimensions cannot be ascertained; the two faces are located 0.07 m. inside the upper edge of the sima (excluding the astragal projection) and extend 0.225 m. in both directions, there being broken off. The top surface is entirely lost, the lower edge of the base now rising only 0.06 m. above the top of the sima. On this broken surface, however, remains the bottom of a deep elliptical socket, coming within 0.06 m. of the edge of the acroterion base on the front, within 0.067 m. on the flank. Approximately a quarter of the curve of the ellipse seems to remain; we may estimate that its total length was originally twice 0.16 m., its width (the longitudinal axis of the ellipse being more definitely marked by a deeper oblong socket 0.055 m. wide) twice 0.107 m. Thus we obtain an elliptical plinth, about 0.32×0.215 m., strengthened by an oblong tenon, about 0.295×0.055 m., running parallel to the façade. The main cavity is about 0.07 m. below the highest part of the base; the oblong cutting descends 0.02 m. lower. The interpretation is complicated by two drilled holes, 0.014 m. in diameter, one in the top of the base, the other outside the area of the acroterion base, on the top of the façade sima. These cuttings, and particularly the drilled holes, recall the acroteria of the temple of Athena Nike, in which all these traits reappear.⁷⁹ Perhaps these also were figures of Nike, appropriate for a temple of Ares, and possibly in precious metal.

The wall blocks are so fragmentary that exact dimensions are difficult to obtain. An orthostate (Inv. No. A 704), of which the top is broken away so that the maxi-

⁷⁷ I. e., half of mutule 0.277 m. + projection of cornice 0.481 m., total 0.758 m., from which we subtract 0.185 m., obtaining 0.573 m.

⁷⁸ I. e., $102\frac{3}{4} - (23 \times 4\frac{1}{8}) = 7\frac{7}{8}$ Doric feet.

⁷⁹ Stevens, *A.J.A.*, XII, 1908, p. 402; Orlandos, *Ath. Mitt.*, XL, 1915, p. 43, fig. 10.

num height is now only 0.78 m., retains its complete length 1.103 m. ($3\frac{3}{8}$ D. F.). Since the dimension is a reasonable one for the lengths of wall blocks,⁸⁰ we may assume that this was the unit employed, even though it involves the assumption that the orthostates were of the same length as the wall blocks (as at Bassae), rather than of double length as in most of the Attic marble temples. This length seems to be confirmed by a fragment of a wall block (Inv. No. A 263) wherein a dowel hole extends within 0.475 m. of a joint, the pry hole and consequently the joint above having been at the missing other end of the dowel; assuming that this dowel hole was about 0.075 m. long, the joint above would have been about 0.55 m. from that



Fig. 15. Mason's Letters of Augustan Date on Wall Blocks

below, implying a block length of about 1.10 m. The thickness of the orthostate, measured to the rough back, is 0.295 m., implying that the total wall thickness was somewhat over 0.60 m. Another calculation of the thickness is obtained from a fragment of wall block (Inv. No. A 238d) retaining the T-clamp cutting at one end of the top, 0.335 m. from the face; allowing 0.015 m. for the width of the clamp cutting, and an equal distance to the opposite face, we should obtain a total thickness of about 0.685 m., suggesting a wall thickness of about $2\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet (0.693 m.). No blocks retain their complete height; but, in view of the shorter length, we should expect that the height would be less than the average height of 0.507 m. employed in the "Theseum," or even less than the typical Athenian height 0.49 m. ($1\frac{1}{2}$ Doric feet), perhaps no more than 0.385 m. as at Bassae and Tegea.

The wall blocks generally have two mason's letters deeply engraved on the top (Fig. 15), **AE**, **AΘ** (Inv. No. A 238b), or **AP** (two examples, Inv. Nos. A 238c, 238d).

⁸⁰ In the "Theseum" the unit is 1.246 m.

Others again now retain single letters only, **A** (Inv. No. I 690), Δ (Inv. No. A 699), **E** (two examples, Inv. Nos. A 238, I 315), Θ (two examples, Inv. Nos. A 263, I 2517), or Λ (Inv. No. A 238e); these may in each case have had a second letter, now broken away. At any rate, four blocks out of eleven certainly belong to an **A** classification; the second letter runs at least as high as **P** = 17; and there are some duplicates (two **AP**'s). Consequently it would seem that one long wall was marked **A**, and that the courses were numbered **A** to **P** from top to bottom, and that the individual blocks within each course all received the same designation, the interchange of wall blocks within a single course being regarded as immaterial. The heights of the wall courses are unknown; but, even if **A** were the epikranitis and **P** the orthostate course, there must have been at least fifteen intervening plinth courses. With three courses (**B**- Δ) aligning with the internal epistyle and frieze, there would remain at least twelve courses (**E**- Π) to fill the height from top of anta capital to top of orthostates. Assuming that the peristyle column height was 6.277 m., subtracting about 0.10 m. for the toichobate, and allowing twice the plinth height for the orthostates, fourteen (12 + 2) courses would average 0.4485 m., and fifteen (13 + 2) would average 0.4185 m. Either of these would be possible; or we might even restore a pseudo-isodomic system like that at Sunium, with courses alternately 0.299 m. and 0.598 m., or 0.285 m. and 0.571 m.

The orthostate course (A 704) has a relieving margin 0.018 m. wide at the lower edge, where it rested on the projecting toichobate. The single extant block has a dowel at the left end of the bottom, 0.12 m. from the wall face. The beds of the wall blocks have smooth bands 0.065 m. wide along the edges, the inner portions being roughened with the toothed chisel. Dowels on the wall blocks (A 263) are 0.165 m. from the face, there having been two at each joint.

Two fragments of anta capitals (Inv. Nos. A 601, 702) yield some information with regard to the terminations of the walls. The total height of the capital is only 0.182 m., consisting of a fascia 0.049 m. high, a hawksbeak, and an abacus 0.080 m. high, including its crowning ovolo. The fascia has a slight forward inclination; the abacus face seems to be vertical. The face of the abacus overhangs the pilaster face by 0.069 m.; the crowning ovolo adds 0.016 m. to the projection. One of the pieces (A 601) has a vertical joint cutting through the abacus mouldings, which are preserved to a distance of 0.225 m. from the joint and are there broken off. The preserved distance exceeds any reasonable allowance for either offset of the anta, and suggests that each anta capital consisted of two or more blocks with intermediate joints, in conformity with the small units employed for the wall blocks. Possibly this multiplicity of joints may be regarded as an argument in favor of the pseudo-isodomic jointing system.

Two long pieces of marble ceiling beams lie near the "Valerian Wall" south of the Stoa of Attalos. Their soffit width is 0.543/0.561 m., averaging 0.552 m., and

the height, including the crowning ovolo, 0.273/0.277 m. Above the top protrudes a stiffening flange, 0.22 m. high and 0.44 m. wide. One of the pieces (Inv. No. A 388) retains a maximum length of 2.50 m., with neither end preserved.⁸¹ The other is now 1.885 m. long, and retains one end, terminating 0.405 m. beyond the mitred joint of the crowning ovolo. On each side of this butt end is a vertical slot like a dowel hole, 0.17-0.23 m. above the soffit, and 0.05 m. deep; on one side it is 0.165-0.18 m., on the other side 0.20-0.215 m., from the mitred moulding. Several pieces of interbeam blocks of the same height were discovered in the "Valerian Wall" in 1939; none is of complete length, and there seem to be no pieces that join in such a way as to determine the intervals between the beams. The thickness of the interbeam blocks is 0.095-0.18 m., with rough backs and without the raised flanges. Two fragments, however, measure 0.235 m. from face to back and have a flange rising 0.13 m. above the moulding; these were evidently from one or two wall beams running parallel to the main beams and at right angles to the interbeam blocks. The most peculiar feature of these wall beam fragments is that the backs are neither roughly tooled like concealed surfaces elsewhere in the temple, nor are they—as would seem to be the case at first glance—smoothly finished; they form wavy surfaces with, at one point, a jump in plane, betraying the use of the stone saw. Since this implement was never employed on marble in the Periclean age, we may infer that these backs were recut (possibly splitting a normal beam in halves lengthwise) during the Roman reconstruction. On the fragment preserving the full height of the flange, furthermore, the top is cut to fit under the sloping roof, clear evidence that they were employed, not in the porches, but in the front peristyles where alone the wall beams could have fitted snugly under the rafters. This is exactly what we might have assumed from the dimensions: for the width and height of the beams are identical with those employed in the front peristyles of the "Theseum." The fact that they cannot be employed in the "Theseum" is good evidence for assigning them to the twin temple in the Agora; and this is confirmed by the presence of mason's letters (as H on the beam retaining its end, N on one of the interbeam blocks) and by the Roman recutting of the wall beams.⁸²

Of the crowning ovolo, 0.048/0.052 m. high, several fragments have accumulated. The lower edge projects 0.007 m., the nosing 0.045 m., from the side of the beam. The ovolo is painted with eggs-and-darts spaced 0.056 m. on centres in some cases, 0.077 m. in others. The upper edge is protected by a relieving margin 0.002 m. high.

⁸¹ Miss Shoe erroneously reports the length 2.50 m. as complete (*Greek Mouldings*, p. 45).

⁸² Another beam (A 705), found in a late mediaeval foundation only 10 m. south of the middle of the south flank of the temple, would seem from the place of discovery to be a likely candidate for attribution to this structure. But it belongs to a series of beams 0.334 m. high (including the crowning moulding of 0.059 m.), and thus exceeds the height of the above-mentioned peristyle beams which ought to have been the largest in the temple. The profile of the crowning ovolo, projecting only 0.030 m., and its workmanship, are likewise adverse to such an attribution. It seems to come from some unknown larger building of later date.

A vast number of marble coffer fragments exist, many of them taken in 1933, and others again in 1939, from loose fill in the "Valerian Wall."⁸³ The concave vault of the coffer seems to have been 0.195 m. square, surrounded by a flat margin 0.009 m. wide. Outside this is an ovolo moulding projecting 0.015 m., with a flat band 0.0095 m. wide at the bottom; hence the entire square of the coffer measures 0.262 m., a dimension preserved on two pieces. The intervals between the coffers vary only from 0.194 m. to 0.196 m., averaging 0.195 m. The intervening space is decorated with two sunken astragals, 0.0165 m. wide⁸⁴ and 0.035 m. apart,⁸⁵ each surrounding a coffer at a distance of 0.0635 m.⁸⁶ Thus the coffers are spaced $0.262 + 0.195 = 0.457$ m. on centres, as may indeed be measured on one piece. The nosing of the ovolo moulding on the beams was at least 0.018 m. outside of the sunken astragals, as indicated by traces of the colored border. Hence, if there were two coffers in each interval between the beams, the distances between the ovolo nosings would be at least 0.915 m.⁸⁷ Since the beam soffits averaged 0.552 m. in width, with the ovolo mouldings projecting 0.045 m., it is apparent that the spacing of the beams would have been at least 1.557 m., obviously with no relation to the column spacing. When we observe that, with the width of the temple measured on the epistyle calculated as 14.086 m., and the epistyle soffit as 1.039 m., the clear width between the flank epistyles was 12.008 m., it becomes evident that there were eight ceiling panels with seven intervening beams exactly as in the "Theseum." Since, however, the form of the wall beams proves that they did not overhang as in the "Theseum," but were practically flush with the inner face of the epistyle, we may conclude that the interval between the beams was 1.018 m.,⁸⁸ and that the spacing of the beams was 1.570 m.

The coffer depth is 0.060 m. to the bottom of the ovolo,⁸⁹ 0.0755 m. to the top of the ovolo,⁹⁰ 0.081 m. to the deepest concavity of the vault.⁹¹ The vault is painted with a central circle 0.027 m. in diameter, formed by a red line 0.002 m. wide, leaving the central area 0.023 m. in diameter without color. This is surrounded by a sixteen rayed star, the eight rays on the diameters and diagonals being larger, the intervening rays smaller; the background is brilliant blue, and the rays were probably gold. The rays have semicircular butt ends, the larger ones 0.020 m., the smaller ones 0.028 m., from the centre point of the circle. A red stripe 0.008 m. wide covers 0.004 m. of the edge of the vault, and 0.004 m. of the flat band (0.009 m. wide) inside the ovolo; the

⁸³ Some of these inventoried as A 387, but most are so small that they were stored in drawers. Profile of ovolo published by Miss Shoe (*op. cit.*, pl. XXI, 10).

⁸⁴ The average of twelve examples, 0.015-0.017 m., is 0.0164 m.

⁸⁵ The average of six examples, 0.033-0.036 m., is 0.0352 m.

⁸⁶ The average of six examples, 0.062-0.0645 m., is 0.0632 m.

⁸⁷ I. e., $0.018 + 0.080 + 0.262 + 0.195 + 0.262 + 0.080 + 0.018 = 0.915$ m.

⁸⁸ I. e., $(7 \times 0.552) + (8 \times 1.018) = 12.008$ m.

⁸⁹ The average of six examples, 0.058 — 0.061 m., is 0.0598 m.

⁹⁰ Two examples measure 0.074 and 0.076 m.

⁹¹ This is taken from a single example.

remainder of this flat band formed a green stripe. The ovolo has painted eggs, spaced 0.0255 m. on centres (seven eggs occupying 0.178 m.); the outlines of eggs and darts are incised; the background between the eggs is blue, and the eggs themselves are likewise blue, with red darts, and gray shells which suggest that they once were gold. At the foot of the ovolo, the band 0.095 m. wide is painted with a red background on which is a small beaded astragal in gray (presumably formerly gold). The sunken astragals are similarly decorated with a larger painted bead and reel, spaced 0.037 m., elliptical beads 0.022 m. long separated by pairs of reels; these are now grayish and were probably in gold, and the background retains much of the original cobalt blue. On either side of each sunken astragal was a red stripe only 0.003 m. wide, and outside this a green stripe 0.006 m. wide. Outside this again, at the extreme edge of the ceiling panel but not between the coffers, was an unpainted border 0.013 m. wide; and outside this in turn is a broad band of red of indefinite width lying immediately above the relieving margin of the ceiling beam ovolo, and of which, according to our calculations, only 0.0065 m. would have been exposed to view from below.⁹²

The lateral joints of the coffer slabs are carefully located, as in most such cases, at one side of a sunken astragal; and since we find a joint on every extant piece that is sufficiently preserved to show it, we may conclude that all the blocks were two coffers in length to span the interval from beam to beam, and were only one coffer spacing in width, 0.461 m. The lateral joint, concealed in the sunken astragal, has an anathyrosis 0.045/0.05 m. wide along the lower edge. The bearing ends run 0.083 m., 0.109 m., and 0.125 m. beyond the sunken astragals in three examples, so that the lengths must have averaged 1.10 m.⁹³ The bearing bed at the ends of the blocks is worked with a toothed chisel, beginning at a point corresponding roughly to the back of the relieving margin on the ceiling beam. Some of the coffer slabs, being of sufficient thickness to accommodate the coffers 0.081 m. deep, have flat tops; I noted a thickness of 0.105 m. in one such instance, 0.087 m. in another; in some cases the height is so little greater that the thickness of marble at the vault is only 0.01 m. In other cases the slab is only 0.07 m. thick, quite inadequate for the vault, and so has to rise to a higher level by about 0.03 m. in passing over the vault. Some of the coffers have mason's letters on their tops, as BB.

A few fragments (I noted five in all, one of them a large piece) differ from the others in being of wretched quality, both in tooling and profiles, though they show the same dimensions, profiles, patterns, and colors. It seems evident that these are carelessly executed Roman replacements done at the time of the re-erection of the temple. This Roman workmanship of certain fragments, and also the Roman letters BB (placed one above the other) on the top of one of the original Greek coffers, form additional evidence for the attribution of this ceiling to the temple of Ares.

⁹² I. e., $\frac{1}{2}(1.018 - 0.090 - 0.915) = 0.0065$ m.

⁹³ I. e., $0.954 - (2 \times 0.0335) + (2 \times 0.106) = 1.099$ m.

With regard to the plan of the cella, little can be said in view of the solid construction of the foundation in Roman times, betraying no evidence of the locations of the walls. In the plan (Fig. 5) the walls are restored in agreement with those of the "Theseum."

We have, throughout this discussion, adopted the view of the excavators that the temple was that of Ares, an identification which agrees with the topographical description by Pausanias when considered together with the other identifications as revealed by the excavations.⁹⁴ It must here be observed that Dörpfeld has recently disputed this identification,⁹⁵ on the ground that Pausanias was not in this portion of the Agora when he described the temple of Ares, that the latter must be associated with the area named for Ares, the Areopagus,⁹⁶ and that the temple which we have described was probably never seen by Pausanias since it may have been ruined 250 years earlier and never rebuilt. With regard to the first of these objections, the general topography of the Agora is the best answer.⁹⁷ As for the objection that the temple is not in a location suitable for Ares, this is probably true; but we are so definitely concerned with a transported and reconstructed temple that its original position may well have been in some more appropriate locality.⁹⁸ Finally, the theory that Pausanias never saw this temple, for the reason that it was destroyed a quarter of a millennium before his time, is contradicted by the mason's letters and other indications that the temple was rebuilt at about the time of Augustus; and it probably survived for a century after the visit of Pausanias, being sacrificed only for the "Valerian Wall" in which so many of its fragments were immured. Thus the Pausanias argument is wholly favorable to the identification.⁹⁹

The internal evidence, so far as it goes, likewise favors the identification as the temple of Ares. We know from Pausanias (I, 8, 4) that the cult statue of Ares was the work of Alcámenes, whose career began in the lifetime of the master (before 432) but extended at least as late as 403 B.C. (the relief of Heracles at Thebes; Pausanias, IX, 11, 6), and whose cult statues of Athena and Hephaestus in the neighboring "Theseum" date from 421-415 (*I.G.*, I², 370/371). Since the erection of the temple would presumably have antedated the cult statue by only a few years, any period in

⁹⁴ It may be noted that Robert (*Pausanias als Schriftsteller*, pp. 312-313) thirty years ago had drawn the correct inference as to the location of the temple.

⁹⁵ Dörpfeld, *Alt-Athen und seine Agora* (II, 1938), pp. 140-142.

⁹⁶ This was formerly the prevalent view as to the location of the temple; cf. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen* (1874), p. 168; Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 75-77; Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, p. 91; Judeich, *Topographie*² (1931), p. 349, note 3. Earlier still, Cyriac of Ancona and Ross had identified the "Theseum" as the temple of Ares.

⁹⁷ See above, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁸ See below, p. 50.

⁹⁹ We need not, therefore, delay to consider Dörpfeld's alternative identification as a hypothetical temple of Zeus, never reconstructed because at the time of its destruction the erection of the other and greater temple of Zeus Olympius had already been resumed by Antiochus IV (and Augustus).

the last four or five decades of the fifth century would fit the evidence of the statue. Such is the date that fits the architectural character of the remains. I have noted Miss Shoe's estimate of the mouldings, made at a time when they were still unidentified and dispersed, as of the second half of the fifth century, with a trend toward its earlier portion. The hawksbeak moulding of the anta capital resembles very closely those of the Parthenon and Propylaea, which would agree with such a date.

The profile of the sima is of the older cyma reversa or so-called "Corinthian" type, as executed in the "Theseum" and temple at Sunium (Fig. 16), antedating the intrusion of the Ionic ovolo type into Doric structures such as the Parthenon, the Propylaea, the temple at Rhamnus, and the Argive Heraeum. We are not necessarily to infer from this that the sima of the temple of Ares is earlier than that of the

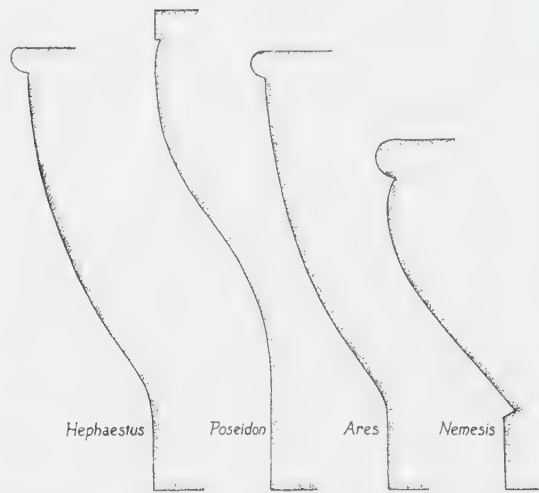


Fig. 16. Sima Profiles by the
"Theseum Architect"

Parthenon; it merely represents an earlier tendency which might have survived side by side with the work on the Parthenon. The palmettes decorating the sima are of a hybrid or transitional type, with their lancet central petals and S-curved lateral petals, but round-lobed and not yet of the flame type. All these features would be satisfactory for a date in the 'thirties. We are probably, however, to lay no particular stress on the fact that the bottom step of the temple was left with its protective surface on riser and tread, limited by finished margins at the bottom of the former and at the back of the latter. Such unfinished surfaces on steps are of too frequent occurrence to be significant; and the completion

of all the other members would be adverse to any suggestion that work was interrupted by the preliminaries of the Peloponnesian War in 432 B.C.

Somewhat more intangible are the dimensions and proportions. We have noted some dimensions (Fig. 17) which are identical with those in the "Theseum" and at Sunium, such as the (assumed) height of the epistyle ($2\frac{9}{16}$ Doric feet) and the (resulting) total mean height of the entablature ($6\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet). In these very members, however, we find diversities, the triglyph being $\frac{1}{2}$ dactyl lower, and the cornice reciprocally $\frac{1}{2}$ dactyl higher, in the "Theseum" and temple at Sunium; also the triglyph is proportionately narrower ($1\frac{7}{12}$ Doric feet) in these two temples, and wider ($1\frac{1}{16}$ Doric feet) in the temple of Ares; and the triglyph spacings differ in all three ($3\frac{3}{4}$ Doric feet in the "Theseum," $3\frac{41}{48}$ Doric feet at Sunium, $4\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet in the temple of Ares).

It would seem that the triglyph width was first proportioned for the "Theseum," where it forms exactly one fifth of the axial spacing ($\frac{1}{5} \times 7\frac{1}{2} = 1\frac{1}{2}$ Doric feet), with the usual proportion of 2:3 to the metope width, and was then copied exactly at Sunium, where it is $\frac{2}{3}$ dactyl wider than the "proper" proportion.¹⁰⁰ This wider proportion was repeated in the temple of Ares, where the dimension was likewise

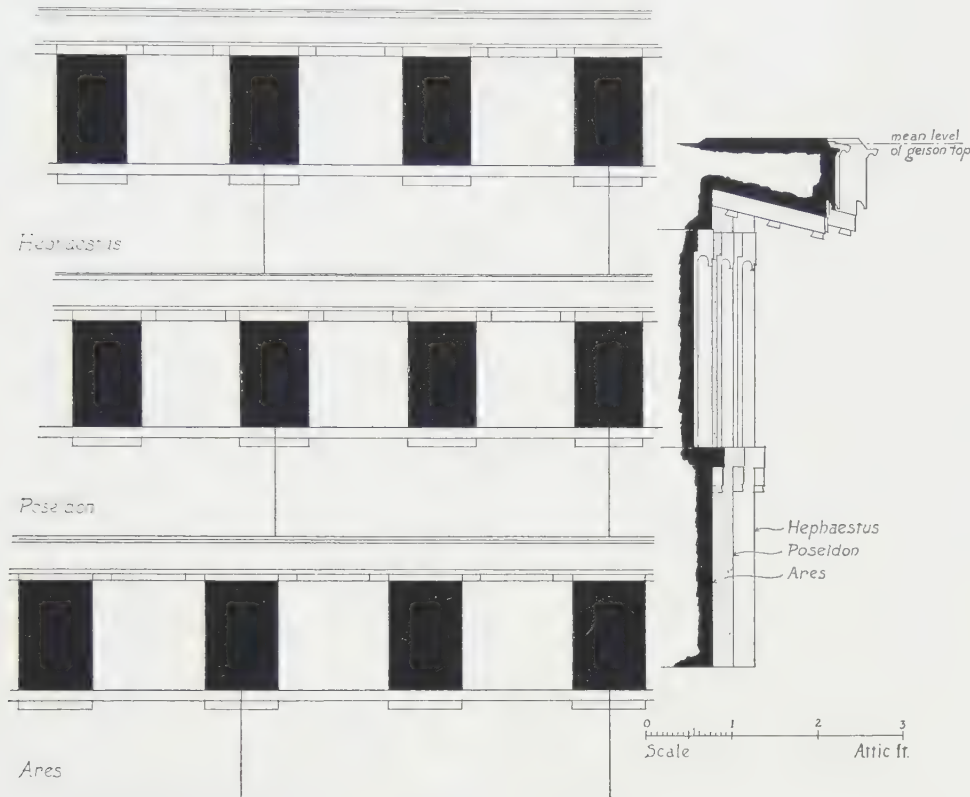


Fig. 17. Entablature Proportions by the "Theseum Architect"

increased, so that the triglyph is not only $1\frac{2}{3}$ dactyls wider than those of the "Theseum" and at Sunium, but is also $\frac{3}{8}$ dactyl wider than the "proper" (2:3) proportion.¹⁰¹ The natural query as to why the increase in width was not limited to $1\frac{1}{6}$ dactyls (giving $1\frac{21}{32}$ Doric foot, the nearest equivalent to one fifth of the axial spacing), instead of $1\frac{2}{3}$ dactyls, may perhaps be answered by the assumption that the "Theseum" triglyph width being copied at Sunium resulted in closer proportions, and these closer proportions in turn being copied in the temple of Ares resulted in a

¹⁰⁰ I. e., $1\frac{7}{12}$ D. F. being $\frac{1}{24}$ D. F. wider than $\frac{1}{5} \times 7\frac{1}{2} = 1\frac{13}{24}$ D. F.

¹⁰¹ I. e., $1\frac{11}{16}$ D. F. being $\frac{3}{80}$ D. F. wider than $\frac{1}{5} \times 8\frac{1}{4} = 1\frac{13}{20}$ D. F.

greater triglyph width. For, at Sunium, the ratio between triglyphs and metopes ($1\frac{7}{12}$ and $2\frac{13}{48}$ Doric feet) became 76:109, the nearest simple ratios being 9:13 and 7:10. Of these, the ratio 7:10 could not be adjusted to the triglyph spacing $4\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet in the temple of Ares, whereas the ratio 9:13 yielded commensurate quantities, $1\frac{1}{16}$ and $2\frac{7}{16}$ Doric feet.

It would seem, furthermore, that the height of the triglyph was likewise designed for the "Theseum," in accordance with the ratio 5:8 ($1:1\frac{3}{8}$), the height being executed to fit the Doric unit of measure as $\frac{1}{30}$ dactyl less than the result given by this ratio, and so as $2\frac{17}{32}$ Doric feet.¹⁰² This height was exactly copied together with the proportion at Sunium. But in the temple of Ares, with the increased width of $1\frac{1}{16}$ Doric feet, such a height if copied exactly would have yielded a ratio of exactly 2:3 ($1:1\frac{1}{2}$), apparently so desirable from the viewpoint of harmony that its intentional avoidance calls for comment. The reason for increasing the height arbitrarily by $\frac{1}{2}$ dactyl, to $2\frac{9}{16}$ Doric feet, thus destroying this simple ratio without securing any other, may be the result of deference to two later tendencies: increasing the triglyph height to equal that of the epistyle (exemplified in the Parthenon), and diminishing the cornice height (exemplified in a most marked degree in the Propylaea). In the temple of Ares the frieze was made higher by $\frac{1}{2}$ dactyl, and the cornice reciprocally lower by $\frac{1}{2}$ dactyl, so that the total mean height of the entablature remained $6\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet, exactly as in the "Theseum" and at Sunium.

This brings us to the remaining coincidence, the identical entablature height of $6\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet used throughout. This again was probably designed originally for the "Theseum," built up around the triglyph height of $2\frac{17}{32}$ Doric feet, the epistyle being made $\frac{1}{2}$ dactyl higher or $2\frac{9}{16}$ Doric feet, and the mean height of the cornice one fifth of the sum of these, or one sixth of the resulting total entablature, increased by $\frac{1}{8}$ dactyl to fit the Doric foot unit.¹⁰³ Since, at this early stage of the Periclean style, it seems to have been felt that the column height should be slightly less than three times the entablature height, the ratio of 7:20 was chosen, so that the entablature of $6\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet yielded a column of $17\frac{1}{2}$ Doric feet, which was also exactly $5\frac{3}{5}$ lower diameters.¹⁰⁴ Later, at Sunium, the ratio of exactly 1:3 (7:21) was chosen, so that the same entablature of $6\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet yielded a column of $18\frac{3}{8}$ Doric feet. And finally, in the temple of Ares, probably under the influence of Ictinus, who used slighter entablatures both at Bassae and in the Parthenon, the column height was made more than three times the entablature height, evidently in accordance with a similar increase of ratio to 7:22, so that the entablature of $6\frac{1}{8}$ Doric feet yielded a column of $19\frac{1}{4}$ Doric feet.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² I. e., $2\frac{17}{32}$ D. F. being $\frac{1}{480}$ D. F. lower than $1\frac{3}{5} \times 1\frac{7}{12} = 2\frac{8}{15}$ D. F.

¹⁰³ I. e., $1\frac{1}{32}$ D. F. being $\frac{1}{80}$ D. F. more than $\frac{1}{5}(2\frac{9}{16} + 2\frac{17}{32}) = 1\frac{3}{160}$ D. F.

¹⁰⁴ I. e., $5\frac{3}{5} \times 3\frac{1}{8} = 17\frac{1}{2}$ D. F.

¹⁰⁵ See p. 23.

With regard to the absolute dating, we are assisted by the fact that the temple of Ares exhibits such similarities to three other works that we are able to assign all four to a single nameless architect, the so-called "Theseum architect," as Beazley might name him because the "Theseum" was not the Theseum. Indeed, the similarity of the temple of Ares to the "Theseum" is so great that it is almost impossible to distinguish between their simas; and the dimensions of the peristyle ceiling beams likewise are almost identical in both. A comparison of these four works by the same man enables us to place them in their relative positions and so to determine the date of the temple of Ares. The two temples which seem to mark extremes in the career of this architect, the "Theseum" and the temple at Rhamnus, apparently date from 449 and 436 B.C. respectively.¹⁰⁶ Between them seems to lie the temple at Sunium, partaking of the characteristics of both. Also between them lies the Parthenon, a work by different architects (Ictinus and Callicrates), of which the architectural design was begun in 447 and finished in 438 B.C., with immediate consequences for the design of subsequent structures (such as the Propylaea begun in 437, and the temple at Rhamnus begun in 436). As a typical illustration of the difference, we may refer to the marble simas of these four temples (Fig. 16), of which three retain the older form, while that at Rhamnus is of the Parthenon type. Even the temple at Sunium embodies some of the features of the Parthenon (such as the two-stepped toichobate, and the carved moulding in the anta capital), and so may be placed shortly after 447 B.C. But our analysis of the relative dating has suggested that the temple of Ares is the third in the series "Theseum," temple at Sunium, temple of Ares, and also that it antedates the beginning of the temple at Rhamnus in 436 B.C. Considering it as a part of the activity of the so-called "Theseum architect," it would fall into its place approximately as follows:

- B.C. 449-444 Athens ("Theseum" = temple of Hephaestus)
- " " 444-440 Sunium (temple of Poseidon)
- " " 440-436 Athens (temple of Ares)
- " " 436-432 Rhamnus (temple of Nemesis)

Thus we are to imagine the temple of Ares, designed about 440 B.C., as surrounded by a peristyle with thirteen columns on the flanks and six on the fronts, with lion head spouts along the entire length of the flanks rather than merely at the corners as in the Parthenon, probably with pediment sculptures of an unknown subject, and with golden Nikes on the roof. And now must be mentioned a curious coincidence.

¹⁰⁶ See my article on "Archaeology and Astronomy" (*Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, LXXX, 1939, pp. 152, 163-165), in which I discuss the archaeological evidence as combined with the astronomical observations which yield the precise dates.

After this study of the temple had been completed, Bulle published a fragment of a calyx crater (Fig. 18) at Würzburg, painted about thirty years after the temple was begun, and representing (in the only fifth century example yet known of that modern system of oblique perspective with which I have always felt confident that the Greeks were then acquainted) a structure which he has independently identified as the temple



Fig. 18. Calyx-Crater Fragment with Temple of Ares (Würzburg)

of Ares.¹⁰⁷ Behind a scene apparently reminiscent of Micon's painting of the battle of the Amazons appears the peripteral temple with six Doric columns—three, at least, to the left of the central axis—on the front, lion-head spouts along the entire flank, the unknown pedimental statues of combatants dominated by Athena, and, just below the break, the fringes of the drapery of the golden Nikes.

As the date of the destruction of the temple of Ares, the moment of Sulla's

¹⁰⁷ Bulle, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, pp. 473-482; I owe to Bulle a photograph of this fragment and permission to publish it.

occupation of Athens has been suggested.¹⁰⁸ Such a theory is hardly plausible in view of the extreme care with which the temple was taken apart from top to bottom, and put together again on new foundations. Such a process has nothing to do with repairs after cataclysmal wars or earthquakes, but indicates a transfer of site, as in other instances where late mason's letters were employed (e. g., the monument of Nicias). The carefully cut mason's letters, appearing on all blocks sufficiently well preserved to show them, and indicating that the courses were numbered from top to bottom, imply that they were cut during demolition rather than erection, but for the purpose of reconstruction. Another detail, appearing especially on some of the euthynteria blocks, the enlargement of the clamp heads to permit extraction (paralleled by blocks of the Older Parthenon reused in the present Parthenon, and by blocks of the monument of Nicias reused in the Beulé Gate), likewise implies that the original temple was carefully taken down and rebuilt at a later date. The few repairs or additions of the moment of reconstruction are confined to delicate members, the almost transparent ceiling coffers, which might have been injured during the demolition; there is nothing to suggest wanton damage. In consequence, we must consider a transfer of site entirely disconnected from warlike operations.

The clue to the date of this demolition is furnished primarily by the early Roman levels in contact with the foundations, and by the mason's letters themselves, of forms appropriate to the reign of Augustus or thereabouts. In this connection it is appropriate to recall the dedication to Ares and Augustus ("Ἀρεὶ καὶ Σεβαστῶι), on a statue pedestal (*I.G.*, II², 2953) from which the name of the archon, unfortunately, is broken away.¹⁰⁹ It has been noted that the archon mentioned in this dedication bears the title ἐπώνυμος; but since this title was never used in the archon lists, its presence or absence elsewhere offers little indication of date;¹¹⁰ the next definite use of the title ἐπώνυμος is in 41 A.D. (*I.G.*, II², 3268). Another evidence of activity in this period is a dedication to Caius Caesar, adopted son of Augustus, under the title of the "New Ares" (νέον Ἀρη), in an inscription which is probably as late as 2 A.D. and yet must antedate the death of Caius on February 21, 4 A.D. (*I.G.*, II², 3250).¹¹¹ It would not

¹⁰⁸ Riemann, *Arch. Anz.*, 1937, p. 103 (assuming that it was rebuilt); Dörpfeld, *Alt-Athen und seine Agora*, pp. 141-142 (assuming that it was never rebuilt).

¹⁰⁹ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste (Rec. Trav. Univ. Egypt., I, 1927)*, p. 113.

¹¹⁰ Keil (*Beiträge zur Geschichte des Areopags*, p. 49, note 56) had affirmed that the title was not used before 9 A.D.; and Graindor (*Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire (Mem. Acad. Belg., VIII, 1921)*, p. 9, note 5, and p. 39, note 1; *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 114) had assumed that ἐπώνυμος appeared in some archon lists (*I.G.*, II², 1723, 1725, 1735) but not in the earlier ones. Dow, however, has ascertained that the word never occurred even in these three (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 160, 164-165, 167, 186).

¹¹¹ Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, II, pp. 754 f., note 44; *R.E.*, X, pp. 427-428; Riewald, *De imperatorum Rom. cum --- dis --- aequatione* (Diss. 1912), p. 316, no. 95; Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 51. Graindor notes that the attempt to restore the name of Caius as

be unreasonable to assume that the reconstruction of the temple was complete by this date.

The association of the temple and its cult with Augustus and Caius Caesar suggests a theory as to the possible original site of the temple. As we have seen, the cause of the reconstruction was undoubtedly a transfer of site. And in view of the modern attempts to associate the temple with the Areopagus, the possibility of an earlier location on the slopes of this hill must not be ignored. But the reason for the transfer, under such circumstances, is not readily apparent. On the other hand, it is obvious that in the time of Augustus, or immediately before, another site fairly close to the present location of the temple of Ares must have been denuded, and that any monuments of permanent value thereon must have been moved elsewhere. This is the site of the great Roman Agora, begun with the assistance of funds contributed by C. Julius Caesar (*I.G.*, II², 3175) probably in 47 B.C. when he was in Athens after the battle of Pharsalus.¹¹² The work was at first under the superintendence of Herodes of Marathon (apparently the archon of 60/59 B.C.), and then under that of his son Eukles, who also was archon at about 46/5 B.C.,¹¹³ and priest of Apollo for the rest of his life until our era; the dedicatory inscription of the Roman Agora mentions him also as hoplite general. It is possible that the work was interrupted because of insufficiency of funds at the time of the assassination of Julius Caesar, and that the resumption was made possible by means of an embassy of Eukles, mentioned in the dedicatory inscription, and presumably to Augustus before his visit to Athens in 20 B.C. The dedication by Eukles occurred in the archonship of Nikias the son of Sarapion of Athmonon; this date is not exactly defined, though it may be very closely estimated as about 10 B.C.¹¹⁴ On the apex of the pediment of the entrance gateway was set up a statue of Lucius Caesar (*I.G.*, II², 3251), who was adopted by Augustus in 12 B.C., and died August 20, 2 A.D. It has been suggested that, as Lucius stood above the Doric gate of the Agora, so Caius, who could not have been neglected, must

“son of Ares” in another dedication (*I.G.*, II², 3785) is erroneous; the reference is to C. Julius Nicanor, son of Areios. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 3257, Drusus as the “New Ares,” 20-23 A.D.

¹¹² For the chronology of the Roman Agora, I follow the arguments set forth by Graindor, *B.C.H.*, 1914, p. 436, note 4; *Musée Belge*, 1924, pp. 109-121; *Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 31-32, 51-52, 148, note 5, and 184-198; *Herode Atticus et sa Famille* (*Rec. Trav. Univ. Egypt.*, V, 1930), pp. 5-8. See also Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 169. The assumption that the dedication was to Caius Caesar, adopted son of Augustus, thus giving the date as between 12 B.C. and 4 A.D., is shown by Graindor to be erroneous.

¹¹³ Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 280, 281, 284-285; Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 155-157.

¹¹⁴ Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes*, pp. 48-49, no. 15; *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 32 and note 3. The archon list for the years 18/7-12/1 is preserved (*I.G.*, II², 1713; cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 282-284) with no trace of the name of Nikias, who must, therefore, be assigned to 27/6-19/8, all presumably too early, or to 11/10 or thereafter. On the other hand, the archon was always priest of Drusus in the years 9/8 B.C. and thereafter (Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 178-179, 186), so that we seemingly are restricted to 11/0 or 10/9 B.C.

have stood either above the inner façade of the Doric gate or above the western gate near the Tower of the Winds.¹¹⁵ For this assumption, however, there is no evidence apart from a desire for symmetrical impartiality. Lucius may have presided over the old site (the Roman Agora), Caius over the new (the temple of Ares).

It is hardly a mere coincidence that the present site of the temple of Ares is contiguous to another structure apparently of the Augustan period, erected by the father of Lucius and Caius. The central portion of the Agora, undoubtedly originally open ground apart from the numerous small votive and commemorative structures, is now occupied by a large building, about 42.50×52.50 m., in the form of a covered theatre or Odeion. This can only be the Odeion mentioned by Pausanias (I, 8, 6) in his description of the Agora, with the statues of the Ptolemies standing before it.¹¹⁶ It is probably, furthermore, identical with "the theatre in the Cerameicus which goes by the name of the Agrippeion," in which the Sophists lectured in the second century after Christ (Philostratus, *Vit. soph.*, II, 5, 4; 8, 4).¹¹⁷ If so, it may have been erected during the period when Agrippa governed the East, before 13 B.C., and particularly at the time of his visit to Athens, in 16 B.C.¹¹⁸ From the relative positions of the two buildings it would appear that the Odeion was built first, with an untrammelled choice of the area, with its back against and parallel to the South Stoa, facing northward; then the temple of Ares was erected, almost exactly parallel to the Odeion, but facing east and thrust so far toward the west as to leave the façade of the Odeion unobstructed.¹¹⁹ If this sequence should be confirmed by the analysis of the excavation, we should be provided with a probable date *post quem* for the transfer of the temple site, namely, about 16 B.C.

Thus the temple of Ares was apparently erected between 440 and 436 B.C. on a site not far from the Anakeion which formed the centre for military assemblies. Around it were probably begun, soon after 47 B.C., the initial stages of the erection of the Roman Agora. The actual demolition and transfer of the Temple of Ares may have been postponed until the securing of new funds from Augustus, to whom, accordingly, the new temple was in part rededicated. For the new site was chosen, between 15 and 10 B.C., an area beside the recently completed Agrippeion, in the open centre of the Agora, which during the Augustan period was suddenly expropriated as avail-

¹¹⁵ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 52.

¹¹⁶ Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 6-14; for the plan, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pl. IX.

¹¹⁷ The identity of Odeion and Agrippeion was suggested by Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pp. 252-260; Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, pp. 91-92; Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, p. 112; Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 49; Judeich, *Topographie*,² pp. 98, 350.

¹¹⁸ For the date of the visit, see Reinhold, *Agrippa*, pp. 106-110.

¹¹⁹ Of course it is equally possible that the new temple of Ares and the Odeion were parts of a single co-ordinated scheme. Homer Thompson suggests to me that the use of good double-T clamps in the Augustan wall of the Odeion may have been a consequence of the use of such clamps in the reconstruction of the temple of Ares.

able ground for new building projects. Here the cult was still in progress as late as 116/7 A.D. (*I.G.*, II², 1072), and here Pausanias saw the temple about fifty years later. As for the date of its destruction, it is significant that the neighboring Agrippeion, according to the latest coins (those of Gallienus) found in the burned stratum which covered the floor, was probably destroyed at the time of the invasion of the Heruli in 267 A.D.¹²⁰ So too the temple of Ares, of which many fragments were used as filling material in the so-called "Valerian Wall," erected at about 277 A.D., ten years after the Herulian raid,¹²¹ was probably a victim of the same catastrophe.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE: In mentioning the dedication to Ares found at Menidi (*I.G.*, II², 2953), on pages 1 and 49 above, I overlooked Robert's new discussion of it (*Études épigraphiques et philologiques*, in *Bibl. École des Hautes Études*, CCLXXII, 1938, p. 295), together with other inscriptions of the deme of Acharnai proving that here was a local cult of Ares and Athena Areia (*ibid.*, pp. 293-316). Elimination of *I.G.*, II², 2953 from the list of *testimonia* concerning the cult at Athens does not alter any of the conclusions reached in my article.

W. B. D.

¹²⁰ Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 11.

¹²¹ Shear, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 4 (noting sixteen coins found in mortar under the wall, dated from Aurelian, just before 275, to Probus, just after 276 A.D.; the fact that only one coin was of the contemporary emperor Probus, the rest being of the year or two preceding him, suggests that the building occurred early in his short reign of 276-282 A.D.).

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

ATTIC TRITTYES

In *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 50-51, I published a "marker" which named Thorikos as the Coastal Riding of Akamantis. There is now some new evidence about the trittyes of this tribe, which I present here together with three other stones that name trittyes in other tribes. General reference should now be made to Hommel's article in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, *s.v.* Trittyes, a copy of which the author has very kindly sent to me in advance of publication.

1. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on October 15, 1937, in Section Ω.

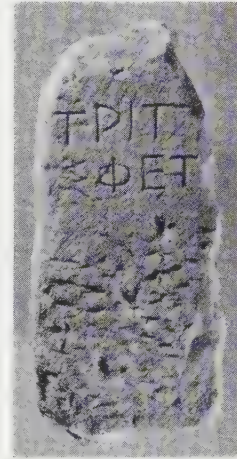
Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.095 m.; thickness

(original), 0.093 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m.

Inv. No. I 5053.

τριττ[ὺς]
Σφετ[τίον]



No. 1

This inscription shows that Hommel's identification of Sphettos (Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, *s.v.* Trittyes, p. 367) as the Inland Riding of Akamantis is correct. The Coastal Riding is named as Thorikos in the text published in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 50-51. The evidence for the City Riding is ambiguous, for both Cholargos and the Kerameikos are named in other inscriptions. For Cholargos the epigraphical evidence is to be found in *I.G.*, I², 900: Δεῦρε Αἰαντὶς | φυλὲ τελευτᾷ, Τ|ετραπολέον δὲ | τριττὺς, Ἀκαμα|ντὶς δὲ φυλὲ ἄρ|χεται, Χολαργέ|ον δὲ τριττὺς.¹ The epigraphical evidence for the Kerameikos lies in *I.G.*, I², 883: [Κερ]αμέον | [τρ]ιττὺς.²

There cannot at the same time have been four trittyes of this one tribe. Hommel (*op. cit.*, pp. 366-370) suggests that *I.G.*, I², 883 should be restored as [Δι]ομέον or

¹ Klaffenbach assures me, by letter, that the reading Χολαργέον is perfectly clear on the squeeze now in the Berlin Academy. It should be noted that this text is not to be associated with *I.G.*, I², 901, new readings of which are now offered by Wade-Gery in *Mélanges Glotz*, pp. 886-887.

² The reading was given by Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, II (1855), no. 639, as ---μεο- | [τρ]ιττὺς (see Rangabé's note), but the squeeze now in the collection of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton shows clearly part of the alpha and all but the final stroke of the nu in [Κερ]αμέον.

as [Ποτ]αμέον, so changing the tribal connection from Akamantis to Aigeis or Leontis, but this solution of the *impasse* cannot be right because the letter before the nu is clearly alpha and not omicron and because there is no demotic Ποταμεύς. The demotic of Potamos is always Ποτάμιος, as Hommel himself notes in his commentary. Although the reading [Κερ]αμέον is partly restoration, there is no other name known among the Attic demes that satisfies the epigraphic requirements.

If the reading is to be retained it will be necessary to assume an error in the text of either *I.G.*, I², 883 or 900. The alternative is to assume that [---]αμέον should be so restored as to yield the name of a trittys as yet unknown in some tribe other than Akamantis. Attractive as the restoration [Κερ]αμέον is, this interpretation does least violence to the available evidence, and perhaps Cholargos should be kept as the City Riding,³ leaving *I.G.*, I², 883 with its tribal connection undetermined and with some restoration different from [Κερ]αμέον still to be discovered in line 1.

2. Poros stone with the top, right side, and back preserved, found on September 17, 1938, in the wall of a modern house in Section BB.



Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.18 m.;
thickness, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, 0.047 m.

Inv. No. I 5564.

[Δεῦρε] Δ. .

[. . . τ]ριττ

[ὕς τε]λεντ

[ἀι, Φρε]αρρ

5 [ῖον δὲ τρι]

[ττὺς ἄρχε]

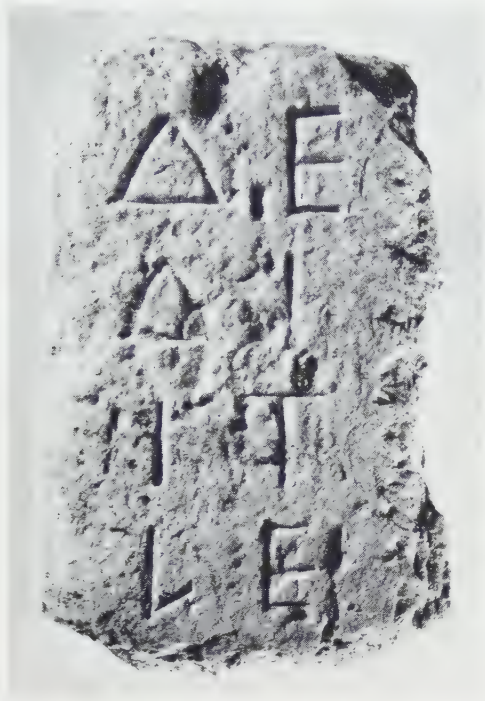
[ται]

No. 2

This document names two of the trittyes of Leontis, both hitherto unknown. The restoration [Φρε]αρρ[ῖον] seems sure; I have no restoration to offer for the name in lines 1-2, though it seems to begin with delta, and in all the name should contain six letters. Phrearrioi was the Coastal Riding.

³ See the comments by Gomme, *The Population of Athens*, p. 60, note 2.

3. Poros fragment preserving the left side and top crudely finished, found on November 18, 1933, in the wall of a modern house in Section M.



No. 3

Height, 0.257 m.; width, 0.156 m.;
thickness, 0.129 m.

Height of letters, 0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 1191.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Δε|ὕρε Πε|

δι|έον τρ|

ιττ|ὕς τε|

λεν|τὰι .|

This document confirms Wade-Gery's restoration of the text of *I.G.*, I², 899 as published in *Mélanges Glotz*, pp. 883-886, naming the Inland Riding of Oineis as Pedieis. The other two Ridings of this tribe are known from *I.G.*, I², 884 as Lakiadai (City) and from *I.G.*, I², 899 itself as Thriasioi (Coastal). The table in Hommel's publication (Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*,

s.v. Trittyes, pp. 367-368; cf. p. 370) should be emended accordingly.

4. Part of a marker of poros, found on November 6, 1934, in the wall of a modern house in Section Σ.

Height, 0.53 m.; width, 0.38 m.;
thickness, 0.24 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 2197.

ca. 450 B.C. NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

| Δεὐρε |

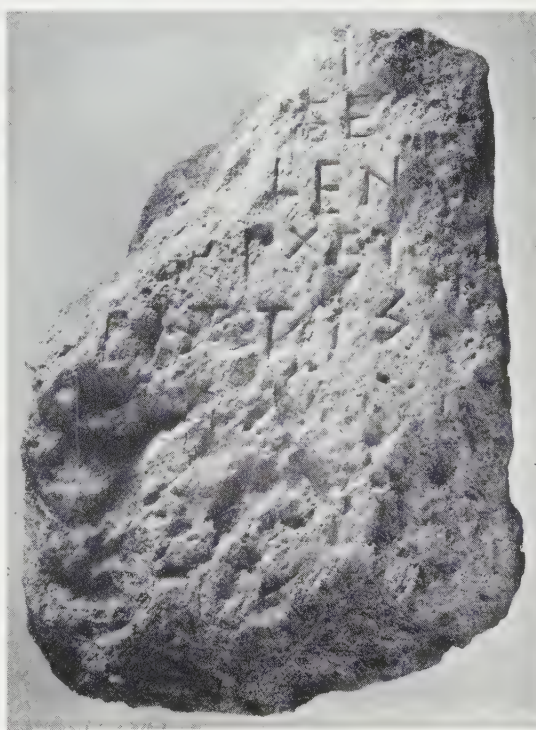
[.] τ[ρι]

[ττὺς τ]ε<λ>ε[υτ]

[ἀι Παλ]λεν[έο]

[ν δ]ε ἄρχετ[αι] 5

[τ]ριττύς.



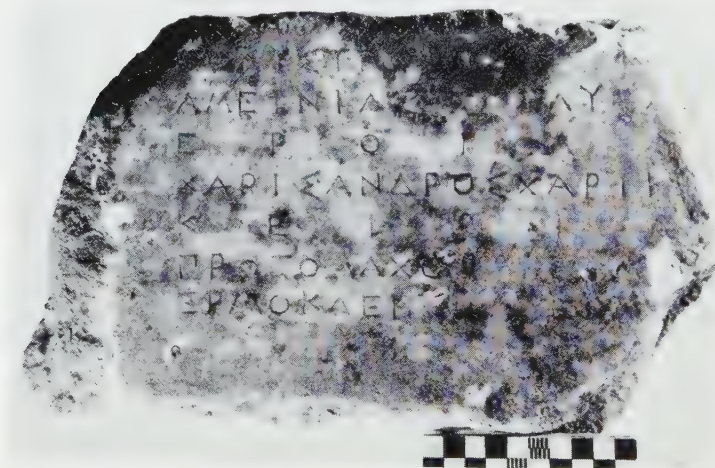
No. 4

The inscription is of the type of *I.G.*, I², 889. Pallene was the largest of the inland demes of the tribe Antiochis, and the text of lines 4-5 here is the first epigraphical evidence that the inland trittys had the same name. The normal formulae of such documents require the words ----- τριττὺς τελευτᾷ in lines 2-4, where the restoration can be made, on the assumption that the stone-cutter omitted the lambda of τελευτᾷ. The name of a second riding of Antiochis must have appeared in lines 1-2, but no trace of it is now preserved; one can only infer that it contained approximately ten letters.

The τριττὺς Παλληνέων may now be added to the list as given by Hommel in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Trittyses, p. 367. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte*, p. 115, had already suggested that Pallene was the Inland Riding of Antiochis. See also Sundwall, *Nachträge zur Prosopographia Attica*, pp. 174-175; Wade-Gery, *Mélanges Glotz*, pp. 883-887; and Meritt, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, no. 16.

DEMESMEN OF HIPPOTHONTIS

5. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on September 19, 1934, in Section A. The bottom, smooth-picked, is preserved; at the left the lateral face seems to have been dressed back originally at an angle of forty-five degrees, thus making an octagonal monument, but only part of the beveling is preserved; the stone is otherwise broken.



Height, 0.215 m.; width,
0.37 m.; thickness,
0.121 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.-
0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 2024.

No. 5

The inscription is stoichedon. Five lines occupy a vertical space of 0.098 m., and ten letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.147 m.

First Half of Fourth Century B.C.

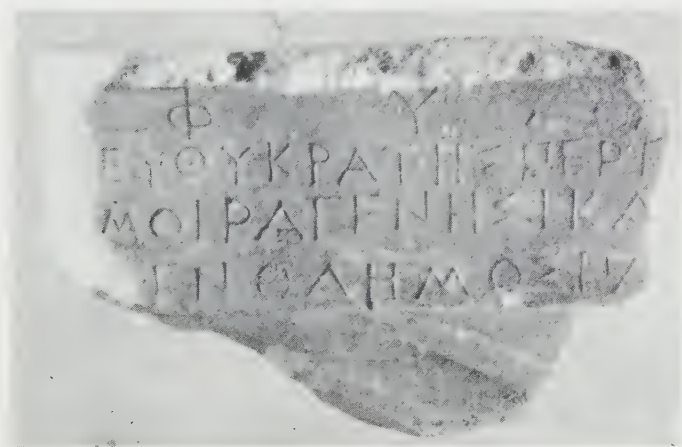
 Πολύστροφος -----
 Ἀμεινίας Λυσα-----
 Ἐ ρ ο ι ά δ [α ι]
 5 Χαρίσανδρος Χαρικ|λ-----|
 Κ ε ι ρ ι ά |δ α ι|
 Πρωτόμαχος Ἑρμ[-----]
 Ἑρμοκλῆς Ἑρμο[-----]
 τ'acat

The inscription presents names, followed by patronymics(?), of members of the tribe Hippothontis, and is probably to be interpreted as a list of the prytaneis of that tribe. There was one representative from the deme Eroiadai, and there were two representatives from the deme Keiriadai.

For Eroiadai a representation of two in the third century and of one in the second century is attested by Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 19, lines 15-17, and no. 64, lines 103-104. Keiriadai seems to have had two representatives at some time in the third century, and one representative in the second century (Dow, *loc. cit.*, no. 19, lines 18-20, and no. 64, lines 91-92). A list of councillors of the early fourth century (*I.G.*, II², 1698) names three members from Keiriadai.

LIST OF PHYLARCHS

6. Fragment from the top of a base of Pentelic marble, with a cutting in the top for the insertion of some object, found on October 31, 1935, in the wall of a modern house in Section N.



Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.25 m.;
 thickness, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, in line 1, 0.02
 m., in lines 2-4, *ca.* 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 3188.

No. 6

Fourth Century B.C.

Φ ύ λ [α ρ χ ο ι ---]
 Εὐθυκράτης : Περγ[ασῆθεν] -----
 Μοιραγένης : Ἴκα[ριεύς] -----
 [Ἄ]γνόδημος : Πα[ιανιεύς] -----

The inscription is cut on a projecting fascia below a moulding about the top of the base. Part of the left face of this upper fascia is preserved, making an angle of sixty degrees with the inscribed surface. The base may, therefore, have been hexagonal on top. The inscription as preserved seems to be from the beginning of a dedication by a board of phylarchs. The three names listed belong to the tribes Erechtheis, Aigeis, and Pandionis; presumably the representatives of the other seven tribes were also recorded where the stone is now broken away at the right. The first line may have contained the date by archon, ἐπὶ τοῦ δέινος, which can be fixed by letter forms only within the fourth century B.C. For the board of phylarchs, see (e. g.) Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsk.*, p. 1128.

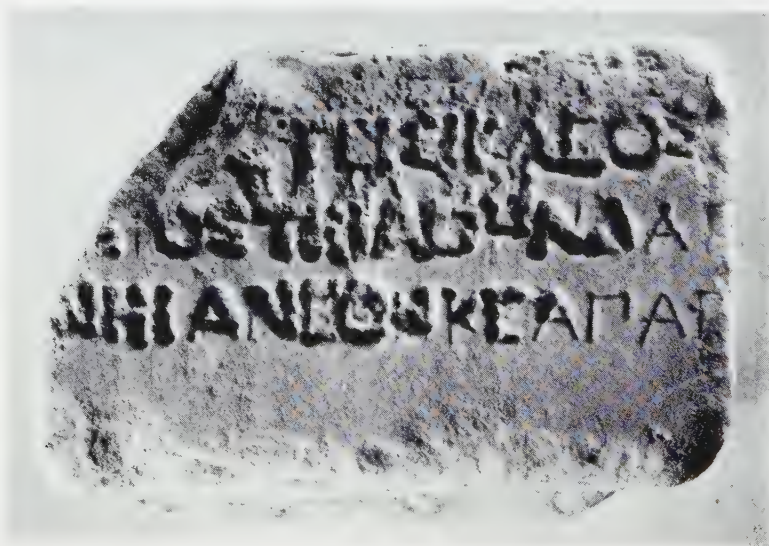
DEDICATION TO ATHENA ERGANE

7. Small dedicatory base of Pentelic marble, found on March 29, 1934, in Section K. Part of the top, the face, and the right side is preserved; the face is badly weathered, though the original finish was quite smooth. The right side is picked with a fine-tooth chisel. In the top is a rectangular cutting presumably to receive the dedication.

Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.16 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 1732.



Before 350 B.C.

[Τεισικλῆ]ς Τεισικλέος
 [Ἀφιδν]αῖος τῇ Ἀθηνάαι
 [Ἐργά]νῃ ἀνέθηκε ἀπαρ
 [χῆν] vacat

No. 7

Teisikles is known to have been *diatetes* *ca.* 325 B.C. (*P.A.*, 13484), so the present document must be dated from the prime of his life twenty-five or more years earlier. With the help of this inscription it is possible to restore also another dedication to Athena Ergane, now published as *I.G.*, II², 4329, for the symmetrical arrangement of the text upon the stone can be preserved by reading:

[Ε ὕ κ] τ ῆ μ ω ν
 [Τ ε ι σ ι] κ λ έ ο υ ς
 [᾽ Α φ ι δ] π α ῖ ο ς⁴
 | ᾽ Α θ | η ν ά α ι
 5 [᾽ Ε ρ] γ ά ν ε ι
 [ά] ν έ θ η κ ε ν

Euktemon (*P.A.*, 5788) was a brother of the Teisikles named in the new text, and at some time near the middle of the century both of them had made dedications to the same goddess. It is perhaps legitimate to assume that both sons of the elder Teisikles were business men (possibly manufacturers of bronze) who had been successful in their calling. The great festival in honor of Athena Ergane was the Chalkeia, celebrated each year on the last day of Pyanopsion. See Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 35-36.

EPHEBIC INSCRIPTION

8. This inscription is made up of many pieces of Hymettian marble, all discovered in Section Σ in 1935 and 1936, and all but two of which unite to form a composite group here called fragment *a*. The monument was a dedicatory base, the upper surface of which still retains the cutting made to receive the dedication. Fragments *b* and *c* are from the upper right half of the base, but have no point of contact either with fragment *a* or with each other.

a: Total height, 0.63 m.; width, 0.57 m.; thickness, 0.345 m.
 Inv. No. I 3068.

b: Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.082 m.
 Inv. No. I 3068 *c*.

c: Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.
 Inv. No. I 3068 *b*.

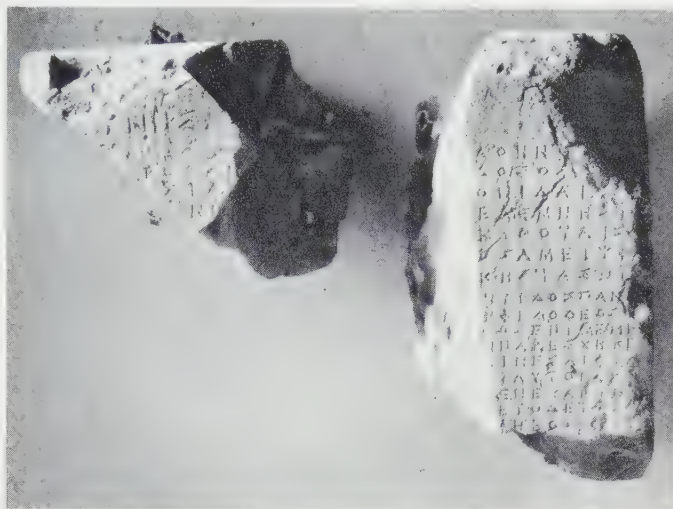
Fragment *a* preserves much of the left side of the monument as well as the top

⁴ Part of the nu is on the stone in line 3.

No. 8. Fragment *a*

and bottom, but is broken at the right. The rectangular cutting in the top measures *ca.* 0.20 m. wide and 0.10 m. deep. Fragment *b* is broken on all sides except the top. In its top surface appears part of the same cutting that is preserved on fragment *a*. Fragment *c* is from the upper right corner.

The height of letters in the first two lines and in line 39 is 0.01 m. In the other lines the height of letters is 0.006 m. The text is inscribed stoichedon. Line 1 has 73 letter spaces, of which the last two presumably were left blank. Beneath the heading of lines 1-2 the main body of the inscription was disposed in three columns. Columns I and II each contained 26 letters on a line; Column III began with a stoichedon line of 34 letters, which was changed in line 10 to a stoichedon line of 42 letters.



No. 8. Fragments *b* and *c*

The marks of the drove chisel are particularly noticeable in the surface treatment of the lower part of the inscribed face.

The placing of fragment *b* in its relation to the group which makes up fragment *a* depends primarily on the necessity of restoring the phrase ἀρετῆς ἔνε[κα καὶ σωφρο]σύνης in line 2. In the tribal decree the sophronistes was praised ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα (I, 18-19) while the taxiarch and his lochagoi were praised ἀρετῆς καὶ σω[φροσύνης ἔνε]κα (I, 30-31). It will be observed that lines 1 and 2 are stoichedon with respect to each other, and that this arrangement is maintained in the lacuna between fragments *a* and *b* by restoring in line 1 [ἐπὶ] Ν[ι]κ[οκράτος καὶ ὁ ταξίαρχο]ς.⁵ Mention of the taxiarch is also desirable in order to allow the plural form σ[τεφανωθέντ]ις[ς] at the end of the line. The necessity for supplying the plural form is indicated below.

On fragment *b* the final sigma of [σωφρο]σύνης falls over the theta of [—]ροθεο[—] in III, 3. On fragment *a* the central epsilon of ἔνε[κα] falls approximately over the mu of ψήφισμ[α]. Although the letters of lines 1 and 2 are not spaced with perfect regularity, it is nevertheless possible to estimate the approximate span along line 2 from the central epsilon of ἔνε[κα] to the final sigma of [σωφρο]σύνης (15 letters) as 0.193 m. This same distance represents, therefore, the

⁵ A possible restoration is [ἐπὶ] Ν[ι]κ[οκράτου—]. Cf *I.G.*, II², 4594 a.

[τῶι ᾗ]ρῶι ὁ σ[ω]φρονιστ[ῆς τῆς Λεωντίδος ἐπὶ] Ν[ικ]οκράτος καὶ ὁ ταξίαρχος σ[τεφανανωθέντ]ε[ς^{v 1}]
 ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δ[ήμου καὶ τῆς φυλ]ῆς ἀρετῆς ἐνε[κα καὶ σωφρο]σύνης
vacat

(Col. I)

Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρου Λευκοῦ[εὺς] ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26

εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Φιλόθεος ὁ σωφ[ρον]

5 ἰστῆς τῆς Λεωντίδος φυλῆς τ[ῶν ἐ]

φίβων ἀπαγγέλλει περὶ τῶν ν[εαν]

ίσκων καὶ φησιν εἶναι εὐτα[κτὸν]

τας καὶ πειθόμενος τοῖς τ[ε νόμο]

ις καὶ ἐαυτῶι, δεδόχθαι τ[ῇ Λεω]ν

10 τίδι ἐπαινεῖσθαι τὴν Λεωντίδα φυ

λὴν τῶν ἐφύβων τῶν ἐπὶ Νικοκράτ

ους ἄρχοντος καὶ στεφανώσαι χρ

υσῶι στεφάνῳ ἕκα[στ]ον αὐτῶν ἀρ

ετῆς ἕνεκα, ἐπαιν[έσ]αι δὲ καὶ τὸν

15 σωφρονιστὴν Φι[λόθ]εον Φιλοκλέ

ους Σουνῖα καὶ σ[τε]φανώσαι χρυσ

αὶ στεφάνῳ ἀπ[ὸ] χυλίων δραχμῶν

ἐπειδὴν τὰς ε[ὶ]θ[υ]νας δῶι ἀρετῆς

ἕνεκα τῆς ε[ἰς τὴν] φυλὴν καὶ τοὺς

20 ἐφύβους, [ἐπαιν]έσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν τα

ξίαρχον [τῆς φ]υλῆς Φιλοκλέα Φ[ιλ]

οθέου Σ[ουνι]ᾶ καὶ τοὺς λοχαγ[οὺς]

Πανδαί[την Π]αισικλέος Ποτάμ[ιον]

Ἐπικρά[την] Πεισιάνακτος Σ[ουνι]

25 ᾠ Καλλ[ιχάρ]ην Καλλιφάνος [Σουνι]

ᾠ Νικό[ξεν]ον Νικοκλέος Χ[ολληίδ]

τὴν Τι[μοκρ]άτην Τιμοκλέος Π[οτάμ]

(Col. I, continued)

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26

ιον κ[αὶ] σ[τε]φανώσαι χρυσῶι [στεφ]

άν[ωι ἕκα]στον αὐτῶν ἀπὸ πεν[τακο]

30 [σίων δρα]χμῶν ἀρετῆς καὶ σω[φροσ]

[ύνης ἐνε]κα, δοῦναι δὲ αὐτοῖς [κα]ὶ

[ἀνάθημα] ἀναθεῖναι [ἐν] τῶι ἱε[ρ]ῶι

[τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἐ]παινεῖσθαι [δὲ καὶ] τὸς [δ]ιδ

[ασκάλου]ς τῆς φυλῆ[ς]την Ἀ

35 [.]ν Παλλήν[εα]ν Ἀρ

[. . .]ανέ[ο] Μεθων[αῖον καὶ στεφ]ανῶ

[σαι] θ[αλ]λοῦ σ[τε]φανῶν ὅτι καλ[ῶς ἐ]

[π]εμελήθησαν τ[ῶν ἐφ]ύβων *vacat*

(Col. II)

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26

[ἀναγράψαι δὲ] τόδε τὸ ψήφισμ[α τῆ]

[ς φυλῆς τὸν γρ]αμματέα τῆς φυ[λῆς]

5 [καὶ στήσαι ἐν] τῶι ἱερῶι, τὸ [δ' ἀνάλ]

[ωμα εἰς τὴν γρ]αφὴν δοῦναι[ι τοὺς ἐ]

[πιμελητὰς τῆς φ]υλῆς, ἀ[ναγράψαι]

[δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς τ]ὸ [ἀν]άθ[ημα^{v v}]

[στ]ρα[τ]η[γ]ὸς ἐπὶ τῶι Περαι[εῖ Κόνω]

10 ν Τιμοθέῳ Ἀναφλύστιος [στρατηγ]

ὃς ἐπὶ τῇ χώρῃ Σώφιλ[ος Ἀριστο]

τέλος Φυλάσιος κοσμη[τῆς]

[. . .] Αἰνησιστράτου Ἀχ[αρνεύς σω]

[φρονη]στῆς [Φιλόθ]εο[ς Φιλοκλέου]

(Col II, continued)

- 15 [ς Σουνι]εὐ[ς ταξίαρχος Φιλοκλέη] ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26.
[ς Φιλ]οθέου [Σουνιεύς λοχαγοί Πα]
[ν]δαίτης Πα[σικλέος Ποτάμιος Ἐπ]
[ι]κράτης Πέ[ισιάνακτος Σουνιεύ]
ς Καλλιχάρ[ης Καλλιφάνους Σουν]
20 [ι]εύς Νι[κ]ό[ξενος Νικοκλέους Χολ]
[λ]ηίδης Τι[μοκράτης Τιμοκλέος Π]
[ο]τάμιος [ἔφηβοι·¹³]
[.]ης Σω-----
[.]νγε-----
25 [.]Νι-----
[.]Η-----
[.]Ρ-----
έης Κι-----
οδώρου Πρε[σ]β[υχάρης]⁹
30 υς Σαννείδης [.....⁷ Ποτάμιοι]
καθ'ἑπέρθεν [.....¹⁶]
Ποτάμιοι ὑπέ[νε]ρθ[εν]⁹
ν Φιλίνου· Λευκοιο[εῖς Κηδείδης]
Θρασυμήδης Χαιρε[.....¹¹]
35 δο Θαρσύνων Σατύρο[ν]⁹
Εὐτελίδης Μενεστρά[του]⁶

[ἡ βο]νλή ὁ δῆμος

(Col. II, continued)

- Νικῆρατος Νικοδήμο[ν]⁸ ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26
Εὐαίων Πείθω[ν]ος Θεάγ[γελος] ...]
(Col. III)
[.....¹¹]ροθεο[.....⁹] Ἀθηνο[.....] ΣΤΟΙΧ. 34
[.....¹¹]εσίδη[ς]⁸]δοτος [.....]
5 [.....¹²]ς Νι[.....⁷ Παι]ονίδαι· [.....]
[-----]έας Μνησι[.]
[-----]Σμι[κύθου Αἰσ]·]
[-----]ος Ἀμεψία
[-----]κησίας Νι[.]
10 [.....⁷ ἔδοξεν τοῖς λοχαγοῖς τῆς Λεω]ντίδος, Παν[δα] ΣΤΟΙΧ. 42
[ίτης Πασικλέος Ποτάμιος εἶπεν· ἐπειδ[ὴ] Φιλόθεος [ὁ σ]
[ωφρουνιστῆς τῆς Λεωντίδος φυλῆς δικα]ίως ἐπιμεμέ[λ]
[ῆται τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸ]ν παρέσχηκε[ν]
[τῶι τε ταξίαρχωι καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ἐπ]αινεσαι Φιλ[ό]
15 [θεον Φιλοκλέους Σουνιᾶ καὶ στεφανώσ]αι αὐτὸν χρ[υσ]
[ῶι στεφάνωι ἀπὸ χιλίων δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς] ἔνεκα καὶ [σω]
[φροσύνης τῆς εἰς τὴν φυλὴν, ἀναγράψαι δ]᾽ ἐτόδε τὸ ψ[ήφ]
[ισμα εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα ὃ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἔ]φηβοι τῶι ἡ[ρ]
[ωι ἀνατιθέασιν] -----]

(Citations)

ἡ φυλή [οἱ ἔφηβοι] [οἱ λοχαγοί]

span along line 3 between the mu of $\psi\eta\phi\iota\sigma\mu[a]$ and the theta of $[- - -]\rho\theta\epsilon\omicron[- - -]$. Six letters in line 3 require about 0.067 m., and the number of letters to cover the span thus amounts to eighteen. We allow the necessary three letters at the end of column II, one letter space for the interval between columns II and III, and so place the rho of $[- - -]\rho\theta\epsilon\omicron[- - -]$ in the twelfth letter space of the stoichedon text in the upper part of column III. This position for fragment *b* may be considered approximately correct.

In the tenth line of column III the stoichedon order changes, but the length of line may be determined as 42 letters by the restorations of lines 11, 12, 15, and 16. So far as this spacing can be compared with the more open spacing above, the measurements indicate an upper stoichedon length of line of 34 letters. This determines the lacuna between fragment *b* and fragment *c*, for there was room for approximately nine letters between the final omicron of $[- - -]\rho\theta\epsilon\omicron[- - -]$ and the initial alpha of $\text{'Αθηνο} - - -$ in line 3.⁶

If the above determinations are true, the measurement from the final sigma preserved on the stone in line 1 of fragment *b* to the stroke which looks like the lower part of epsilon or sigma on fragment *c* should in turn be estimated as the equivalent of 12 letters. So much space makes the restoration $\sigma[\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}]s$ highly improbable. Furthermore, if the form $\sigma[\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}]s$ is to be restored, one finds it difficult to explain why the word $\upsilon\pi\acute{o}$, which now begins line 2, was not inscribed after it in the available space at the end of line 1. The more satisfactory restoration epigraphically is $\sigma[\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omega\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau]\epsilon[s^{vv}]$, a word which better suits the lacuna and which comes near enough to the edge of the stone to force $\upsilon\pi\acute{o}$ over into the beginning of line 2. This plural form here, as well as the formula $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon[κα\ και\ σ\omega\phi\rho\omicron]σύν\eta\varsigma$ in line 2 (see above), implies mention of the taxiarch together with the sophronistes in line 1 and confirms the stoichedon restoration $[\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota] N[\iota]κ[οκρά\tau\omicron\varsigma\ και\ ὁ\ ταξίαρχ\omicron]s$.

The propriety of the joint dedication by the sophronistes and the taxiarch is enhanced by the fact that they were father and son. The sophronistes Philotheos, son of Philokles, of Sounion (I, 4, 15-16; II, 14-15; III, 11, 14-15) must have been more than forty years of age (Aristotle, 'Αθ. Πολ. , 42, 2) in the archonship of Nikokrates (333/2 B.C.), enough older, in fact, so that his son Philokles, son of Philotheos, of Sounion (I, 21-22; II, 15-16) could be of age to serve as taxiarch in the same year. This younger Philokles (*P.A.*, 14559) was the husband of Philia (*P.A.*, 14296), who is known from a dedication to Demeter and Kore (*I. G.*, II², 4025) and father of Philylla (*P.A.*, 14795), known from the same dedication. The present inscription is evidence that the father of the sophronistes was also named Philokles. His *floruit* should be dated at the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century.

⁶ The physical requirements of the stone necessitate here a space of at least eight letters.

The lochagoi were appointed by the taxiarch (Aristotle, Ἀθ. Πολ., 61, 3: οὗτος δ' ἡγείται τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ λοχαγούς καθίστησιν), and in the present instance numbered five. Some of them are otherwise known.

Pandaïtes, son of Pasikles, of Potamos (I, 23; II, 16-17; III, 10-11; cf. *P.A.*, 11572) is named on a dedication found on the Acropolis (*I.G.*, II², 3829); Nikoxenos, son of Nikokles, of Cholleidai (I, 26-27; II, 20-21; cf. *P.A.*, 10987) appears as secretary in the heading of a decree published as *I.G.*, II², 159; and Timokrates, son of Timokles, of Potamos (I, 27-28; II, 21-22; cf. *P.A.*, 13756a) is named on a columnar grave monument (*I.G.*, II, 4188).

The text of *I.G.*, II², 159 should be read as follows:

Θ ε ο ί
[Ν]ικόξενος Νικοκλέο[ς]
Χολληίδης ἐγραμμάτευε

Only scattered letters of this decree can be read on the badly worn surface of the stone below line 3, though in line 4 enough can be made out to show that the text proper began with the formula [ἔδ]ο[ξεν] τ[-----], perhaps [ἔδ]ο[ξεν] τ[ῆς βολῆς καὶ τῶι δήμῳ]. The name of the archon is lost, but the date cannot have been 349/8 or 339/8, where the secretaries are already known,⁷ and so must fall definitely in the first part of the century before the secretaries were chosen for a full year in cyclical rotation by tribes. In spite of the difference in date between *I.G.*, II², 159 and the present text, it is nevertheless probable that the Nikoxenos mentioned in the earlier inscription is to be identified with the Nikoxenos of the later document.

The two teachers of the tribe were praised in I, 33-38. One was an Athenian of the deme Pallene, and the other was a foreigner from Methone, but their names cannot now be recovered. At the top of column II appear the authorizations for inscribing the decree on the dedication. Comparison may be made with *I.G.*, II², 1156, lines 43, 49, and 62, for the phrase ἐπιγράψαι (or ἀναγράψαι) τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐπὶ (εἰς) τὸ ἀνάθημα.

Beginning in II, 9, is a list of officers, followed by a list of the ephebes of 333/2 B.C. The list continues as far as line 10 of column III. At the head of the list is the general appointed for the Peiraeus, Konon, son of Timotheos, of Anaphlystos (*P.A.*, 8708).⁸ His name was followed by that of the general in charge of the countryside, Sophilos, son of Aristoteles, of Phyle (*P.A.*, 13422), and that of the kosmetes, whose own name has been lost, but whose father was Ainesistratos of Acharnai. Next came the officers of the tribe, the sophronistes, the taxiarch, and the five lochagoi. In II, 22, began the list of ephebes, arranged by demes, and probably preceded by the heading ἐφηβοί.

⁷ *I.G.*, II², 206, 208; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 291.

⁸ In the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία (61, 1) Aristotle states that there were two generals elected ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιέα, one for Mounichia and one for Akte.

In II, 29 Presbychares is probably a relative of *P.A.*, 12186, for the name is unusual and is attested for Halimous, one of the demes of Leontis. If this is true, then Sanneides (II, 30) was also a Halimousian.

The spacing shows that there was one ephebe each from Upper and Lower Potamos (II, 30-33) and that there were three ephebes of Leukonoe (II, 33-35). The first of these was [Κηδείδης] Θρασυμήδος, son of *P.A.*, 7366. There must have been other deme names in II, 35, 36, and 37, but the next demotic that can be identified is [Παι]ονίδαί, in III, 5.

I have interpreted III, 10-19, as part of a decree of the lochagoi honoring the sophronistes. In the last line the spacing shows that there were originally five citations in all, and I have restored [οἱ ἐφηβοὶ] and [οἱ λοχαγοί]. These restorations may be compared also with the text as restored in III, 18.

At the end of I, 31 the final iota of [κα]ί is not a vertical stroke. One must assume that the chisel which cut this letter lost its position when the stroke was made and that in consequence the iota was cut awry. In I, 36 the final letter in the patronymic Ἀρ[. .]ανέ[ο] may have been, epigraphically, omega as well as omicron, indicating a name in -- αἰνεως. At the top of column II better restorations will perhaps yet be found, but I believe it certain that the secretary of the phyle was to inscribe the decree, that the epimeletai of the phyle were to pay the expense, and that the inscription was authorized on the dedicatory base, where in fact we now have it preserved.

This is one of the earliest of the documents bearing upon the organization of the ephebic corps, being dated only a year later than *I.G.*, II², 1156, the oldest Athenian inscription of this character so far preserved. The ephebes of the year of Nikokrates are known also to have awarded a crown to one Theophanes, son of Hierophon, of Rhamnous (*I.G.*, II², 4594a).

THE WALLS OF ATHENS

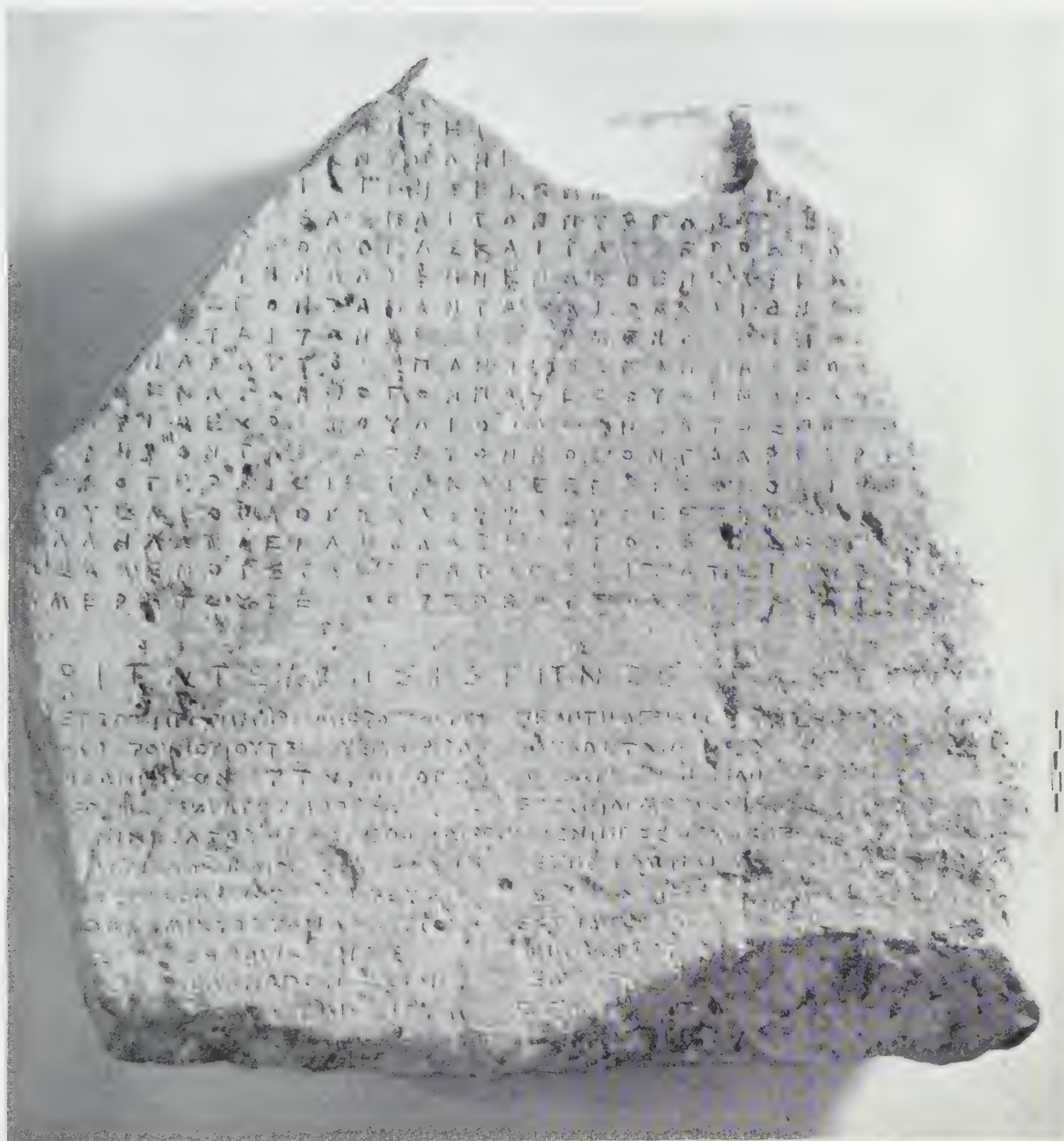
9. Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, with the right lateral surface and the original back preserved, found on March 23, 1936, below the floor of the Church of Christ in Section HH.

Height, 0.49 m.; width, 0.48 m.; thickness, 0.17 m.

Height of letters: in lines 100-118, 0.006 m., in line 119, 0.009 m., in lines 120-130, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 3843.

This inscription forms part of the stele already published as *I.G.*, II², 463, and makes a direct join with the known portion at the lower right-hand corner. The lines are numbered in the present transcript as in *I.G.*, II², 463. Lines 100-118 are written stoichedon. Ten lines occupy a vertical space of 0.135 m., and ten columns (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.135 m.

No. 9. New Fragment of *I.G.*, II², 463

- 100 A.ON.I.¹⁰ MENO... NANMH... ΔΕΝ...¹³ ΓΤΙ...¹⁰
 δὲ α|ὐ|το...⁶ Ν...⁶ εἴ τις...¹¹ τ|ὼν τε|ι|χ|ῶν...¹⁵
 ΡΑΣ.Η...¹⁰ τ|ὰ| ἔργα π|άντα| ἐγγ|υητὰς| Μ[...¹² ἐντελῇ κ|ατὰ τὰς συγγραφὰς το|
 ἰς ἀρχ|ιτέκτοσι...⁶ ΣΣ...⁵ ΙΑΡ[...¹⁰ ἐπὶ τῇ δ|ι|ο|ικῇσει ΓΛ...⁵ ΝΙ...⁷
 ΑΥΤ...⁵ Α...¹⁰ κα[ὶ τὴν] ἔρεψ|ι|ν [...⁶ λιθολογ|ήσας καὶ τῶν πύργων ... Γ[...⁶...
 105 ΗΝΚΟ... ΣΟΥ[...⁵ τοῦ ἄ|στῆ|ωσ· τ|ῶ[ι] δὲ δειν[τ|έ|ρωι ἔτει τὰς] ὑπολογὰς καὶ τὰ ΕΞΕΡΡΕΙΟ...⁶
 καὶ [τ|οῦ] οὐ[ς ἀ|να|βασμοῦ]· σ· [τοῦ] δ|ι|ε[τ|ρ|ι]ω ἔτει Τ.Ν[...⁷... καὶ] τὴν ἀλφιβὴν ἔνδοθεν καὶ ἔξω[θεν κα]
 ἰ τὴν κο|ρώ|ν|ην· τῶι δὲ [πέμπ|τ|ωι ἔτ|ε|ι |π|αρέξει ὁ|ρθὰ καὶ στ|έγοντα πάντα κ|α<ι> ἴσα καὶ ἐντε|λῇ κατ|
 [ὰ] τὰς συ|γ|γ|ρ|α|φὰς συ|ν|τετ|έλε|σ|μ|ένα· ἐὰν δέ τινε[ς βούλ|ω]νται τῶν μεμσθωμένων πλείω σ[υντελ|
 [εῖ]ν ἔργ[α] τῶν ἀ[ποτε]τ[αχμέ]ν[ων] εἰς τὸν ἐνι[α]υτὸν [ἐξεί]ναι αὐτοῖς πλὴν τῆς κοιιάσεως [καὶ ὁ τ|
 110 αμ|ίας μεριεῖ τάργυ|ρι|ον σ[υν]μ|αν πρὸς τὰ ἐξῆ[ς] γενό[μενα] τῶν ἔργων· παρέξουσιν δὲ αὐτο[ῖ] ἐά
 [ντ]οῖς ἄ[π]αντα ὅσων ἄ[νδ]ρ|έων[ται] ε[ἰ]ς τὰ ἔργα πλὴ[ν] ἐά[ν] τι μέχρη τοῦ λιθολογήματος πέσῃ[ι ἡ κα]
 [τὰ] πόλε[ι]μ|ον κνηθ|ῇ|ι· ἐγγυητ|ὰς δὲ κα|τ|αστήσαν[τε]ς λήφονται κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸ ἀργύρι|ον κα|
 [τὰ τ|ὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἑκαστον· ὅσ|αι δὲ] τῶν παρ[ό]δω[ν] στ|ενότεραί εἰσι[ν] καὶ γεγενησποδι[σ] μέ[ναι]
 [λιθ]ίνωι γεισηποδίσματι ὑ[πο]κοδομήσ[ε]ι σ[τόχ]ους λιθολογήσας ὕψος ὑπὲρ γῆς τριῖ ἡμ|ιπό|
 115 [δια] πλάτος πενθ[ή]μ[ι]ποδίου[ς] δ|ιαλείπον[τα]· σ[ἀπ' ἀ|λλήλων δέκα πόδας καὶ τοὺς ΑΝΑΚΛΑ...⁶...]
 [παρ]έσται δὲ καὶ [ἀ|τ|έ]λεια στ|ρα|τείας τοῖ[ς] μισθ|ωσαμένοις τὰ ἔργα τὰ περὶ τὰ τέχνη [εἰς τετ|
 [ραε]τίαν· κατὰ τὰδε ἔνεμαν ο[ἱ ἀ|ρχιτέκ]τονες τ|ὰ μέρη τοῦ τέχους· πρώτ[η μ]ερίς τοῦ [νοτίου]
 [τέλ]χους.
 κ α τ ἀ τ ἀ δ ε μ ε μ ί σ θ ω τ α ι τ ἀ ἔ ρ [γ α τ ἀ π ε] ρ ῖ τ ἀ τ ε ί χ η ε ἰς τ ἡ ν τ ε τ ρ α ε τ ί α ν
 (Col. I)
 120 [τοῦ β|ορέιου τείχους πρώτη μερίς
 [ἀπὸ τ|οῦ διατεχίσματος μέχρι τῶν
 [πρώτω]ν πυλῶν καὶ τὰς διόδους
 [...⁵...] ΗΗΗΗ vacat
 [μισθωτ|ήσ· vacat
 [...⁸...] ἡς Χίονος Κορν[δα]λλ[ε]ύ[ς]

 (Col. II)
 120 τοῦ νοτίου [τε]ίχους π[ε]μ[π]τ[η] μερίς ἀπὸ
 τοῦ διατεχ[ί]σματος τ[οῦ] ἐμ Πειραιεῖ
 μέχρι τοῦ Κηφ[ί]ε[ος]

 (Col. III)
 120 [τοῦ ἀ]στεως πρώτη μερίς ἀπὸ τοῦ διατε
 [χίσμ]ατος τοῦ νοτίου τείχους μέχρι τῶν
 [ἱδων] πυλῶν ΤΤΧ μισθωταί·
 [...⁵...] τας Μενεκράτους ἱστολῆς

 (Col. IV)
 120 πέμπτη μερίς ἀπὸ [--- μέχρη τῶν
 πυλῶν τῶν πρὸς ---
 μισθωτῆς· Φιλιστῆς [Αἰ]σ[χ]ύλ[ον Περριβοῖδης]
 ἐγγυηταί· Μεγακλῆς Μενίπ[π]ον Ἀχαρνέως
 Μένιππος Μεγακλέους Ἀχαρνέως
 125 Εὐκτῆμον Αἰ
 Εὐ --- Ε ---
 ἔκτῃ μερίς ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἡ πυλῶν· ΤΡ· [μισθωτῆς·]
 ΣΩ... ΤΟ ---
 130 ἐγγυη[ταί] ---

 NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.
 (Col. III, continued)
 125 [...⁵...]ς Νικηράτου Ἡρακλέωτης ἱστοε[λῆς]
 [ἐγγυη]ταί· Δίκαιος Δικαιογένη Κολωνῆ[θεν]
 [...⁶...]ος Νικολό[χ]ον Φαληρεῖς
 [Σμίκν]θος Σμικίθον Ἀναφλύστιος
 ---ς Χ[αρ]ιδίμου Ἰκαριεύς
 ---Λ.Ι. Μελανώπον ἐκ Κόλης
 ---ον Πατριανεύς

 (Col. IV)
 120 πέμπτη μερίς ἀπὸ [--- μέχρη τῶν
 πυλῶν τῶν πρὸς ---
 μισθωτῆς· Φιλιστῆς [Αἰ]σ[χ]ύλ[ον Περριβοῖδης]
 ἐγγυηταί· Μεγακλῆς Μενίπ[π]ον Ἀχαρνέως
 Μένιππος Μεγακλέους Ἀχαρνέως
 125 Εὐκτῆμον Αἰ
 Εὐ --- Ε ---
 ἔκτῃ μερίς ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἡ πυλῶν· ΤΡ· [μισθωτῆς·]
 ΣΩ... ΤΟ ---
 130 ἐγγυη[ταί] ---

The determination of the text of this important document presents many difficulties, and frequently the surface of the stone is so badly preserved that no reading can be made with assurance. As soon as the connection between the new fragment and *I.G.*, II², 463 was discovered, it became apparent that many changes in accepted restorations would have to be made. This circumstance rendered necessary a re-examination of the lower lines of *I.G.*, II², 463, so that doubtful readings there might be verified. In many cases this new study has been of no help, for the progressive weathering of the stone has obliterated traces of letters once seen by earlier editors, and in general much less can be made out now than formerly; but in some cases enough is preserved to give confirmation to one or another variant reading, and several new letters can be read for the first time. The following paragraphs will serve to give some commentary on changes proposed from the text as it now appears in the *Corpus*.

Line 102: After τ[ὰ] ἔργα the doubtful letter is possibly Π, and may be restored as π[άντα]. At the end of the line ἐντελῇ κ[ατὰ τὰς συγγραφάς] is suggested by the similar phrase in lines 107-108.

Line 103: The initial letters of the line can be distinguished as ΙΞΑ; hence the reading should be ΙΞΑΡΧ, as in Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, II, no. 771, and not ΙΞΤΕ ΑΡΧ, as in *I.G.*, II², 463. The intrusive letters ΤΕ have had a long though rather tenuous claim on our attention, and the reading need be no longer perpetuated.

Line 104: For the restoration [λιθολογ]ήσας see line 114.

Line 105: The word ὑπολογάς is clear on the stone, and this reference to it may now be added to those cited by Van Herwerden in his *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*, s. v. ὑπολογή (= *fundamentum*). The foundations were to be completed in the second year. At the end of the line there are letters which must refer to other parts of the wall scheduled for completion at the same time. After the definite article τὰ, I read ΕΞΕΡΡΕΙΩ [...^o...], though I have as yet no convincing explanation for what the word or words may be.

Inasmuch as the following line begins with a complete word (καί), the six spaces here indicated as unrestored should be filled to form part of one phrase with the now enigmatic letters which precede them.

Line 106: The clear text ἀλιφὴν confirms the reading ἀλ[ι]φὴν in line 85. Cf. also August Frickenhaus, *Athens Mauern* (Diss. Bonn, 1905), p. 42; Frickenhaus urged the spelling ἀλ[ι]φὴν in the earlier passage on the basis of the stoichedon order of the document, as against the incorrect restoration ἀλ[οι]φὴν of earlier editors.

Lines 108-109: In the word πλείω at the end of line 108 the two letters ΕΙ are cut in a slight erasure and in one letter space. The accepted restorations of these lines have had to be changed in the light of the new evidence offered by the Agora fragment. The verb σ[υντελεῖ]ν repeats the idea of [συν]ν[τετ]ελε[σμε]μένα earlier in line 108, and its use here allows ἔργ[α] to be read in line 109 instead of [τῶ]ν ἔργ[α] τῶν. The words τῶν ἀ[ποτε]τ[αγμέ]ν[ων εἰς] τὸν ἐν[α]ντὸν continue the comparative idea

initiated with $\pi\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega$ in line 108. This new text we believe to be a considerable improvement over the old.

Line 110: This is one of the few lines where more can be read from the stone today than has been won from it in the past. The initial sigma of $\sigma[\acute{\upsilon}\mu\pi]αν$ is entirely preserved and quite clear (so also in Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, II, no. 771), so the reading $\sigma[\sigma\omicron\nu]$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ may be with certainty rejected. Where the reading $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha} \xi[\rho\gamma\alpha]$ has been given near the centre of the line the distinguishable letters are $\Pi\rho\omicron\Xi\tau\alpha\epsilon\Xi\eta$ — — —. In restoring $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\acute{\alpha} \acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta[s \gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{o}]μενα$, I assume that the total payments to be disbursed by the treasurer, in case some of the contractors elected to complete more of their work than was required in any one year, were to be paid in proportion to and in sequence with the parts of the work as they were finished.

Lines 110-111: For the restoration $\piαρέξουσιν δὲ αὐτο[ὶ ἐαυτ]οῖς, κτλ.$, cf. *I.G.*, II², 244, lines 105-111: $\piαρεχόμενοι αὐτοὶ αὐ[το]ῖς καὶ τοῖς λιθοτόμοις ἀναγρα[φές]ας καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὧν ἂν δέωνται[ι ε]ῖς τὸ ἔργον· τοὺς λίθους τοὺς εἰ[s τ]ὸ πλήρωμα τῷ πύργῳ προσάξει[αι] αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ἅπαντας ὅσων ἂν [δέητ]αι. Such clauses relating to the furnishing of materials were common in contracts and specifications; cf. also, e. g., *I.G.*, VII, 4255, lines 28-33: $\Delta\acute{\iota}\langle\theta\rangle\omicron\iotaς δὲ χρήσεται τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῦ κατὰ τὸ[μ] βωμόν, προσαγόμενος αὐτὸς αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἱκανοὶ ᾖσιν, παρέξουσιν ὅσων ἂν προσδεῖ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ πρὸς τῷ ἔργῳ.$$

Lines 111-112: I have restored the phrase $\pi\lambda\eta[ν \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}]ν \tau\iota \mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \lambda\iota\theta\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\eta[ι \eta \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}] \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon[μ]ον \kappa\iota\nu\eta\theta[ῆ]ι. The initial letters have been variously recorded: as ΠAPE in *I.G.*, II², 463, as $\Pi\text{A}[P]$ in *I.G.*, II, 167, as ΠAP in Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, II, no. 771, and as ΠAN by Pittakys.⁹ Koehler's text in *I.G.*, II indicates that he did not see the rho given by Rangabé, and that the letter read as alpha might equally well have been lambda. My examination of the squeeze today substantially confirms Koehler's reading, though I believe that part of the third letter is still visible. The initial pi is quite clear; the second letter preserves only two sloping strokes coming to an apex at the top, and so far as present indications are concerned it may equally well have been alpha or lambda; of the third letter a vertical stroke may be seen. This stroke, which Rangabé took for rho and which Pittakys took for nu, may also be restored as part of a broken eta.$

At the left edge of the new fragment, the initial nu is doubtful, but the letters $\tau\iota$ are certain. In view of the subjunctive verbs which follow, the restoration $\pi\lambda\eta[ν \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}]ν \tau\iota$ is here suggested in spite of the divergence of the readings from those of Rangabé and Pittakys. I suspect that the reading ΠAPE in *I.G.*, II², 463 does not represent a new determination from the stone, and that the final epsilon there given is the result of a typographical error in the *Corpus*, where $\piαρ[έξονται]$ should be read in place of $\piαρέ[ξονται]$.

⁹ Cf. August Frickenhaus, *Athens Mauern* (Diss. Bonn, 1905), p. 53.

The whole phrase lists exceptions to the clause in the specifications which requires that the contractors must furnish for themselves whatever they need for their work. An exception in the case of damage during war-time is readily intelligible, but the exception in the eventuality that some portion should suffer complete collapse seems to contradict the earlier provision of lines 47-48: ἐ[ὰ]ν δέ τι πτωματίσει μέχρι τοῦ λιθολογήματ[ος²⁶.....] παρέξει καὶ ἐξοικοδομήσει. Either the contradiction must be allowed to stand, with the assumption that the later provision of line 111 had validity, or a different interpretation from that usually given must be read into lines 47-48.

Line 115: At the end of the line the letters are again very difficult to read, and I suggest no restoration.

Line 116: Further study has made possible an interpretation of the letters in this line which have so far defied attempts at restoration. They record a guarantee of exemption from military service which was given to the contractors for the period of four years covered by their contract. The significant words are [παρ]έσται δὲ καὶ [ἀ]τ[έ]λεια στ[ρα]τείας — — —. The text does not depend on new determinations for every letter has been recorded, in whole or in part, for many years. I note merely that Koehler's reading $\Upsilon\text{EIA}\Sigma$ (taken into *I.G.*, II², 463, as $\Pi\text{EIA}\Sigma$) was less satisfactory than the reading $\Upsilon\text{EIA}\Sigma$ (= $\Upsilon\text{EIA}\Sigma$) of Ross and Rangabé (cf. August Frickenhaus, *Athens Mauern* [Diss. Bonn, 1905], p. 53).

Lines 117-118: It appears that here the record of the contracts was to be set forth. The scribe evidently followed his copy, which was left incomplete after the citation of the first section of the south wall. The record, therefore, was not inscribed in the main body of the text proper, but was added as an appendix under the heading of line 119.

Lines 120-130: The lower part of the large stele now in the Epigraphical Museum is so badly worn that an effective control over the readings of *I.G.*, II², 463, is no longer practicable. The text here printed in cols. I and II is taken from that of the *Corpus* without change. Parts of cols. III and IV are provided by the new fragment. Frickenhaus (*Athens Mauern* [Diss. Bonn, 1905], p. 31) has shown that the sections of wall for Athens and the Peiraeus were probably recorded in cols. III and IV. If this is true, then the record for the Peiraeus must now be sought in the lower part of col. IV, for the third column was devoted to the first four sections of the city wall, and the upper part of col. IV contains mention of sections five and six, apparently also from the wall of the city. Inasmuch as in lines 117-118 there seems to be mention of the first section of the south wall, it is evident that when the tabular record of lines 120 ff. was cut the subdivisions were differently made. The first section of the long walls was assigned to the north instead of to the south wall.

The first section of the wall of the city, which is listed at the beginning of col. III, comprised the span which began at the point where the inner crosswall (*διατεί-*

χισμα) joined the south wall (νότιον τεῖχος) and continued as far as the Itonian Gate. Evidently the wall of the city was marked off in counter clockwise fashion. The terminal point of the first section depends somewhat on restoration, but the phrase μέχρι τῶν [. . .] ἰδων πυλῶν may be restored with some assurance as μέχρι τῶν [Ἰτων] ἰδων πυλῶν. The adjective applied to the Itonian Gate in [Plato's] *Axiochus* (364 D) is Ἰτωνίαι, but the possibility of the alternative form Ἰτωνίδες is amply attested by Apollonios Rhodios, I, 551 (Ἀθηναίης Ἰτωνίδος).

The name Philistides, son of Aischylos, of Perithoidai (cf. *P.A.*, 14449), is already known from a grave monument of the fourth century, but the contractor whose name appears in col. IV, line 122 was probably the grandson of the man named in the funerary inscription.

The bondsman Megakles, son of Menippos, of Acharnai was probably the son of Menippos, son of Megakles, of Acharnai (*P.A.*, 10038), whose name appears on a grave monument of the fourth century. The father's tombstone should be dated presumably near the middle of the century, because of the spelling Μεγακλέος instead of Μεγακλέους in the patronymic (*I.G.*, II, 1927). This date agrees well with the fact that the son Megakles in 307/6 B.C. must have been well advanced in years, himself old enough to have a son (bearing the grandfather's name) who also served as bondsman along with his father. Cf. col. IV, line 124.

It is possible that the Euktemon of col. IV, line 125 should be identified with Euktemon, son of Aision, who is named in *P.A.*, 5787.

I have followed Ferguson (*A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 230) in retaining the date 307/6 for the inscription, as against the suggestion of Kahrstedt (*Untersuchungen zur Magistratur*, pp. 13-14) that it should be assigned to 304/3 B.C.

DEMES OF DEMETRIAS

10. Seven fragments of Hymettian marble, which belong together, but which do not have any contact surfaces in common. Fragments *a* and *b* have the top surface preserved, and fragments *f* and *g* have the bottom surface preserved. This lower surface is picked and has a dressing along its front edge. The upper part of a wreath appears on fragment *a*, with the lower part of a wreath on fragment *f*. The type is characteristic of a gold crown, but there is no certainty that these pieces were broken from the same wreath.

All fragments were found in Section HH between February 3 and June 1, 1936, with the exception of *b*, which was recovered from a marble dump in Section M on February 27, 1934.

a: Height, 0.051 m.; width, 0.087 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Inv. No. 4008 *d*.

b: Height, 0.065 m.; width, 0.065 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Inv. No. 3917.

c: Height, 0.077 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.067 m.

Inv. No. 4008 *c*.

d: Height, 0.086 m.; width, 0.094 m.; thickness, 0.056 m.

Inv. No. 1490.

e: Height, 0.06 m.; width, 0.092 m.; thickness, 0.062 m.

Inv. No. 3311.

f: Height, 0.06 m.; width, 0.05 m.; thickness, 0.057 m.

Inv. No. 4008 *b*.

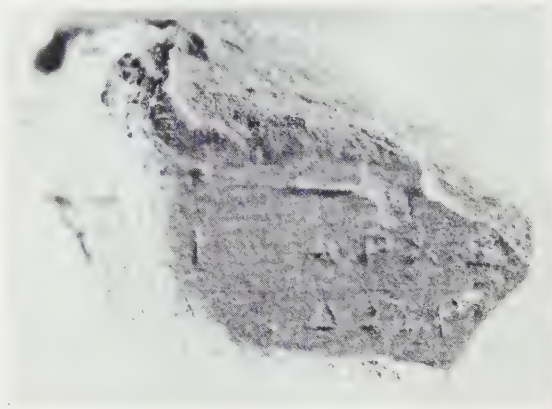
g: Height, 0.058 m.; width, 0.043 m.; thickness, 0.052 m.

Inv. No. 4008 *a*.

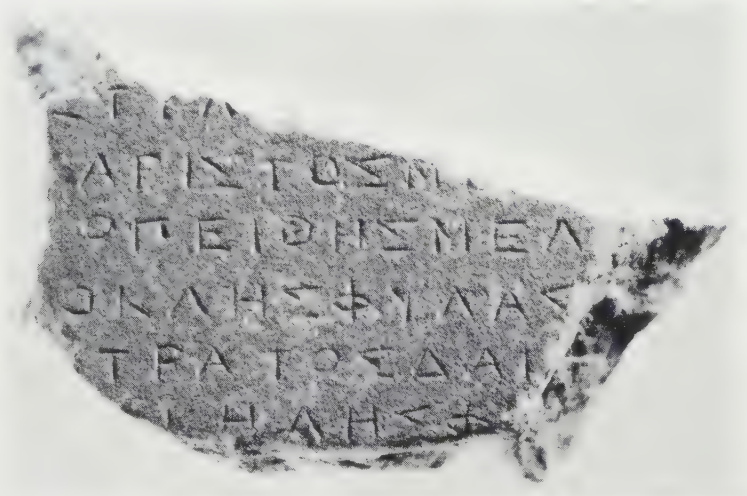
The height of letters in the first line is *ca.* 0.015 m., in the last line 0.011 m., and in the other lines *ca.* 0.006 m. The text is not stoichedon, but five lines require a vertical space on the stone of 0.054 m.



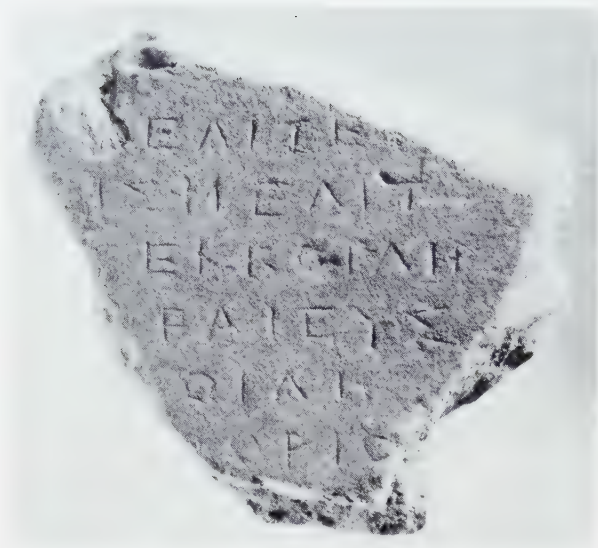
No. 10. Fragment *a*



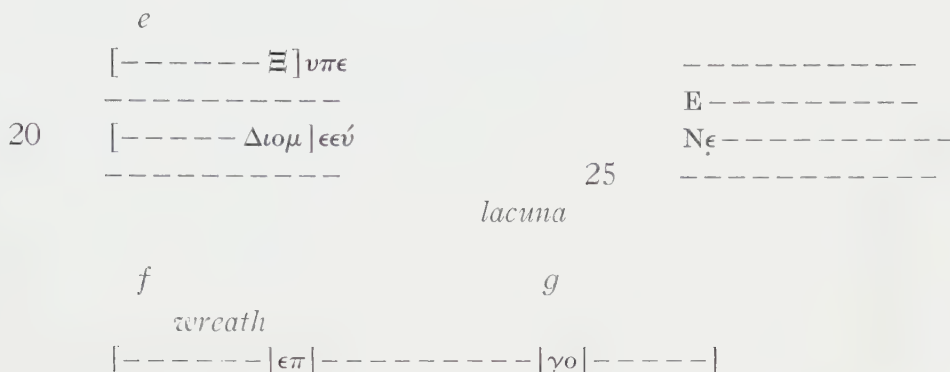
No. 10. Fragment *b*



No. 10. Fragment *c*

No. 10. Fragment *d*No. 10. Fragment *c*No. 10. Fragment *f*No. 10. Fragment *g*

		<i>a</i>		<i>b</i>	
	-----				-----
	-----	[οἱ ἐπὶ]λεκτοι	-----]	ιου[	-----]σ[-----]
	-----	zweath	-----]	ι	Ἀρχε-----
			-----]	Με]	λ Δωρ-----
					<i>lacuna</i>
	<i>c</i>			<i>d</i>	
	[Ἀρί]στυλ[λος-----]			-----]σ[-----]	
5	[...]ἀριστος Με[λιτεύς]			-----]ς [Μ]ελιτεύ[ς]	
	[...]οπέιθης Μελ[ιτεύς]			-----]ης Μελιτ	
	[...]οκλῆς Φυλάσ[ιος]			-----]ς ἐκ Κοίλη	
	[Σώσ]τρατος Δαι[δαλίδης]		15	-----]Θο]ραιεύς	
	[...]κήδης Φ[υλάσιος]			-----]ἐκ Κ]οίλη	
10	-----			-----] Πόριο[ς]	
					<i>lacuna</i>



Except that fragments *a* and *b* must belong to the top of the monument and fragments *f* and *g* to the bottom there is no certainty about the relative positions of the preserved pieces. In line 2 the restoration [οἱ ἐπὶ]λεκτοὶ (with letters more widely spaced than elsewhere) seems probable. The ἐπίλεκτοι are mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 680, line 12, as part of the contingent sent by the Athenians to fight at Thermopylai against the Gauls in 279/8 B.C. They numbered there one thousand (Pausanias, X, 20, 5: πεντακόσιοι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἵππικόν, χίλιοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο ἐν τοῖς πεζοῖς), and were under the command of Kallippos, son of Moirokles, of Eleusis.¹⁰

The present document belongs also to the third century, and it may be assumed that it records an honorary dedication by members of this elite corps. I believe that it must be assumed further that all the demotics named in the text belong to the tribe Demetrias. This attribution of Melite (line 3, 5, 6, 13), Koile (lines 14, 16), Xypete (line 18), and Diomeia (line 20) has been long known. The assignment of Poros (line 17) to Demetrias is now proved by the inscription from the Agora here published as No. 12. The new facts which are revealed by this text are that Daidalidai and part, at least, of Phyle belonged in the third century to Demetrias.

Phyle was large enough so that it may have become a divided deme when the reorganization was effected in 307/6 B.C. Daidalidai was so small that its division between the tribe of its former allegiance (Kekropis) and the new tribe seems improbable. There were, for example, only two representatives of the deme Daidalidai in the prytany list of ca. 128 B.C. published by Dow in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 89, and only one representative in the bouleutai list of 335/4 published as *I.G.*, II², 1700 (lines 163-165).¹¹ There has been until now no specific evidence for the tribal affiliation of Daidalidai between 307/6 and 201/0 B.C.

¹⁰ See Threpsiades, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 180.

¹¹ See Gomme, *The Population of Athens*, p. 62. It must be observed, however, that Atene, Amphotrope, and Semachidai were small demes, and that the first two of these were probably divided in 307/6 (cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 447-448), while there is evidence of a late date for the division of Semachidai between Ptolemais and Antiochis.

On the other hand, it has been assumed that Phyle belonged entirely to Oineis. This has been inferred from the mention of Φιλοτάδης Φυλά as polemarch in the archon list *I.G.*, II², 1706, and this attribution, which gives the tribal distribution of the nine archons in the year of Leochares (228/7 B.C.) as XII, V, VIII, I, IV, VII, IX, X, XI,¹² has been used by Ferguson to establish the end of one cycle of allotment between 228/7 and 227/6. He was led to do this in part so that the tribe Oineis might not in two consecutive years supply the polemarch.¹³ Now that we know part of Phyle to have been assigned to Demetrias, the distribution of archons in 228/7 may equally well be given as XII, V, II, I, IV, VII, IX, X, XI, and there exists in this archon list no evidence which compels the end of one cycle and the commencement of another at precisely this point.

The polemarch of 224/3 belonged to Antiochis (*I.G.*, II², 1706, line 53: Πρωτομένης Εἰτε) as did also the polemarch of 220/19 (*I.G.*, II², 1706, line 73: Κλεομέδων Ἀττην).¹⁴ From this evidence Ferguson (*op. cit.*, p. 53) deduced that a new cycle was begun between 224/3 and 222/1 (now corrected to 220/19 for the date of the archon Menekrates). A new cycle is also indicated between 228/7 and 220/19 even in case Atene in *I.G.*, II², 1706, line 73, belonged to Demetrias, provided Phyle in *I.G.*, II², 1706, line 13, should also be so assigned; and in any case the new cycle must have commenced at some time between 226/5 (archon Ergochares) and 216/5 (archon Hagnias), because in both these years the polemarch was from Leontis.¹⁵ The actual date of the new cycle probably fell in 223/2 B.C., after the creation of the tribe Ptolemais (Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 53).

A conservative evaluation of the evidence suggests that *I.G.*, II², 1706, line 13, does not prove whether Phyle belonged part to Demetrias and part to Oineis or wholly to one or the other. But the present text, together with another new inscription from the Agora, decides the issue in favor of a divided deme. The demotic Φ[υλάσιος] must be restored with the name of the secretary in a text of the archonship of Mnesidemus (298/7 B.C.; cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 132; the full text is published here as No. 13), where the tribal affiliation must be with Oineis to conform to the necessities of the tribal cycle. The present inscription shows that part of Phyle belonged to Demetrias.

The new assignment of Daidalidai to Demetrias has far-reaching consequences,

¹² *I.G.*, II², 1706, lines 11-20.

¹³ Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 50-52.

¹⁴ Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 51, note 2, and Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 448, agree that Atene belonged both to Demetrias and Antiochis. In this case the latter affiliation is necessary to prevent double representation of Demetrias in the board of archons of 220/19. For the date of Menekrates, in whose archonship Kleomedon was polemarch, see Dow, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, plate XIV, line 91.

¹⁵ See Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 53; and for the text of *I.G.*, II², 1706, see Dow, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, plate XIV.

for the tribal cycle is no longer served by restoring the demotic in the name of the secretary for Diomedon's year (*I.G.*, II², 791) as Δ[αιδαλίδης]. The disturbing consequences of this discovery on the problem of the secretary cycle through the archonships of Polyeuktos, Hieron, and Diomedon need not be debated here. We may rather point out that the initial letter of the demotic, which has been variously read as alpha, delta, and lambda,¹⁶ may once again be given the reading alpha, to which it is best suited epigraphically, and that whatever may be the result in subsequent studies of the archon tables, the desired demotic should be of ten letters, yielding for the secretary of Diomedon's year the name Φορυσκίδης Ἀριστομένον Α[.].

11. Small fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides but with the back preserved, found on May 28, 1936, in Section I.

Height, 0.186 m.; width, 0.086 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

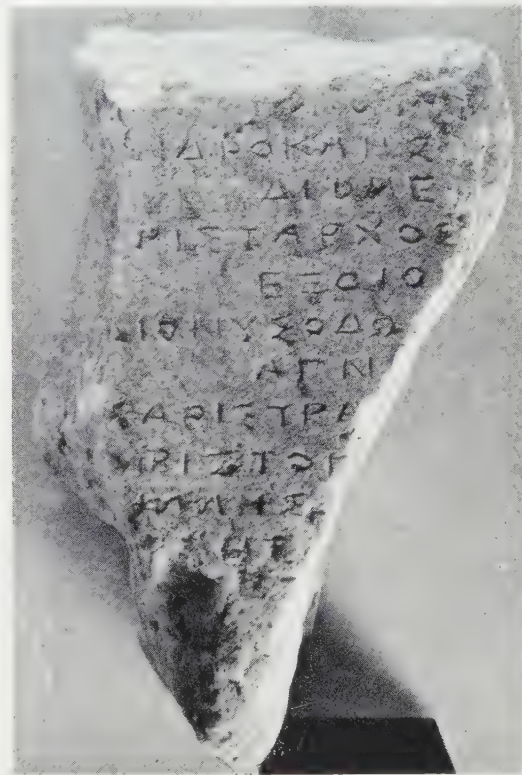
Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4221.

Ten lines of text occupy a vertical space of 0.105 m. The inscription is not stoichedon.

Late 3rd century B.C.

 Ἰπποτ[ομάδαι]
 Ἀνδροκλῆς ----
 Διομε[ιεύς]
 5 Ἀρίσταρχος ----
 ἐξ Οἴο[υ]
 Διονυσόδωρ[ος ----]
 Ἀγν[ούσιοι]
 | X | ἀρίστρα[τος ----]
 10 | Ἀ | ριστοκ[----]
 | K | ἰλλῆς ----
 [Δ] ημήτρ[ιος ----]
 bottom of column?



No. 11

¹⁶ See especially Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 96-99; Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 16-19.

The deme Oion is here found associated with Hippotomadai, Diomeia, and Hagnous, and so it also must have belonged to the tribe Demetrias. The fragment seems to have been broken from a decree honoring the prytaneis of this tribe, and it must be dated before 201/0 B.C. when the Macedonian tribes were abolished. The writing, especially alpha and delta with open tops, is characteristic of the last quarter of the third century. Οἶον Δεκελεικόν is known to have belonged in this period to the tribe Hippothontis, an attribution which has recently been demonstrated anew by the discovery that the secretary of the archonship of Leochares was from Oion, in a year (228/7 B.C.) when the secretary-cycle demands a secretary from tribe X.¹⁷ There is, however, no evidence that Οἶον Κεραμεικόν, which belonged to Leontis in the fourth century, continued in the years from 307/6 to 201/0 with the same affiliation. The present inscription now gives the proof that this Oion, which was probably too small to be divided, was one of the demes taken over for the creation of Demetrias.

It must, therefore, be assumed that the demotic ἐξ Οἴου will be absent from the lists of prytaneis of Leontis during the period of existence of the tribe Demetrias. That it returned to Leontis in the time of the eleven tribes is shown by its listing in *I.G.*, II², 2362, and that it remained in Leontis subsequently is amply attested.¹⁸

In the publication of *I.G.*, II², 848, which Dow has made in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 36, the demotic [Κήττιοι] should be restored in line 91,¹⁹ followed by four demesmen. The demotic [ἐξ Οἴου] is thus eliminated, and the representation of Kettos in the Council is made the same as in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 16, where again four names appear (lines 26-29). The demotic [ἐξ Οἴου] should also be eliminated from line 58 of this latter inscription.²⁰

As the available evidence increases, it becomes apparent that Demetrias was not created solely out of demes taken from the latter tribes in official order from the original ten. The known demes of Antigonis were drawn from tribes I-V, and the demes known so far of Demetrias were drawn from tribes V-X, with one exception in the case of Diomeia, which belonged originally to tribe II.²¹ In addition to its proof that Demetrias had at least one deme (Oion) from tribe IV, the present text settles any misgiving there may still have been that Diomeia belonged to Antigonis.²² The entry in line 4 is decisive in favor of Demetrias. It seems safe to say that the supposed division in the original ten tribes cannot be applied strictly to the composition of either of the Macedonian tribes. But exceptions in the case of Antigonis have yet to be found.

¹⁷ Cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 137.

¹⁸ For the second century, see especially *I.G.*, II², 918 (= Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 77).

¹⁹ My observation of the squeeze shows that line 93 should be restored [...⁷...]ος, with the omicron falling above the second alpha in [Ἀπολλ]οφάνης of line 94.

²⁰ Pritchett publishes below (No. 22) a new fragment of *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 16, and gives a new arrangement of the catalogue of prytaneis.

²¹ See Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 450-451.

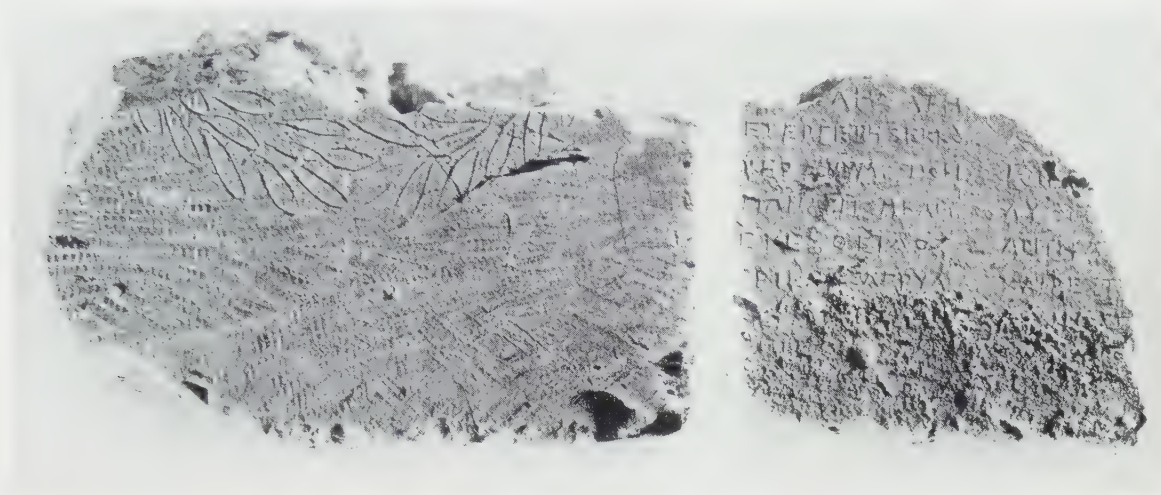
²² Cf. Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

12. Fragment from a base of Hymettian marble, with part of the bottom, face, and left side preserved, found on Nov. 4, 1936, in the wall of a modern house in Section X. The lower part of a wreath is preserved on the left lateral face.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.201 m.; thickness, 0.278 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4320.



No. 12. Lateral and Inscribed Faces

	-----	-----	
	| Δημητριάδος |	-----	
	-----	-----	
	<i>lacuna</i>		
5	-----	-----	5
	Ε[ὕρν]κλης Ἀτη	-----	
	Εὐεργέτης ἐκ Κο	-----	
	Ἰερώνυμος Πόρι	| -----	
	Πανάγης Μελιτ	Λυσίσι[τρατος --]	
10	Ἐρεχθείδος	Ἀντιφάτ[ης ---]	10
	Ἐρικο[.]ς Ἀγρυλ	Χαιρέστ[ρατος --]	
	-----	-----	

This monument was quadrangular, like several bases found in the Agora which carried dedications made by ephebes. The lettering suggests a date in the third century, and within broad limits this date is demonstrably correct, for the ephebes named in lines 6-9 of col. I are all from the tribe Demetrias, which existed only from 307/6

to 201/0 B.C. A more precise date early in the century seems probable, if Euergetes from Koile (line 7) may be identified as the son of Ἐπιγένης Εὐεργέτου ἐκ Κοίλης (*P.A.*, 4804) who flourished late in the fourth century.

The inscription is important for the evidence it gives that Poros belonged to the tribe Demetrias. This fact is further confirmed by the inscription here published as No. 10, *q. v.*

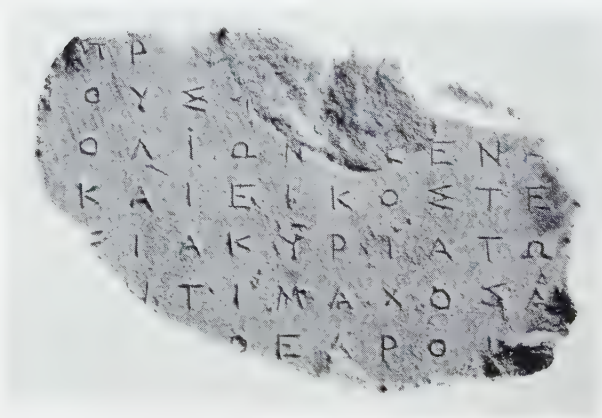
GRANT OF CITIZENSHIP

13. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found on May 6, 1937, in Section OA.

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 4812.



The inscription is stoichedon. Five lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.065 m. and five columns (measured on centres) a horizontal space of 0.065 m., though there are some slight variations. Schweigert has found that his fragment is part of the decree already published as *I.G.*, II², 643. The combined text is published here.

No. 13. Fragment belonging to *I.G.*, II², 643

298/7 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 29

[Ἐπὶ Μνησιδήμου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς . .]
 [. ντίδος ἐνάτης] πρ[υτανείας ἡι]
 [.¹²] ρους Φ[υλάσιος ἐγράμ]
 [μάτευν· Ἐλαφῆ] βολιῶν[ο]ς ἐνά[τει μετ³]
 5 [εἰκάδας τρίτει] καὶ εἰκοστε[ῖ τῆς πρ]
 [υτανείας· ἐκκλη]σία κυρία· τῶ[ν προέδ]
 [ρων ἐπεψήφισεν Ἀ]ντίμαχος Ἀ[. . . .⁶ . .]
 [. . . .⁸ καὶ συμπρ]όεδροι· [ἔδοξε τ]
 [ῶι δῆμωι¹¹] ν[.⁹]

10

lacuna

	[-----δοῦναι δὲ τοὺς]	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 643
	[πρυτά]νει[ς] τ[ῆς . . . ντίδος περὶ τῆς π]	(<i>E.M.</i> 7348)
	ολιτείας αὐ[τῶν τὴν ψῆφον τῶι δήμῳ]	
	εἰς τ[ῆ]ν ἐπιούσαν ἐκ[κλησίαν· ἀναγρά]	
15	ψαι δ[ὲ] τόδε τὸ ψήφισμ[α τὸν γραμματέ]	
	α τὸν [κα]τὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν [στήλει λιθ]	
	[ί]νει καὶ στήσαι τὴν στήλην [ἐν ἀκροπ]	
	[ό]λε[ι] παρὰ τὴν ἑτέραν στήλην [ἐν ἡι οί]	
	[πρ]ότ[ε]ρον τὴν πολιτείαν λα[βόντες τ]	
20	[ὦν . . .]ίων ἀναγεγραμμένοι [εἰσίν· εἰ]	
	[ς δ]ὲ τ[ῆ]ν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δ[οῦναι τ]	
	[ὸν ἐ]ξε[τ]αστὴν καὶ τοὺς τριττ[υάρχον]	
	[ς ^v ΔΔ]Δ ^v δραχμάς.	
	<i>in corona</i>	<i>in corona</i>
	ὁ δ[ὲ] ἡ[μ]ος	ὁ δῆμος
25	Ἀριστόλ[α]ν	Σώστρατον

The new fragment gives the name of the secretary [.¹⁶.]ρους Φ[υλάσιος], hitherto unknown, for the year 298/7.²³ The calendar equation in lines 4-6 has been restored on the assumption that backward count was employed in the date by month²⁴ and on the assumption that the year was ordinary. In any case, the month Elaphebolion contained 30 days, for only in a full month is the count ἐνάτει μετ' εἰκάδας possible, whether the direction of the count be backward or forward.²⁵ A full Elaphebolion does not agree with the ideal scheme drawn to cover this year by Dinsmoor (*Archons*, p. 431) and some readjustment in the sequence of full and hollow months must be made in his table.

With a regular alteration of months after Elaphebolion, Mounichion and Skirophorion must have been hollow, so, if the first six prytanies of the year had 30 days each and the last six 29 days each, Elaphebolion 22 (ἐνάτη μετ' εἰκάδας) may be equated with Pryt. IX, 23.

Requirements of space limit the choice of name for the prytany in lines 1-2 and 12 to Λεωντίδος or Αἰαντίδος (see note on *I.G.*, II², 643), and the same name must be restored in both lacunae. In line 21, I note that the letters ΑΦ of ἀναγραφὴν were crowded so that they occupy the space of one letter in the stoichedon count. The uprights of the Η following were then cut correctly in their stoichos, but the letter

²³ Cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 132.

²⁴ The tabulation of dates in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 561, shows that backward count was more probable in the early third century.

²⁵ See the table in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 535.



No. 13. *I.G.*, II², 643

was subsequently recut slightly to the right so that it now falls about midway between Φ and final Ν.

The inscription falls within the period of military oligarchy when the expense of stelai was borne by the exetastes and the trittarchy.

PRESCRIPT OF A DECREE

14. Upper left corner of a stele of Hymettian marble, which has been lying for some years in the stoa of Attalos, brought into the Agora museum in February of 1936.

Height, 0.230 m.; width, 0.146 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

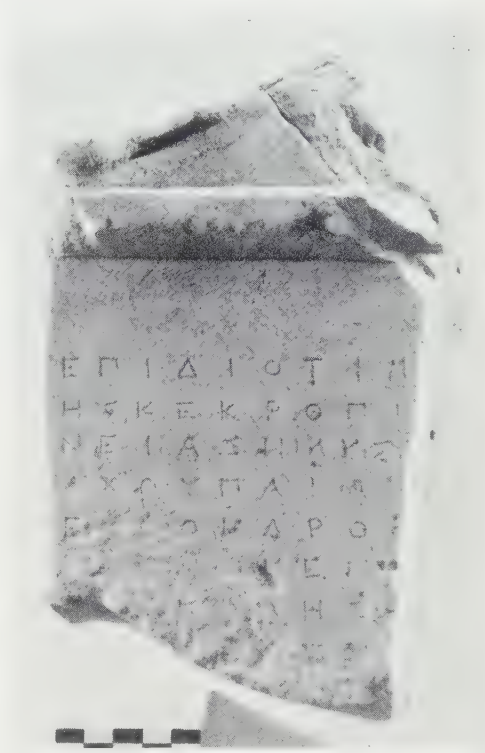
Inv. No. I 3460.

The writing is stoichedon. Five lines occupy a vertical space of 0.065 m., and five letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.068 m.

287/6 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 23

- ἐπὶ Διοτίμ[ου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τ]
 ῆς Κεκροπί[δος τρίτης πρυτα]
 νείας ἥι Λυσί[στρατος Ἀριστομ]
 άχον Παιαν[ιεὺς ἐγραμμάτευ]
 5 ἐ[ν·Β]σηδρομ[ιῶνος ἐνάτηι ἰστ]
 [αμένο]ν ἐν[άτηι τῆς πρυτανεί]
 [ας· ἐκκ]λησ[ία κυρία· τῶν προέδ]
 [ρων ἐπε]ψή[φισεν — — — —]

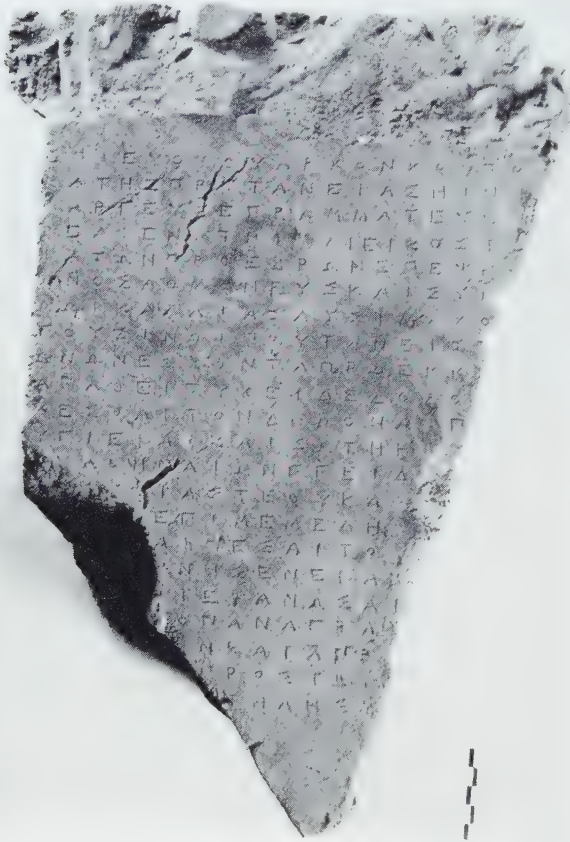


No. 14

In line 3 the name of the secretary was first cut, apparently, as Λύσ[τ]ρατος. The correction was made by crowding back the beginning of the word and inserting the necessary letters, without erasure, for the original true stoichedon (but incorrect) spelling is still perfectly legible.

PRYTANY DECREE

15. Stele of Hymettian marble, with the top, left side, and original thickness preserved, found on January 25, 1937, in the wall of a modern house in Section ΘΘ.



No. 15

Height, 0.46 m.; width, 0.32 m.;
thickness, 0.157 m.

Height of letters, 0.0065 m.

Inv. No. I 4424.

The inscription is stoichedon. Ten lines occupy a vertical space of 0.14 m.; and ten rows (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.14 m. The surface of the marble is not entirely smooth, but still shows the marks of the tooth-chisel. In line 5 the stone-cutter inscribed first *ἐνάτη καὶ εἰκοστή* as the date by prytany. To make the correction four letters, beginning with iota of *καί*, were erased (not very successfully) and the letters *ΙΕΙ* were inserted where *ΙΕ* had formerly stood, a kappa was cut over the old iota, and the once omitted omicron was cut over the old kappa. Line 5 now contains, therefore, forty letters.

285/4 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 39

θ ε [ο ί]

- Ἐπὶ Εὐθείου ἄρχον{χον}τος [ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος δωδε]
κάτης πρυτανείας ἥι Ναυ[σιμένης Ναυσικύδου Χο]
λαργεὺς ἐγραμμάτευεν [Σκιροφοριῶνος ἐνεὶ καὶ]
5 νέαι ἐνάτη καὶ εἰκοστή[ι τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησ]
ία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπειψήφ[ιζεν¹⁶.....]
ῶνος Ἀθμονεὺς καὶ συμπ[ρόεδροι ^v ἔδοξεν τῶι δῆ]
μωι· Καλλίας Λυσιμάχο[υ Ἑρμείος εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν λέ]
γουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τ[ῆς Αἰαντίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερ]
10 ὧν ὧν ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ ἐκκλ[ησιῶν ἐν τῇ πρυτανείαι ^v]
ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθα[ι τῶι δήμωι τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέ]

- χεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἃ ἀπ[αγγέλλουσιν γεγονέναι ἐφ']
 ὑγίαιαι καὶ σωτηρία[ι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τ]
 [ο]ῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἐπειδ[ὴ δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Αἰαντίδ]
 15 [ος θ]υσίας τεθύκασ[ι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως καὶ τῶν]
 [ἄλλων] ἐπιμεμέλην[ται ἀπάντων ὧν αὐτοῖς καθήκο]
 [ν ἦν ἐπ]αινέσαι τοῦ[ς πρυτάνεις τῆς Αἰαντίδος δι]
 [καιος] ὕνης ἔνεκα [καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμ]
 [ον καὶ σ]τεφανῶσαι [αὐτοὺς χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κατὰ]
 20 [τὸν νόμ]ον· ἀναγράψ[αι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμ]
 [ματέα τὸ]ν κατὰ πρυ[τανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ κα]
 [ὶ στήσαι] πρὸς τῶι β[ουλευτηρίωι· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγρ]
 [αφὴν τῆς σ]τήλης μ[ερίσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει]
 [Δ δραχμάς] *vacat*

The decree was passed on the same day with *I.G.*, II², 659, and the same Kallias (*P.A.*, 7861) appears in both inscriptions as the orator.

It should be noted that the letters of the invocation θε[οί] were spaced with perfect symmetry over the body of the text below.

FRAGMENT OF A DECREE

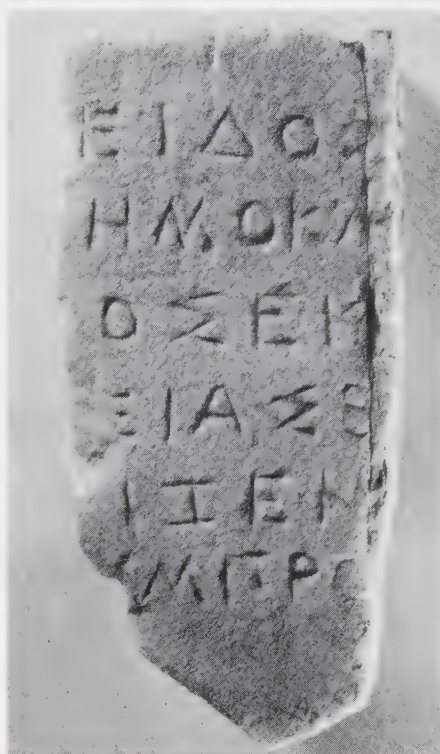
16. Small fragment of Pentelic marble with the smooth top preserved, but otherwise broken, found on April 28, 1934, in Section B.

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.048 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.

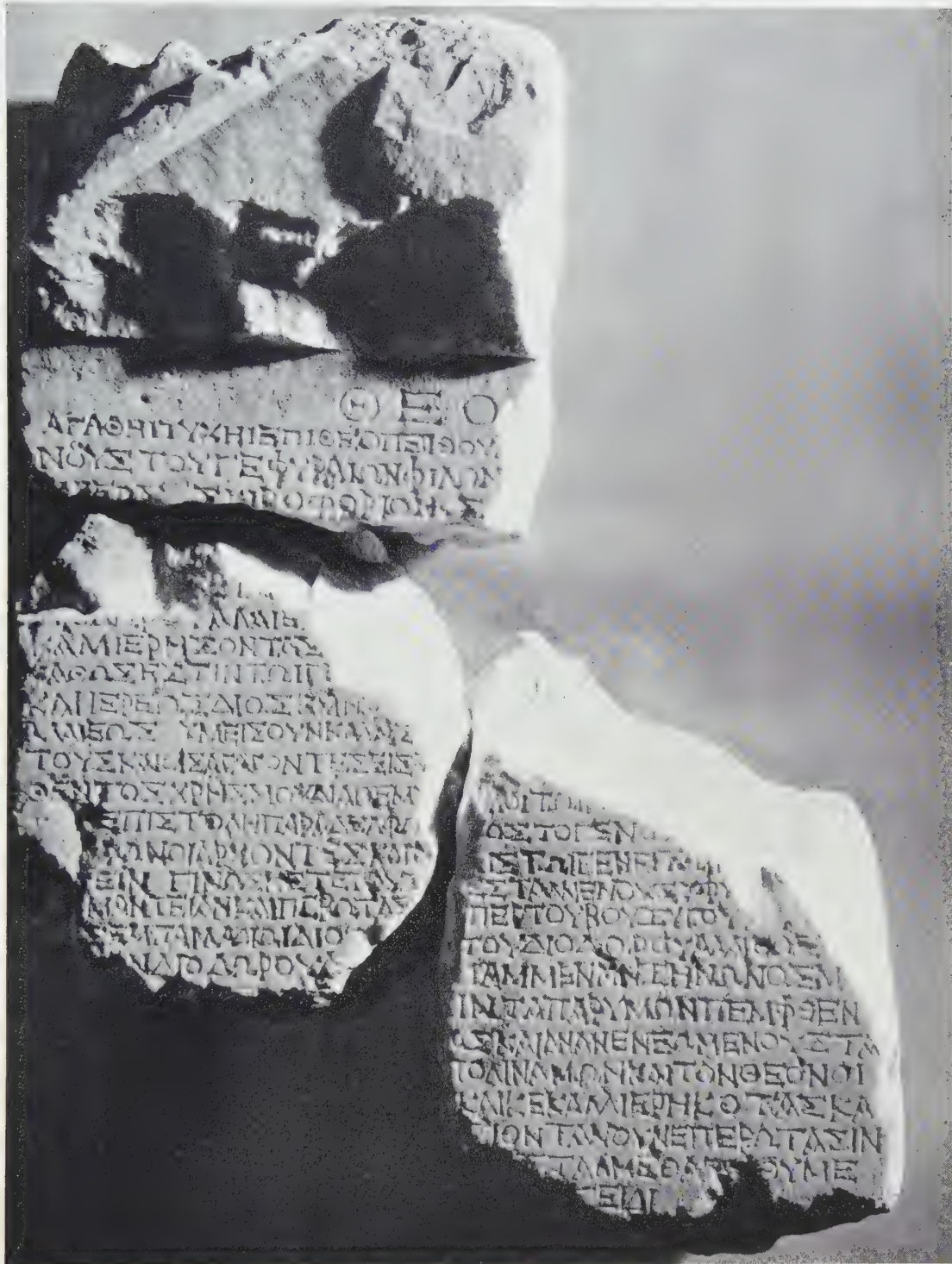
Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 1886.

The date is approximately determinable by the character of the writing, and by the fact that the place of meeting of the βουλή is specified. In line 3 part of the name of a secretary hitherto unknown is preserved; the spacing of the lines on the stone shows that [Δ]ημοκλ[ε--] was the patronymic.



No. 16



No. 17 (The Position of the Fragments is Not Quite Correctly Shown)

- καὶ ἱερέως Διὸς ἐμ Πα[λλαδίῳ Διοτίμου τοῦ Διοδώρου]
 Ἑλαιέως· ὃ ὑμεῖς οὖν καλῶς [ποιήσετε ἀποδεξάμενοι αὐ]
 τοὺς καὶ εἰσαγαγόντες εἰς τ[ὸ χρηστήριον καὶ τοῦ ἀποδο]
 θέντος χρησμῶν διαπεμ[ν]όμενοι τῶι γέ[ν]ει τὸ ἀντίγραφον]
 15 ἐπιστολὴ παρὰ Δελφῶ[ν] πρ[ὸς] τὸ γένος
 Δελφῶν οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ π[ό]λις τῶι γένει τῶι Γ[εφυραίων]
 χαίρειν· ὃ γινώσκετε τοὺς [ἀπ]εσταλ[μ]ένους ὑφ' ὑ[μῶν] ἐπὶ
 τὰν μαντείαν καὶ <ἐ>περώτας [ιν ὑ]πὲρ τοῦ Βουζύγουν κ[α]ὶ ἱ[ερέως]
 [Δ]ιὸς ἐμ Παλλαδίῳ Διοτ[ίμου] τοῦ Διοδώρου Ἑλαιέως [Θε]
 20 [όφιλ]ον Διοδώρου Ἀλ[αῖα] Παμμένην Ζήνωνος Μα[ρα]
 [θώνιον ἀπ]οδε[δο]κότας ἀμ[ε]ῖν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν πεμφθέντ[α]
 [γράμματα περὶ τῆς μαντεί]ας καὶ ἀνανεωμένους τὰν
 [ὑπάρχουσιν ποτὶ τε τὰν] πόλιν ἀμῶν καὶ τὸν θεὸν οἱ
 [κειότατα τῶν Γεφυραίων] καὶ κεκαλλιερηκότας καὶ
 25 [ἐπερωτακότας τὸ μαντ]ι(ε)ῶν· τὰν οὖν ἐπερώτασιν
 [καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπε]στάλμεθα π[ρὸς] ὑμᾶς
 [σφραγισάμενοι τῇ δαμοσίᾳ σφρα]γίδι.
-

The text of fragment *b* as copied by Pittakys exhibits several marginal letters that are no longer on the stone. This does not necessarily mean that Pittakys himself saw these letters, for it is well known that he sometimes made a restoration which seemed to him certain without indicating it as such, so that the student who uses his copies now frequently has to decide whether to accept or reject a marginal reading on the basis of evidence that may seem entirely subjective. In line 7 Pittakys reads ΤΑΙ, but the letters seem to be part of Ξ followed by ΤΑ. In line 10 Pittakys reads ΤΩΙΓΕΝΕΙ; the stone preserves today only the letters ΤΩΙΓΕ. In this instance I assume that the additional reading should have been noted as a supplement, for in lines 8 and 11 Pittakys read no more and no less than is now visible. We have no way of knowing what he saw in line 9, for this is omitted in his copy entirely.

Similarly, in line 13 the text given by Pittakys as ΕΙΞΤΗΝ should be interpreted as an expanded form of the letters ΕΙΞΤ which he saw upon the stone. Pittakys gives no more in line 12 than can be seen now, and in line 14 he did not record part of the marginal letter psi which is still preserved. To assume that he read ΕΙΞΤΗΝ in its entirety would imply an awkward salient of marble jutting to the right in line 13 only; this is extremely improbable. One may note that in line 13 Pittakys read ΕΙΞΑΓΑΓΟΝΤΑΣ incorrectly instead of ΕΙΞΑΓΑΓΟΝΤΕΣ.²⁶

At the beginning of lines 16-18, on the other hand, Pittakys read letters which I believe to have been on the stone in his day and which have now disappeared. In line 16 his letters ΞΕΓΧΡΟΝ must be interpreted as ΔΕΛΦΩΝ. The letters ΦΩΝ are still

²⁶ His reading is incorrectly reported as εἰσάγοντες in *I.G.*, II², 1096, note.

clear (see the photograph on p. 87), and there is room before them for three additional full-spaced letters. Pittakys' rendering shows that he did not see these initial letters clearly, but for the very reason that it is so corrupt I believe his text indicates that he was attempting to put down on paper, and perhaps interpret, strokes that he actually did see. One might be in doubt as to whether Pittakys' reading in line 17 of the entire word **XAIPEIN** involved restoration, since only the letters **EIN** are now visible, except for the fact that he gives the unintelligible initial letters **TAY** in line 18. Here he was clearly not attempting restoration. These letters **TAY** have now disappeared, but it seems clear that Pittakys saw **TA** and the upper part of **N**, which he mistook for **Y**. I conclude that the first letters in all three lines 16-18 have been lost from the stone since the date of Pittakys' publication. The final letter on fragment *b* in line 16 is **Π**; Pittakys read **ΟΙ**. At the end of the same line on fragment *c* the initial letter of the name of the *genos* is partially preserved. Roussel (*B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, p. 181, note 1) reports a lower angle that can be interpreted equally well as **E** or **B**. It may also be interpreted as the lower tip of the vertical stroke in gamma, with the usual short finial cross-stroke at the bottom. Wilhelm (*Ans. Ak. Wien*, 1924, p. 122) describes the cutting as "das untere Ende eines senkrechten mit dem Ansätze eines wagrechten Striches."

In line 18 Wilhelm reads *καὶπερώτασ[ω --]*.

In lines 19-21 there is not very definite evidence for what Pittakys did or did not see. It is possible that he read the letters **ΙΟΞ** of **ΔΙΟΞ** at the beginning of line 19. He reports the letters **ΤΟΥΞ**, which Kirchner (*I.G.*, II², 1096, line 11) has interpreted as part of the phrase [**Διὸς**] τοῦ ἐμ Παλλαδίωι. Wilhelm (*Ans. Ak. Wien*, 1924, p. 121) suggests [**Διὸς**] τοῦ(ς) ἐμ Παλλαδίωι. The stone now shows the reading [**Διὸς**] ἐμ Παλλαδίωι, just as the words **Διὸς ἐμ Πα[λλαδίωι]** appear in line 11 above. It is my belief that Pittakys may have seen the upper parts of the letters **ΙΟ** of [**Δ**]ιὸς where the left edge of the stone was once preserved down through lines 16-19, and this interpretation is given in the present transcript. The beginning of line 20 is now preserved approximately as Pittakys saw it. I have accepted the final letter **Λ** on fragment *b* in line 20 as reported by Pittakys, for the stone may have suffered damage since his reading was made and the extent of his restoration is indicated.

In line 21 Pittakys read **ΩΛΕ**. My conviction is that in all three letters Pittakys saw only the tops, and that they belonged to the letters **ΟΔΕ** of [**ἀπ**]οδε[δωκότας].

The number of letters varies somewhat in different lines of the inscription, but it may be observed that syllabic division is invariably employed at the ends of the lines. Furthermore, it is possible, now that both sides of the stone are preserved, to plot with some degree of accuracy the amount of space available for restoration. Even without fragment *b* at his disposal Wilhelm has made many improvements over the version printed in *I.G.*, II², 1096, and the essential correctness of his general

disposition is now proved by the rediscovery of the lost piece. I note only a minor change in the division of lines 19 and 20, the necessity of reducing slightly the length of one or two lines (8, 10, 20), and the necessity of somewhat longer restorations at the beginning of line 24. Wilhelm's restorations have been made, as always, with care and skill.

In line 25 Kirchner read the first preserved letter as epsilon (*I.G.*, II², 1096, line 17), restoring [μαντ]εῖλον; Wilhelm gives no reading of the letter in question (*Ans. Ak. Wien*, 1924, pp. 121-123), but restores [μαντε]ῖλον. The entire top stroke is preserved, joined by the upper part of a vertical stroke at the very edge of the stone. There is no trace of a central stroke, and the letter can be interpreted as epsilon only on the assumption that it was imperfectly cut, with the central bar omitted, as in <ε>περώτασ[υ] in line 18. Part of the lower stroke seems to be visible on a squeeze, and I should have no hesitation in reading an imperfect epsilon except that Schweigert felt confident when he examined the stone that the letter was gamma.²⁷ The evidence at present is conflicting. I restore [μαντ](ε)ῖλον, but remind the reader that possibilities of restoration with [---]γιον must not be left out of account. If the lower stroke was cut, the letter must have been epsilon; if there was no lower stroke the letter was of course gamma. Unfortunately the photograph does not offer a sufficient control over the divergent records of those who have seen the stone.

Fragments *a* and *b* join in such a way as to show that only two lines of text (5-6) have been lost between the preserved upper and lower surfaces. In the first of these two lines one must supply the heading for the letter sent by the genos of the Gephyraioi to the Delphians. This heading balances that inscribed above the reply sent by the Delphians to the genos (line 15). In lines 6-7 was the greeting of the Gephyraioi to the archons and citizens of Delphi. The phraseology of the restoration is based upon the form of greeting used in the Delphic response (lines 16-17): Δελφῶν οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ π[ό]λις. The reading [ἀπεστάλκαμεν ἐπὶ] τὰν [μαντείαν] suggested in *S.E.G.*, III, 108, must be rejected.

The letter of the Gephyraioi gives the necessary credentials for their two envoys, states that they are being sent to renew an old custom of consultation, and asks that the Delphians receive them, introduce them to the oracle, and send to the genos a copy of the oracular response given to their question.

The letter of the Delphians is a covering letter which the envoys carried back

²⁷ Schweigert writes from Athens under date of April 21, 1939: "I have very little doubt that the letter is gamma. It certainly should not have been bracketed by Wilhelm, for the vertical stroke and uppermost horizontal are well preserved. All the letters in this inscription are deeply cut, and since there is preserved marble surface the middle and lowest hastae of an epsilon should appear. It will be noted that there are two kinds of epsilon in this inscription, one with isometric, the other with shorter middle bar; but in neither case is the middle stroke so short as not to appear on the preserved part if the letter was epsilon."

with them to Athens. It informs the Gephyraioi that their envoys who had come to consult the oracle had renewed the existing close associations of the Gephyraioi with Delphi and with Apollo, and that they had been admitted to the oracle. The Delphians returned also a copy of the question asked of the oracle by the envoys and a copy of the response, sealed with the public seal.

The stone is broken away below line 27, but it is reasonable to assume that the lost portion contained the epigraphical record of the question and the response, followed by an appropriate resolution of the *genos* of the Gephyraioi.

Inasmuch as the envoys were called τοὺς [ἀπ]εσταλ<μ>ένους in line 17, I have restored [ἀπε]στά[λμεθα] in line 7, employing the same form that appears in line 26. I have also adopted the suggestion of Wilamowitz εἰς τ[ὸ χρηστήριον] in line 13 and the suggestion of Crönert [περὶ τῆς μαντεῖ]ας in line 22 (cf. *S.E.G.*, III, 108). For reasons of space, the restoration οἱ[κειότατα τῶν Γεφυραίων] is preferable to οἱ[κειότατα καὶ φιλίαν] in lines 23-24.

The envoys of the Gephyraioi were Theophilos, son of Diodoros, of Halai, and Pammenes, son of Zenon, of Marathon. In the inscription they were named in asyndeton; there is no room for the connective καὶ between the words Ἀλ[αῖα] and Παμμένην in line 20. They were to consult the oracle ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βουζύγου καὶ ἱερέως Διὸς ἐμ Παλλαδίῳ (lines 10-11 and 18-19), whose name was Diotimos, son of Diodoros, of Halai.

Although it is not specifically stated in this inscription that these men belonged to the *genos* of the Bouzygai, this inference was made by Wilhelm from the two fragments known to him, and he restored the name of the Bouzygai in two other inscriptions which name Pammenes and his father Zenon: ²⁸

- (1) *B.C.H.*, III, 1879, p. 156 (3) = *S.E.G.*, III, 667.

... ἱε[ρέως τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος]
ἐκ τοῦ γένους το[ῦ Βουζυγῶν]
Παμμένους τοῦ [Ζήνωνος Μαραθῶ]
νίου

- (2) *I.G.*, XII, 5, 271 (Add., p. 312); cf. *S.E.G.*, III, 745.

ὁ δῆμος ὁ [Ἀθηναίων καὶ]
οἱ τὴν νῆσον [κατοικοῦντες]
Ζήνωνα Παμμ[ένους Μαραθώνιον]
τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ [Ἀπόλλωνος]
ἐκ τοῦ γένους [τοῦ Βουζυγῶν]
ἀρετῆς ἔνεκ[εν καὶ εὐσεβείας]
Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀ[ρτέμιδι Λητοῖ].

²⁸ *Anz. Ak. Wien*, 1924, pp. 126-127.

Diotimos is named as Bouzyges. It is known also (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, no. 60) that in the archonship of Architimos²⁹ Diotimos was ἐξηγητὴς ἐξ Εὐπατριδῶν ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καθεσταμένος in the Dodekais sent to Delphi from Athens in that year. In the belief that he could not have belonged both to the genos of the Bouzygai and to the genos of the Eupatridai, Wilhelm suggested that the designation ἐξ Εὐπατριδῶν must be conceived as a general term covering membership in any of the old Attic gene, and that there was in fact no one γένος Εὐπατριδῶν mutually exclusive with respect to all the other gene.³⁰ There seemed, therefore, no objection to the assumption that Pammenes, Theophilos, and Diotimos were all members of the genos of the Bouzygai.

But in 1929 Roussel published two Delian inscriptions which proved that Pammenes belonged to the genos of the Erysichthonidai.³¹ These now appear in Roussel and Launey, *Inscriptions de Délos*, nos. 2517 and 2518, in the following form:

- (1) [ἐπὶ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἀπόλλων]ος διὰ
[βίου ἐκ τοῦ γένους το]ῦ Ἐρυσι
[χθονιδῶν Παμμένου]ς τοῦ Ζή
[νωνος Μαραθωνίου]ν τοῦ καὶ
[ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναστά]σεως. 5
- (2) καὶ σω[τήρα----]
ἐπὶ ἱερέως το[ῦ Ἀπόλλωνος διὰ βίου]
ἐκ τοῦ γέν[ους τοῦ Ἐρυσιχθονι]
δῶν Παμμ[ένους τοῦ Ζήνωνος]
Μ[αραθωνίου]. 5

Roussel also noted that the name Ἐρυσιχθονιδῶν should be restored in one of the Delian texts discussed by Wilhelm, and *S.E.G.*, III, 667 is now published by Roussel and Launey, *Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 2516:

ἱερ[έως τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος]
ἐκ τοῦ γένους το[ῦ Ἐρυσιχθονιδῶν]
Παμμένους τοῦ Ζ[ήνωνος Μαραθω]
νίου.

Similarly, the Delian text from Paros (*S.E.G.*, III, 745) should probably be restored as follows:

ὁ δῆμος ὁ [Ἀθηναίων καὶ]
οἱ τὴν νῆσον [κατοικοῦντες]

²⁹ 30/29 B.C. according to Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 292-293; cf. also Wilhelm, *Anz. Ak. Wien*, 1924, p. 124.

³⁰ Wilhelm, *Anz. Ak. Wien*, 1924, pp. 124-126. See also Wade-Gery, *Cl. Quart.*, XXV, 1931, p. 84; Daux, *Delphes*, pp. 551-554; and Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 51.

³¹ *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, pp. 181-182. Cf. *S.E.G.*, III, 667.

Ζήνωνα Παμμ[ένης Μαραθώνιον]
 τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ [Ἀπόλλωνος διὰ βίου]
 5 ἐκ τοῦ γένους [τοῦ Ἐρυσιχθονιδῶν]
 ἀρετῆς ἔνεκ[α καὶ εὐσεβείας?] |
 Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀ[ρτέμιδι Λητοῖ].

Cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, no. 1624 bis.

Inasmuch as the name Ἐρυσιχθονιδῶν, for reasons of space alone, cannot be restored in line 16 of the present text, Roussel suggested that Pammenes may have passed from one *genos* to another by adoption, or perhaps that there were two men of the same name, one in one *genos* and one in the other.³²

With the discovery of the new Agora fragment we now learn that the letter sent to Delphi by an Athenian *genos* was despatched not by the Bouzygai or the Erysichthonidai but by the Gephyraioi (lines 3, [6], and [16]). This introduces the name of still another *genos*, for one may now suggest that all three men named in the letters were members of the *genos* of the Gephyraioi. If so, then Diotimos was both Bouzyges and Gephyraios, Theophilos was Gephyraios, and Pammenes was both Gephyraios and Erysichthonides.³³

One Pammenes of Marathon had a son who was adopted by Theophilos of Halai and whose name appears in an inscription published in the *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* (1911, p. 254) as Διόδωρος Θεοφίλου Ἀλαιεύς, γόνωι δὲ Παμμένου Μαραθωνίου. Wilhelm comments on this text (*Anz. Ak. Wien*, 1924, p. 124), but reserves judgment on the exact identification of the names in question. The genealogical tables for both families are so complex that this caution must be commended (cf. the stemmata in Sundwall, *Nachträge*, pp. 56 and 85), but it is possible that he may have been the son, natural and adopted, of the two envoys named in this inscription. The Bouzyges and Priest of Zeus Diotimos was evidently the brother of the envoy Theophilos. In any case, the close family associations apparent in the present text add to the probability that all were members of the *genos* of the Gephyraioi; the Bouzyges and Priest of Zeus certainly was, or there is no valid explanation for the concern of the Gephyraioi in the question at Delphi which they were to ask for him *καθὼς ἔστιν τῷ γέ[νει πάτριον]* (line 10). It is difficult, furthermore, to believe that the Gephyraioi should

³² *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, p. 182 and note 2. Cf. Daux, *Delphes*, p. 551, note 1. The Pammenes named as archon (ἐπὶ Παμμένου) in the text published by Rhomaïos, *Ἑλληνικά*, 1928, pp. 233-243, and again printed by Roussel in *R.E.A.*, XXXII, 1930, pp. 5-8, is probably the Pammenes of the present text, archon in the latter part of the first century. The use in the inscription published by Rhomaïos and Roussel of the symbol \bigcirc for the homonymous patronymic argues against a date so early as the archonship of Pammenes in 83/2 B.C. (cf. Larfeld, *Handbuch*, II, 2, p. 535). The archonship of the earlier Pammenes is correctly dated by Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 42, but incorrectly inferred by Roussel-Launey, *Inscriptions de Délos*, 1592, note, as 82/1 B.C.

³³ Diotimos was archon ca. 26/5 B.C. (Graindor, *Chronologie*, pp. 30-34), and Theophilos was archon in 11/10 B.C. (*ibid.*, pp. 40 and 48 [no. 14]); for the archonship of Pammenes see note 32.

have sent envoys from outside their own number on a mission so closely connected with their own tradition, and that by an extraordinary coincidence these envoys, though outside the genos, should yet be so close in family relations to one of their own number. I take this inscription as proof that Diotimos, Theophilos, and Pammenes were all Gephyraioi.

Diotimos is named also in an Athenian decree published recently by Threpsiades (in Kourouniotes, *Ἑλεουσινιακά*, I, 1932, pp. 223-236)³⁴ as one of a commission of twenty men appointed by the genos of the Kerykes. His personal prominence is emphasized by the fact that he was named first of the twenty, and by the fact that he proposed the motion embodied in the decree. In spite of Roussel's hesitation to accept this as evidence for his membership in the genos,³⁵ I believe that Ferguson is right in claiming that all members of the commission were *Κήρυκες*.³⁶

This Eleusinian document and the new Agora fragment show that a man might belong to the Bouzygai, the Gephyraioi, and the Kerykes. The Delian inscriptions prove, unless we assume a transfer of allegiance on the part of Pammenes, or Zenon, or both, that a man might belong to both the Erysichthonidai and the Gephyraioi. Furthermore, Roussel has called attention to a double allegiance in the family of Leonides of Melite, who was of the genos of the Arynandridai (*I.G.*, II², 2338, line 59) and one of whose immediate descendants belonged to the Kerykes.³⁷ The evidence indicates plainly that at least by the beginning of the Empire a man might belong to more than one of the old Attic gene.³⁸

The connection between the Gephyraioi and the priesthood of Zeus in Palladion has not been known before. There was a court in Athens named after the Palladion,³⁹ and Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 57, 3) says that the cases tried there were those of involuntary homicide, conspiracy (involving homicide), and the slaying of a slave, metic, or foreigner. The site is placed by Judeich in the southeastern quarter of the city, not far west of the Stadion.⁴⁰ Here also were the cults of *Ζεὺς ἐμ Παλλαδίῳ* (or *ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ*) and *Ἀθηναία ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ*.⁴¹ It is worth noting that the trials for homi-

³⁴ Republished by Roussel in *Mélanges Bidez*, pp. 819-834.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 827.

³⁶ *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 51.

³⁷ *Mélanges Bidez*, pp. 827-828; cf. also Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 51.

³⁸ For possible cases of double allegiance between Eteoboutadai and Kerykes or Eumolpidai cf. also Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 50-51.

³⁹ For *ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ* see also Aristophanes, frag. 585; Pausanias, I, 28, 8; Pollux, VIII, 118; Harpocration, *s. v.*; Suidas, *s. v.*; Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, p. 311. Cf. Schol. Aeschines, II, 87.

⁴⁰ *Topographie von Athen*² (1931), p. 421. Studniczka's suggestion (*Jahrbuch*, XXXVIII-XXXIX, 1923-1924, p. 116, note 3) that the lost Ionic temple on the Ilissos was the temple of Athena *ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ* has been refuted by Hans Möbius, *Ath. Mitt.*, LX-LXI, 1935-1936, pp. 234-268, especially p. 243.

⁴¹ Cf. *I.G.*, I², 324, lines 73 and 90 (as in Meritt, *A.F.D.*, pp. 141-142); *I.G.*, II², 3177 (*ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ*); *I.G.*, II², 5055 (*ἐν Παλλαδίῳ*).

cide of metics and aliens were held in a court closely connected with a cult controlled by the Gephyraioi, for this *genos* was itself foreign in origin and had come to Athens by way of Eretria or Boiotia.⁴²

The report which Herodotos gives of the Phoenician origin of the Gephyraioi (V, 57) has been defended by Dörpfeld against Toepffer's insistence that it was a "handgreifliche Hypothese" and "Märchen,"⁴³ and he points out the Phoenician character of the first settlement in Melite and subsequent migration to Diomeia. Not only was the Palladion probably in Diomeia, but here were also the sanctuary of Herakles and the gymnasium known as Kynosarges.⁴⁴ This gymnasium was used by Athenians of doubtful citizenship (*νόθοι*), and in its service of non-Attic interests in Athens probably was related to the settlement of the Gephyraioi in a way similar to that of the court by the Palladion in matters of homicide.

The envoys of the Gephyraioi were to consult the oracle at Delphi in a way which was traditional with the *genos* and they did this on behalf of the priest of Zeus in Palladion. It seems to follow from this that the connection of the priesthood of Zeus with the *genos* of Bouzygai was also traditional, and the evidence of this inscription shows that it was an established fact in the archonship of Theopeithes.⁴⁵ How soon the association was made one cannot tell, but once effected, the priests of Zeus in Palladion must have been both Bouzygai and Gephyraioi. The epigraphical evidence is so far all of Roman date, being derived, in addition to the present document, from the lost dedication *I.G.*, II², 3177, and an inscription on one of the seats of the theatre, *I.G.*, II², 5055:

I.G., II², 3177

----- *ιερ*]

εὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίου καὶ Βουζύγης Πολ[υαί]νον Μαραθωνίου
 χρῆσαντος τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος ὅτι χρῆ ἕτερον ἔδο[ς] τῆς Παλλάδος κατα
 σκευάσασθαι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ποιήσας τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει ἀνέθηκεν.⁴⁶

⁴² Toepffer (*Att. Gen.*, pp. 293-300), cites the tradition that Tanagra, onetime home of the Gephyraioi (Herodotos, V, 57), was also called Γέφυρα, and he associates this with the name of the *genos* and with the Athenian worship of Γεφυραία Δημήτηρ. Cf. Hekataios, frag. 118 in Jacoby, *Frag. der griech. Hist.*, I, p. 23: Γέφυρα· πόλις Βοιωτίας. τινὲς δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ Ταναγραίους φασίν, ὡς Στράβων (IX, 2, 10) καὶ Ἑκαταῖος. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Γεφυραία ἡ Δηώ; Suidas, *s. v.* Γεφυρίς: ξένη καὶ ἐπείσακτος· οἱ γὰρ Γεφυραῖοι ξένοι καὶ ἐπὶ λυτοὶ ὄντες Ἀθήνησιν ὄκησαν; *Etym. Mag.*, *s. v.* Γεφυρεῖς: δῆμος Ἀττικὸς, ὅθεν καὶ Γεφυραία Δημήτηρ. Εἴρεται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔχειν γέφυραν, δι' ἧς ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνα κάτεισιν οἱ μύσται.

⁴³ Dörpfeld, *Alt-Olympia*, pp. 414-425, with references. The inferences made, e. g., in *Alt-Athen*, pp. 30-31, do not affect the issue of origins and settlement.

⁴⁴ Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*² (1931), p. 423 and notes.

⁴⁵ Tradition records the guardianship of the Bouzygai over the Palladion; cf. e. g., Polyainos, *Strategica*, I, 5.

⁴⁶ Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 146, suspects the omission of ἐπὶ before the word Πολ[υαί]νον in line 2 and assumes that Polyainos of Marathon was archon at the time of the dedication.

I.G., II², 5055⁴⁷

Βουζύγου
 ἱερέως Διὸς ἐν
 Παλλαδίῳ

A further indication of close connections between the Gephyraioi and Delphi in the Imperial period may be found in the fact that the so-called oracle of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who were members of the genos (Herodotos, V, 57), was inscribed at this time in archaistic letters on a pedimental stele which has been found in the Thriasian plain.⁴⁸

The present text is dated by the name of the Athenian archon Theopeithes (*ca.* 37/6 B.C.) and by the name of the archon of the genos Philonides of Paiania.⁴⁹

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⁴⁷ The priesthood of Zeus Teleios was also held by a member of the genos of Bouzygai (*I.G.*, II², 5075: ἱερέως Διὸς Τελείου Βουζύγου).

⁴⁸ *I.G.*, II², 5007. Cf. Graindor, *Album d'Inscriptions Attiques*, no. 7 (photograph on plate VI); *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 147. On the basis of letter forms Kirchner prefers a date in the age of Hadrian to that in the time of Augustus supported by Graindor.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 80-81.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

DEDICATION TO DEMETER AND KORE

18. Inscribed base of Pentelic marble, found on June 2, 1938, in the west face of the Valerian Wall in Section ΘΘ. The stone was broken off at the right, but the original width of the base may be computed as 0.754 m. on the assumption that the cutting on the top surface was equidistant (0.217 m.) from both right and left sides. The size of the rough-picked rectangular cutting, whose original width is preserved at the front, is 0.32 m. × 0.23 m.; it is located 0.24 m. from the front surface and 0.107 m. from the back. All original faces of the monument were smoothly dressed.

Height, 0.265 m.; width, 0.60 m.; thickness, 0.577 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 5484.



No. 18

ca. 455 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[ῚΑ]ρρήτο τελετῆς πρόπολος σῆς, πότνια Διοῖ,
καὶ θυγατρὸς προθύρο κόσμον ἄγαλμα τόδε
ἔστησεν στεφάνω Λυσιστράτῃ οὐδὲ παρόντων
φείδεται ἀλλὰ θεοῖς ἄφθονος ἐς δύναμιν.

Translation: O revered Demeter, Lysistrate, the attendant of your sacred rites and of your daughter's, has erected this offering (*ἄγαλμα*) of two crowns as an ornament of your forecourt. Of what she has, she is not sparing, but to the gods she is lavish to the extent of her means.

The forms of the letters suggest a date in the fifties of the fifth century, and this is not incompatible with the employment of the Ionic alphabet, which is abundantly attested for private records in the period after 480 B.C.¹ The phi with a projecting vertical stroke appears in the tribute lists in the second year (453/2 B.C.)² and in the Sigeian decree of 451/0 B.C. (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 360-362). All examples of phi in the first year of the tribute lists are in the form of a vertical stroke enclosed within a circle. The two-stroke upsilon is said by Kirchner (*Imagines*, p. 12) to have disappeared after the date of the Marathon epigram.³ It does occur, however, in private monuments and late examples of it appear in *I.G.*, I², 1084, a grave stele with Ionic letters which is dated by Wilhelm (*Beiträge*, p. 37) in the third quarter of the fifth century. The other letters of this base are not so significant, but they are not out of place in the 'fifties.

Determination of the kind of monument erected on this inscribed base is of importance for the interpretation of the text itself; in particular will the meaning of *ἄγαλμα* in line 2 and the interpretation of *στεφάνω* in line 3 be affected by the establishment of whether the base held a statue or some sort of pillar (with or without relief). Finality cannot be obtained from the evidence of the cutting alone, but a strong probability in favor of the interpretation that the base contained a pillar can be established.⁴ The measurement for the shorter sides of the cutting on the top surface (0.23 m.) would permit the foot of a statue two-thirds life size at the maximum, but the depth of the cutting (0.045 m.) extends rather far for the plinth of a statue of such height. In addition, the shape of the cutting, being rectangular, strongly favors the pillar theory.⁵ Similar pillars for grave monuments have been discussed in detail by Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXVI, 1922, pp. 261-277, and XXVII, 1923, pp. 23-25, and analogous bases with rectangular cuttings which received pillar-

¹ See Meisterhans, *Grammatik*³, p. 4, and Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, pp. 175-178. Cf. Kretschmer, *Gr. Vasenschriften*, pp. 103 ff., and Buck, *Cl. Phil.*, VIII, 1913, pp. 135-143.

² See Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, vol. I, p. 13, fig. 10 and plate III.

³ In the public sepulchral monument *I.G.*, I², 929 (458 B.C.) the second mason incised two-stroke upsilons. Examples also occur in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, no. 12, dated by Oliver between 451 and 449 B.C.

⁴ With regard to the study of the architectural features of this monument, I have profited substantially from conversations with Dr. A. Raubitschek.

⁵ On the improbability of a marble statue being dedicated between 480-400 B.C., see A. J. B. Wace, *An Approach to Greek Sculpture*, p. 24, and Snijder, *Gnomon*, XII, 1936, p. 565. Raubitschek informs me that his examination of Athenian bases of the sixth century has revealed only one monument with a similar rectangular cutting which may be connected with the statue of a standing figure; cf. also Raubitschek, *Bull. Bulgare*, XII, 1938, p. 140, note 8.

shafts are fairly numerous.⁶ The omission of the artist's signature, while not of itself conclusive, does not discountenance the pillar interpretation.

The translation of στεφάνω as the object of ἔστησεν in apposition with ἄγαλμα depends on the interpretation of the monument as a base for a pedestal or pillar; into the supported pillar were driven nails on which were suspended the two consecrated crowns.⁷ This was frequently done in the case of grave stelai, as J. Klein (*Der Kranz bei den alten Griechen*, p. 52) has stated: "Der Kranz wird nun entweder an der Stele selbst aufgehängt; deshalb zeigen die Stelen häufig Spuren von Nägeln, die einst dazu dienten, die aufgehängten Kränze festzuhalten." A stele of white marble now in the archaeological collection at Larisa affords a very interesting parallel. Paul Clement has kindly provided a photograph of this monument, a new text of which has been published by him in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 200.⁸ This stele has a dowel hole in the upper part above the dedicatory inscription; into this hole must have been inserted a support for some sort of dedicatory offering to the Thessalian goddess. Rouse (*Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 155, 266-267) states that golden crowns were frequently consecrated, and there is an immense number of crowns recorded in the Athenian inventories.⁹ It was the custom to dedicate the honorific crown, and this

⁶ See Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, 1909, pp. 70-71; Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 373-374; Raubitschek, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, XXXI, 1938, Beiblatt, pp. 35-36; and Raubitschek, *Bull. Bulgare*, XII, 1938, pp. 148-158. In the case of *I.G.*, I², 617, a base which was inscribed about the middle of the fifth century, the size of the cutting, $0.23 \times 0.11 \times 0.06$ m. (see Lolling-Wolters, no. 174), is so small for a base whose width is 0.95 m. that the stone must have supported a pillar. The top surface of *I.G.*, I², 525 displays a deep rectangular cutting (0.09 m.), and the monument would be assigned to this same group, even if there were not the additional evidence from *I.G.*, I², 524 and 826 that its artist, Euphron, was the maker of such pillars (probably with reliefs). The base *I.G.*, II², 2793 has a cutting which measures $0.23 \times 0.075 \times 0.045$ m. (see Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, 1909, pp. 47-48), so it must have been the support for a stele or pillar. The only clue to the nature of the pillar is offered by the text of the inscription ([ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθην]αίων στεφανώσ[ας χρυσῶι στεφάνωι Δεινο]κράτην Κλειομβρότου Ἀχαρ[νέα]); this suggests that the monument—and probably there are many of the same type—supported an honorific crown.

⁷ See G. F. Hill in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, s.v. Crown, p. 342: The word στέφανος is "used by Greeks — of circular ornaments that could be — hung on a support as offering or decoration —." At Knossos there was found in a flat bowl a spray of foliage made of thin gold plate and wire, which Evans (*B.S.A.*, VIII, 1901-02, p. 25) considers to have been used for votive purposes. For lists of similar crowns, see J. Koechling, "De coronarum apud antiquos vi atque usu," in *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, XIV, 1913-14, p. 41, and Deubner, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXX, 1933, p. 80.

⁸ Clement has informed me that the measurements of the monument are: height, 0.86 m.; width (near the bottom), 0.42 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.019 m. These measurements, it is to be noted, differ somewhat from those published by Giannopoulos in *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, X, 1926, p. 52. The measurements of the dowel hole Clement has computed from the photograph to be: width, 0.03 m.; length, 0.053 m. The tapered stele is mutilated at the top and broken away at the bottom; the original sides, though chipped along the edges, are preserved.

⁹ The greater part of one of these lists, *I.G.*, II², 1496, consists exclusively of such crowns dedicated by the recipients.



Stele from Larisa

fact is frankly recognized in *I.G.*, II², 212, where the two men honored in the main decree are directed to dedicate their crowns forthwith (lines 33 ff.: ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς στεφάνους ἀνατιθέασι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι ---). Women are known to have been the recipients of crowns, and *I.G.*, II², 863 and 1036 afford analogies for such a possible award to Lysistrate.¹⁰ The use of the dual form in fifth-century Attic inscriptions is well attested by Meisterhans (*Grammatik*³, pp. 121-123, 199-203, etc.).

Rejection of the interpretation that the monument was a pillar-base would necessitate a new explanation for στεφάνω, and the possibility of this word being a patronymic must be considered in any case.¹¹ The use of ω for ου occurs in several fifth-century inscriptions which contain traces of the Ionic alphabet,¹² and the name Στέφανος is well attested for the fifth century (see *P.A.*, 12877, 12878, 12882, 12883, and 12884). In the dedicatory inscriptions listed by Kirchner in *I.G.*, II²,

¹⁰ Dedications made by women before 403 B.C. include *I.G.*, I², 473, 487, 493, 524, 553, 578, 582, 605 (?), 659, and 745.

¹¹ The possibility of interpreting στεφάνω as an instrumental dative with iota omitted has been considered, but as regards meaning and form it seems less satisfactory than either of the other interpretations offered. The earliest epigraphical example of the omission of the iota from the dative singular occurs in the inscription (late sixth century) published by Raubitschek, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, XXXI, 1938, Beiblatt, p. 62. Of the two fifth-century examples collected by Meisterhans (*op. cit.*, p. 67), the one in *I.G.*, I², 77, line 2, has been corrected by Hiller; the other from 410 B.C. (*I.G.*, I², 253, line 267) occurs in a non-stoichedon inventory record. Compare also Schwyzler, *Gr. Gram.*, I, p. 201. In *I.G.*, II², 4548 (ca. 400 B.C.) the form Κηφισῶ is not analogous, since the stonemason inscribed a genitive form by error for a dative: compare Walter, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, p. 100, note 1.

¹² See Meisterhans, *op. cit.*, p. 4, note 17, where three examples are listed (*I.G.*, I², 80, line 8; 559; and 661). In the case of Λευκολοφίδω in *I.G.*, I², 559, Meisterhans' interpretation is in accord with that proposed by Kirchhoff and accepted by Hiller, but it must be noted that the form has

4545 ff. there are many examples of a woman's name with patronymic,¹³ and in some of these, although of later date, the woman is specified as a priestess of Demeter (*I.G.*, II², 4824, 4868).¹⁴ For the position of the patronymic, comparison may be made with *I.G.*, II², 3123 (cf. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 159) and with Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 7, 4 (cf. Hiller, *I.G.*, I², p. 205, and Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, pp. 38-39). For the omission of *θυγάτηρ*, there are analogous examples from the fourth century and later (*I.G.*, II², 4552, 4643, etc.), but apparently none from the fifth: *I.G.*, I², 553 is only partially preserved and the reading of *I.G.*, I², 639 has been corrected by Raubitschek, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, XXXI, 1938, Beiblatt, p. 59 (cf. Lauffer, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937 [1939], pp. 91-92). As stated above, however, the architectural features and the desirability of avoiding any irregularity in the script of this carefully inscribed monument have been tentatively adjudged evidence in favor of the interpretation of *στεφάνω* as a dual accusative form.

Line 1: The phrase *ἀρρήτου τελετῆς* also occurs in Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.*, no. 972. For the vocative form *Δηοῖ*, see Kühner-Blass, I, pp. 453-454.

Line 2: The original site of the monument, determined by the reference to its erection as an adornment of Demeter's *πρόθυρον*, may be located in the Eleusinion, in the vicinity of which the pillar-base was discovered, as will be discussed in forthcoming topographical studies.¹⁵ In *I.G.*, II², 1672 (329/8 B.C.), reference is made to the repair of this *πρόθυρον* (e. g., lines 165-166: *τῶι ποιήσαντι τὰς θύρας τὰς εἰς τὸ Ἑλευσίνιον τὸ ἐν ἄστει καὶ τὸ πρόθυρον*). In the fifth century, this was a strongly enclosed area, as appears from Thucydides' description (II, 17) of the influx of the population into the city in 431 B.C.: *οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τε ἐρῆμα τῆς πόλεως ᾤκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρώα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἑλευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν*.¹⁶

The use of *ἄγαλμα* to designate a votive offering to the goddess, a precursor of the common post-Herodotean meaning of (cult-)statue of a deity, is discussed by Reisch in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s. v. *ἄγαλμα*.¹⁷ It was applied to such diversified offerings as a bronze vessel (*I.G.*, I², 450, 452), *περιρραντήριον* (*I.G.*, I², 739, 747), herm (*I.G.*, I², 821), pillar-monument of the type of the present document (*I.G.*, I², 631, 826), etc.

been interpreted as a dual: see Rangabé, *Ant. Hell.*, I, 1842, no. 37 (cf. Schwyzler, *Gr. Gram.*, I, p. 557, and Kühner-Blass, *Gr. Gram.*, I, p. 377). To Meisterhans' examples may be added *I.G.*, I², 821: see the remarks of Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, II, 1899, pp. 228-229, and of Picard, *R.E.A.*, XXXVII, 1935, p. 9. See also the ostraka published by Brueckner, *Ath. Mitt.*, XL, 1915, p. 10, no. 12 (cf. *I.G.*, I², 911, 1), by Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 40, and by Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 240, fig. 69.

¹³ Cf. Walter, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, p. 100. ¹⁴ Cf. Foucart, *Les mystères d'Éleusis*, pp. 216-220.

¹⁵ See also Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 207.

¹⁶ See Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 286-289, and Foucart, *Les mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 307.

¹⁷ Cf. G. Hock, *Gr. Weihegebraeuche*, p. 47; C. D. Buck, *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects*², p. 196, no. 35; and Langlotz in Schrader's *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*, p. 8. The possibility of a statue on top of the pillar-shaft is not excluded.

The new fragment deals with the floral ornaments for the coffered ceiling of the western part of the Erechtheum. It contains the record of payments for the execution of the rosettes, thirty of which are now noted. These rosettes (κάλκαι or χάλκαι)¹⁸ were executed in the ninth prytany of the year 408/7 B.C. at a price of 14 drachmae each. The name of the workman in lines 78-79 has been restored as Στ[ασιάνα]ξ and is new in Attic prosopography.¹⁹ This name will also fit the lacuna of lines 86-87. In line 81 the only names listed by Bechtel (*op. cit.*, pp. 221-225) which will fit the lacuna are [Ἀρίσ]τιππος, [Κλεί]τιππος, and [Στρά]τιππος. All occur in Attic prosopography. If Ἀρίστιππος is restored, it may be the same workman who is mentioned in no. XXIII, line 7 (*The Erechtheum*, p. 400). In line 83 Θεόδωτος Ἀχαρνεύς is already known as one of the workmen employed in the previous year for the carving of the moulding in the πλαίσια of the East Cella's ceiling (XI, column III, line 7; cf. *The Erechtheum*, p. 366).

In line 81 the omission of μίαν finds parallels in no. XVII, column II, lines 73 and 74. The second letter space in line 82 must have been uninscribed as were the letter spaces in XVII, column I, line 22, column II, lines 23, 24, and 27, or filled by four dots as in XVII, column II, line 23.²⁰ Since an akantos model for the coffer-lids was executed at a price of 8 drachmae (XVII, column II, lines 4-7), this same figure has been restored for the unused model mentioned in the new fragment. The use of the first person plural (ἐχρησάμεθα, line 86) is normal throughout the inscription.²¹ In lines 87-88 χάλκεν or χάλκας must be restored, for no summation has been given in the preceding text of the total expenditure for the rosettes.

In previous estimations of the probable height of the entire inscription, Dinsmoor (*A.J.A.*, XVII, 1913, p. 258) and Caskey (*op. cit.*, p. 374) have considered the 87 lines inscribed in column I of inscription XVII, a slab which has the original top and bottom preserved, as filling the entire vertical surface, and on this basis the total number of lines in the three tiers of slabs has been computed.²² However, the new Agora fragment preserves at its base the upper half of the letters of an eighty-eighth line. The letters of line 87 of column I of inscription XVII are 0.008 m. above the original bottom of the stone, but this lower edge is now so worn that no surviving traces of letters remain. This method of inscribing the letters of a single line partly on one slab and partly on another may be paralleled in the Erechtheum accounts which are assigned by Dinsmoor to the year 407/6 B.C. (*The Erechtheum*, pp. 648-

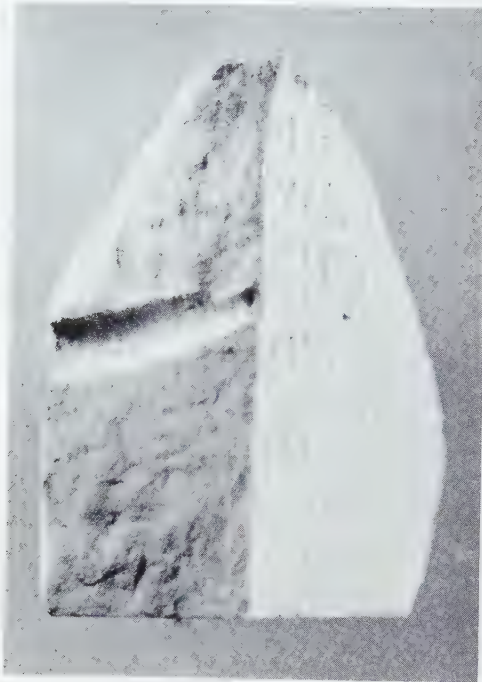
¹⁸ For the orthography and meaning of the word, see Caskey, *The Erechtheum*, p. 409.

¹⁹ See Bechtel, *Die hist. Personennamen des Griechischen*, p. 47.

²⁰ Uninscribed letter spaces are not indicated in Caskey's minuscule text in *The Erechtheum*, but are reproduced in Hiller's transcription in the *editio minor*.

²¹ See XIII, column I, line 51; XIII, column II, lines 12-13, 17-18; and XVII, column I, lines 31-32.

²² See Caskey, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-374. Dinsmoor has informed me that he has a new computation for the height of the upper and lower tiers. This computation is determined by the height of the wall to the face of which Dinsmoor (*A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, fig. 4) believes the inscription was fastened.



No. 19. Lateral Face

650, including fig. 236; cf. *I.G.*, II², 1655), and demonstrates that the three tiers must have been erected as revetment before they were inscribed. This Dinsmoor (*A.J.A.*, XVII, 1913, p. 255) had already conjectured because the original thickness of the slabs was only 0.10 m.

A detail which now appears solely in the new Agora fragment may be noted in the photograph of the lateral face.²³ In the interlinear space to the left of the first alpha of line 82 and of the omicron of line 83, there is a bored hole which slopes downward toward the top of the dowel cutting behind.²⁴ This hole, originally 0.011 m. in diameter, was the pour-channel down which molten lead was poured into the top of the dowel cavity. The mouth of this hole, higher than the top of the dowel, must have been stopped up with white stucco.

DECREE HONORING TAXIARCHS, 302/1 B.C.

20. Stele of Pentelic marble, found on February 14, 1938, in the east face of the Valerian Wall in Section II. The stone is broken off below, and the pedimental top is much battered; otherwise, it is intact. The inscribed face had been covered with mortar and was carefully cleaned by Schweigert.

Height, 0.63 m.; width, 0.43 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5228.

302/1 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 27

[Θ] ε ο ί

Ἐπὶ Νικοκλέους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς

Ἀκαμαντίδος τετάρτης πρυτανεί

ας ἥι Νίκων Θεοδώρου Πλωθεὺς ἐγρ

5 ἀμμάτευεν, Πνανοψιῶνος ἔκτει μ[ε]

²³ This photograph with pertinent information was kindly provided by Dinsmoor.

²⁴ For dowel cuttings in this inscription, see *The Erechtheum*, p. 372, figure 194.

- τ' εικάδας, πέμπτει καὶ εἰκοστῇ τ
 ἡς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία· τῶν προ[έ]
 δρων ἐπειρήφιζεν Εὐθύδικος Κηφ[ι]
 σοδώρου Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ συμπρό
 10 εδροι· ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμῳ. ^{v v} Μένων
 Μέδοντος Ἀφιδναῖος εἶπεν· ἐπειδ
 ἢ οἱ ταξίαρχοι οἱ ἐπὶ Νικοκλέους
 ἄρχοντος καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπ
 εμελήθησαν τῆς εὐκ[ο]σμίας τῆς ἐν
 15 τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ ἐστ
 εφάνωσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ ταῦτα αἰ[ρ]
 εθέντες ἐκ τῶν δήμων, ἀγαθῇ τύ[χη]
 ι δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμῳ, ἐπαινέσαι [τ]
 οὺς ταξίαρχους καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἔ
 20 καστον αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳι ὑ[π]
 ἐρ ὧν τὰς εὐθύνας δεδώκασιν, ὅπω[ς]
 ἂν ὑπόμνημα εἴ τῆς ἐπιμελείας α[ὑ]
 τῶν, ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμ[α]
 καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν πατρόθεν κ[α]
 25 ἰ τοῦ δήμου ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ
 [στή]σαι πρὸς τῶι Ἐλευσινίῳ ἐν ἄ[σ]
 [τει, εἰς δὲ] τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλ
 [ης δοῦναι τὸν] ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου : Δ
 [ΔΔ : δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶ]ν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφ
 30 [ίσματα ἀναλίσκομένων τῶι] δήμῳ.

This inscription contains the eleventh preserved decree of the demos which was passed in the year of Nikokles (302/1 B.C.). It has the same orator as *I.G.*, II², 500, and both inscriptions bestow praise upon taxiarchs.²⁵ In the present inscription they are cited for “the preservation of order in the sacred rites of Demeter.”²⁶ Reference to the performance of sacred duties by the taxiarchs is contained in two other decrees passed in their honor (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, no. 5, and IV, 1935, no. 40).²⁷ The part these officials played in helping the sacrificial magistrates conduct the sacred processions is well known from the complaint of Demosthenes (IV, 26): οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε δ' ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξίαρχους καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο; τί οὖν οὗτοι ποιῶσι; πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, ὃν ἂν ἐκπέμψῃτ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίνους,

²⁵ For *I.G.*, II², 500, see Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, IV², 1, p. 159, note 3.

²⁶ For *ἱερά*, cf. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 161, note 1.

²⁷ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 334, lines 13-14, and Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen*, p. 288.

εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. Pertinent literary passages are discussed by Busolt-Swoboda (*Gr. Staats.*, pp. 1126-1127).²⁸

For interpretation of the phrase ἐστεφάνωσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ ταῦτα αἰρεθέντες (lines 15-17), comparison may be made with *I.G.*, II², 354, lines 15-19, where οἱ λαχόντες ἐπιμεληταὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας reported favorably to the demos concerning assistance rendered by the priest Androkles.²⁹ The words ἐπὶ ταῦτα are understood as referring to τῆς εὐκοσμίας (line 14);³⁰ those who were to care for the εὐκοσμία were assisted by the taxiarchs. For crowns being awarded by bodies other than the boule and ekklesia, such as οἱ ἄϊστοι, οἱ στρατευόμενοι Ῥαμνοῦντι, οἱ Πάραλοι, and οἱ ἱεροποιοί, see *I.G.*, II², 678, 1254, 1311; Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, II, p. 843; and Ganszyniec in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s. v. Kranz, col. 1598. For αἰρεθέντες ἐκ τῶν δήμων compare Athenaios, VI, 235.

Inasmuch as the decree was passed in the fourth month of the year, the reference to the rites of Demeter may be connected with the Eleusinian mysteries in the month Boedromion. This is confirmed by the instructions for the erection of the stele πρὸς τῶι Ἐλευσινίῳ ἐν ἄστει. Six months earlier, in Munychion of 303/2 B.C., Demetrios Poliorketes had been admitted into the Eleusinian mysteries without the necessary preliminary initiation (Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 26, and Diodoros, XX, 110, 1), and after his departure for Thessaly ensued the vigorous attack on the government of Stratokles.³¹ Possibly, the moderate democrats seized an opportunity for hostile demonstrations at the festival whose rites Demetrios had audaciously violated. Praise of the taxiarchs in the present document must have been initiated by the radical

²⁸ For similar duties of the στρατηγοί, see Busolt-Swoboda, *loc. cit.*; Schwahn in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, Supplement VI, col. 1092; and Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-290.

²⁹ Cf. Koehler's restoration of οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας in line 3 of *I.G.*, II², 2850 (see Wilhelm, *Hermes*, XXIV, 1889, p. 142). Also cf. οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἐπιμεληταὶ τῆς πομπῆς in *I.G.*, II², 896, lines 34-35, and οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῆς πομπῆς τῷ Διονύσῳ in *I.G.*, II², 668, lines 13-15 (cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 103), and in Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 56, 4. Relevant discussions appear in articles in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s. v. ἐπιμεληταί, cols. 168-169 (by Oehler), and ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν μυστηρίων, cols. 171-172 (by Kern), and in Foucart, *Les mystères d'Éleusis*, pp. 233-236.

³⁰ For εὐκοσμία, see Busolt, *Gr. Staats.*³, p. 494. Cf. Kahrstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 290, note 3.

³¹ See Ferguson, *Hell. Ath.*, pp. 120-123; Elderkin, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 35-36; and Glotz-Roussel-Cohen, *Histoire Grecque*, IV, pp. 340 and 347. Dinsmoor (*Archons*, p. 383, and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 309-310) has argued against Ferguson that Plutarch and Diodoros were in error in assigning Demetrios' initiation to the year 302 B.C.; he wishes to connect the story with the calendar difficulties of 307/6 B.C. Meritt (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 544) has opined that Dinsmoor's interpretation was open to question. The testimony of Philochoros, active in Athens at the time, appears to be against Dinsmoor's interpretation. In Book VIII of his *Atthis*, Philochoros included among the events of 307/6 B.C. an account of Demetrios' arrival in Athens (Müller, *F.H.G.*, I, p. 408). Later, in Book X (Müller, *op. cit.*, I, p. 409), Philochoros narrated the episode of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The *Atthis* was arranged in chronological sequence under Athenian archons (Laqueur in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s. v. Philochoros, col. 2435), and, although Book X contained references to earlier events (Böckh, *Kleine Schriften*, V, p. 428), the fact that the passage falls in the book which contained the events of 303/2 B.C. renders more probable the interpretation of Ferguson.

democrats, for in *I.G.*, II², 500, the same orator proposed praise for services rendered in 305/4 B.C., when the party of Stratokles was in power. In connection with the maintenance of order at the time of the Eleusinian rites, reference may be made to the decree of the deme Eleusis published as *I.G.*, II², 1193, in which a *περιπόλαρχος* is praised: — — αὐτός τε αὐτὸν ἔταξεν Ἐλευσίνιάδε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἔπραττεν πρὸς τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τὸν δῆμον ὅπως φυλακὴ ἱκανὴ ἔλθοι Ἐλευσίνι νιάδε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσων ἐδείτο | [εἰς φ]υλακὴν Ἐλευσίνιος — —.³² This decree has been assigned to the last decade of the fourth century,³³ and the unusual circumstances surrounding the festival of 302 B.C. make the suggestion plausible that reference is contained to it.

Lines 5-8: The calendar of the year of Nikokles has been studied in detail by Meritt (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 545-547). The present decree was passed on the 112th day of the year; the 25th day of the fourth prytany is equated with the 24th day of Pyanopsion (backward count). The year began with a hollow Hekatombaion, and the first three prytanies had 29 days each.

Lines 8-9: The father of the chairman of the proedroi was probably *Κηφισόδωρος Μειδίου Ἀναγυράσιος* (*P.A.*, 8362).

Lines 10-11: The orator, identical with the proposer of *I.G.*, II², 500, was possibly an ancestor of *Μελίτων Μέδοντος Ἀφιδναῖος* who was a prytanis in the first century before Christ (*I.G.*, II², 1755, line 10).

Line 21: Similar phrases involving euthyna, inscribed at the close of the formula which indicates the bestowal of crowns, occur in *I.G.*, II², 415, 488, etc. (see Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², Indices, p. 51).

Lines 24-25: Instructions to inscribe names *πατρόθεν καὶ τοῦ δήμου* occur also in the publication-formula of *I.G.*, II², 478, line 28.³⁴ The omission of the subject *τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου* from this formula is unusual, but examples occur in *I.G.*, II², 190, 292, 508, 648, etc. (see Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, II, p. 709).

Line 28: The most significant feature of this new inscription is the preservation on the stone of the official *ὁ ταμίης τοῦ δήμου* as the magistrate who defrayed the cost of publication. Since the inscription is definitely dated in 302/1 B.C., it makes possible a formal demonstration of the fact that Kahrstedt's recently advanced theory concerning the final appearance of this official in Attic decrees with the resultant re-dating of several inscriptions by him must be abandoned.³⁵

Kahrstedt (*Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen*, pp. 12-15), seeking for

³² Cf. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s. v. *Mysterien*, col. 1235.

³³ See Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 356.

³⁴ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 223 B, line 4; 1237, line 119; and Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staats.*, p. 876, note 1.

³⁵ Ferguson (*A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, pp. 230-231) has likewise taken exception to Kahrstedt's conclusions concerning this official. But in regard to the period 307/6-302/1 B.C., Ferguson is primarily concerned with the date to which *I.G.*, II², 463 should be assigned.

the first time a solution for the paymaster of decrees which would avoid recurring alternations within the brief period 307-301 B.C. of "the treasurer of Demos" and "the one administering finance,"³⁶ concluded that the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* disappeared in 305/4 B.C. and was replaced in 304/3 B.C. by *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*. He determined this date through his interpretation of *I.G.*, II², 555. This decree, lacking the prescript, may be dated only by means of internal evidence. Instructions are given in line 28 that the official *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* should pay for the crown and statue, but in lines 30 and 36 there are provisions that the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* should pay for both the *ἐφόδια* and the erection of the stele. Kahrstedt conjectured that, whereas *ἐφόδια* and expenses for the stele would be paid within a short time after the passage of the decree, the making of a crown and statue would require a longer period. Therefore, the ecclesia, meeting at the close of the year 305/4 B.C., as Kahrstedt believes, instructed the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* to pay for the immediate expenses, but the official *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* to make disbursements which fell due in the next official year.

In order to substantiate his explanation of the change in financial boards, Kahrstedt offered new interpretations for two other inscriptions. In *I.G.*, II², 463, Habron, the son of Lycurgus, is characterized as *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* (line 36). Kirchner, Dinsmoor, *et al.*, had dated this decree in 307/6 B.C. But Kahrstedt restored *ἐπὶ Φερεκλέους ἄρχοντος* (304/3 B.C.) in line 1 and suggested that this decree contained the first mention of the official *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*. Secondly, Kahrstedt was compelled to reconcile his proposed date for the disappearance of the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* in 305/4 B.C. with the text of *I.G.*, II², 505. This inscription comprises two large fragments which do not join.³⁷ The upper fragment contains in the prescript the name of the archon Nikokles (302/1 B.C.), and the lower fragment stipulates that the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* shall be responsible for the expense of setting up the stele. Kahrstedt's explanation (p. 14) is: "Entweder hat der Steinmetz von II² 505 den ihm seit Jahrzehnten geläufigen Titel versehentlich hingeschrieben oder—was das Wahrscheinlichere ist—der Text ist falsch zusammengesetzt. Der Anfang mit dem Archon von 302/1 steht auf einem anderen Steinfragment als das Ende mit dem Titel des Finanzbeamten und die Vereinigung beider Stücke zu einer Urkunde, die Lolling aufgebracht hat, ist aufzugeben." Kahrstedt offered no comparison of the physical characteristics of the two fragments, but measurements of letter forms and spacing on the squeeze disprove his suggestion.

But the difficulties in Kahrstedt's chronology for the two financial magistracies are more serious than the correction of his interpretations for this one document. Kahrstedt overlooked the evidence given in several inscriptions. *I.G.*, II², 493 + 518 (see *add.* to *I.G.*, II²) is dated in the twelfth prytany of 303/2 B.C.,³⁸ but the appro-

³⁶ See, e. g., A. C. Johnson, *A.J.P.*, XXXVI, 1915, pp. 432-433; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 64-65.

³⁷ See Lolling, *Δελτίον*, 1889, p. 90.

³⁸ A. C. Johnson (*A.J.P.*, XXXVI, 1915, p. 433) questioned Wilhelm's combination of the fragments published separately as *I.G.*, II², 493 and 518. He noted that Kirchner had designated

priation for the cost of the stele is defrayed by the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου*, not the single officer of administration. On the other hand, *I.G.*, II², 496 + 507 (see *add.* to *I.G.*, II²) is dated in the same prytany and has as its disbursing official *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*. The inscription *I.G.*, II², 510, dated after 307/6 B.C., is analogous to *I.G.*, II², 555 in that it contains the single officer of administration as the disbursing official for the crown and statue, and the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* for the erection of the stele. *I.G.*, II², 463, containing a reference to Habron as *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* (line 36), was transferred by Kahrstedt from 307/6 B.C. to 304/3 B.C. Yet Kahrstedt does not mention that the official who was instructed to take charge of the setting-up of the stele was the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* (line 34). To this cumulative evidence is now added the indisputable example of the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* in the present Agora inscription.

To recapitulate the evidence, both the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* and *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* are mentioned on the stone in 307/6,³⁹ 303/2,⁴⁰ and 302/1 B.C.⁴¹ Two inscriptions, whose prescripts are wanting, make express mention of both the single officer of administration and the treasurer of the Demos as disbursing officials.⁴² Within the three year period 304/3–302/1 B.C., both financial officials are instructed to make payments from the same fund.⁴³

The only solution which seems to accord with the evidence, as Ferguson has stated (*op. cit.*, pp. 230–231), lies in a rejection of the premise with which Kahrstedt started: “Kein Etatsposten kann zwei konkurrierende Chefs haben.”⁴⁴ The official *ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* was functioning at the time of the passage of the decree published

the letters of II², 493 as 0.007 m. in height but those of II², 518 as 0.006 m. Actually, the letters of both fragments are rather uniformly 0.007 m., although variations occur in both pieces. Johnson also objected to the combination because he calculated that II², 518 must have been too broad (.414 m. as compared with .355 m. for the width of II², 493). His calculations were incorrect because he regarded the measurement 0.175 m., which is the width of the entire preserved fragment of II², 518, as the width of its eleven *στοίχοι*. But the stele was a large one, erected at a cost of 50 drachmae, and this fragment, being part of the base, has a right uninscribed margin of 0.016 m. The columns, measured on centers, occupy an equal space in both fragments.

³⁹ *I.G.*, II², 463 (*ὁ ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* in line 34; *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* in line 36). The date to which this inscription is assigned is in accord with Ferguson (*A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 230).

⁴⁰ *I.G.*, II², 493 + 518 (*ὁ ταμίας τοῦ δήμου*), and II², 496 + 507 (*ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*).

⁴¹ *I.G.*, II², 505 and the present Agora inscription (*ὁ ταμίας τοῦ δήμου*), and II², 500 (*ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*).

⁴² *I.G.*, II², 510 and 555.

⁴³ *ὁ ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* occurs in the inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 696. Kirchner, following Schmitthenner, places it after 302 B.C. on the basis of the formula *στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον*. This formula, however, occurs in *I.G.*, II², 488, 492, 495, and 496 + 507, all of the year 303/2 B.C. On the basis of our present limited knowledge the formula presumably appears first in 303/2 B.C., and the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* is not known after 301 B.C.; so *I.G.*, II², 696 should tentatively be assigned to the years 303–301 B.C.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 14. Alternately, one might suppose that the two titles were applied to the same official. But the differentiation of function between the two officials in the same inscriptions militates against this.

as *I.G.*, II², 463, and the first reference to him as paymaster occurs in 303/2 B.C.⁴⁵ The *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* is not as yet known after the close of 302/1 B.C. In the interim, both officials made payments from the same fund.

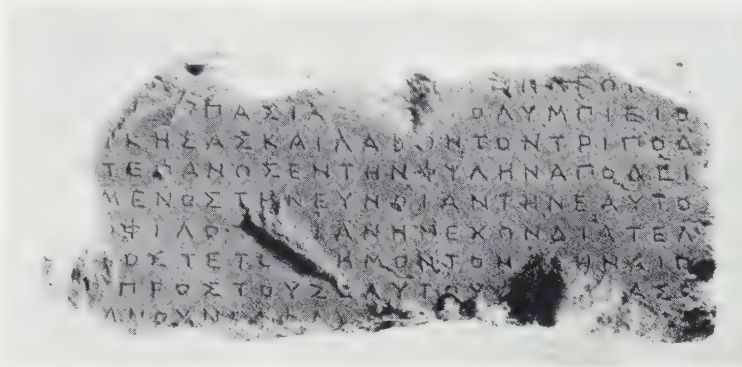
TRIBAL DECREE FOR ANTHIPPASIA VICTOR

21. Fragment of Pentelic marble, preserving the original right side and roughly dressed back, found on March 17, 1938, in the débris of a house in Section II.

Height, 0.128 m.; width (original?), 0.272 m.; thickness, 0.084 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5326.



No. 21

Early third century B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26

- [----- τὸ]ν ἀγῶνα [τ]
 [ἡ ἀνθι]ππασία[ι τοῖ]ς Ὀλυμπείο
 [ις ν]ικῆσας καὶ λαβὼν τὸν τρίποδ
 [α ἐσ]τεφάνωσεν τὴν φυλὴν ἀποδ
 5 [κνύ]μενος τὴν εὐνοίαν τὴν ἑαυτο
 [ῦ κα]ὶ φιλοτ[ι]μίαν ἣν ἔχων διατελ
 [εἰ πρ]ὸς τε τὸ[ν δ]ῆμον τὸν Ἀ[θ]ηναίω
 [ν καὶ] πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φ[υλέτ]ας· ὁ
 [πως] ἂν οὖν ἐ[μ]φαν[ῇ] τὰ ἐψηφισμέ
 10 [να -----]

This fragmentary tribal decree was passed probably in honor of a phylarch who

⁴⁵ Kahrstedt's substitution (*op. cit.*, p. 14, note 1) of τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει for τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου in line 26 of *I.G.*, II², 488 (303/2 B.C.) remains a possibility which cannot be affirmed or disproved. Kahrstedt did not note that the same suggestion was made in 1915 by A. C. Johnson (*A.J.P.*, XXXVI, 1915, p. 433, note 2).

with his corps had been victor in the anthippasia at the Olympic games. This equestrian contest is known to have been a part of the Panathenaic and Olympian festivals,⁴⁶ and reference to it is contained in two dedicatory inscriptions, *I.G.*, II², 3079 and 3130. On three sides of this latter inscription there are carved in relief representations of the three related phylarchs and of tripods,⁴⁷ which we know from the above inscription were the prize of victory.⁴⁸ There is additional epigraphical evidence for this contest in *I.G.*, II², 379, in which line 3 should be restored as follows: [ήσας δὲ] τεῖ ἀνθιππα[σίου τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐ].⁴⁹

PRYTANY REGISTER OF LEONTIS

22. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in a late fill in Section II on April 20, 1937.

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 4762.

The new fragment (c) joins with *I.G.*, II², 2434 (a) and Agora I 1636 (b), which have been published together by Dow (*Prytaneis*, no. 16). The actual join with Agora I 1636 has not been attempted in Athens, so the photograph of this fragment has not been reproduced from *Prytaneis*, p. 57, but the disposition of the letters scarcely permits any doubt.

⁴⁶ See A. Mommsen, *Feste*, pp. 88 and 466; Reisch, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s. v. ἀνθιππασία.

⁴⁷ Photographs of this base of Bryaxis are published by Kavvadias, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1893, plates 6 and 7, and by Couve, *B.C.H.*, XVI, 1892, plates 3 and 7.

⁴⁸ Picard (*Rev. arch.*, 1938, I, pp. 100-101) has argued that the place of discovery of this base affords evidence for the location of the Eleusinion. The base was excavated in 1891 near the so-called Theseum (Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XV, 1891, p. 368). But Picard is incorrect in connecting the equestrian maneuvers described by Xenophon in *Eq. Mag.*, III, 2, with the agonistic ἀνθιππασία of inscriptions; see Reisch, *loc. cit.*, and A. Martin, *Les cavaliers athéniens*, pp. 261-263. The erection of a monument praising the agonistic victors furnishes no clue concerning the route of the cavalry in Xenophon's ἀνθιππασία. As a matter of fact, it must be questioned whether the reference to the procession in Xenophon, *Eq. Mag.*, III, 2, is to be connected with the ἀνθιππασία (III, 11); Xenophon states that the latter was held ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ (cf. Reisch, *loc. cit.*, and Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 456). In addition, Picard's translation of ἀνιέναι (τοὺς ἵππους) μέχρι τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου (*Eq. Mag.*, III, 2) as "en montant à l'Éleusinion" (cf. Picard, *Rev. arch.*, 1938, II, p. 94: "—l'Éleusinion d'Athènes était sur une hauteur") may be questioned. The verb contains no connotation of motion to a higher place, but means to "let go" or to "slacken" the reins. Examples of this use, including the present one, are cited by Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Lexicon*, s. v. ἀνίημι. Picard now recognizes this (*Rev. arch.*, 1938, II, p. 245). For the Eleusinion, see also Moebius, *Ath. Mitt.*, LX-LXI, 1935-36, pp. 265-268, and Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 207.

⁴⁹ For the date of this inscription see Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 27.

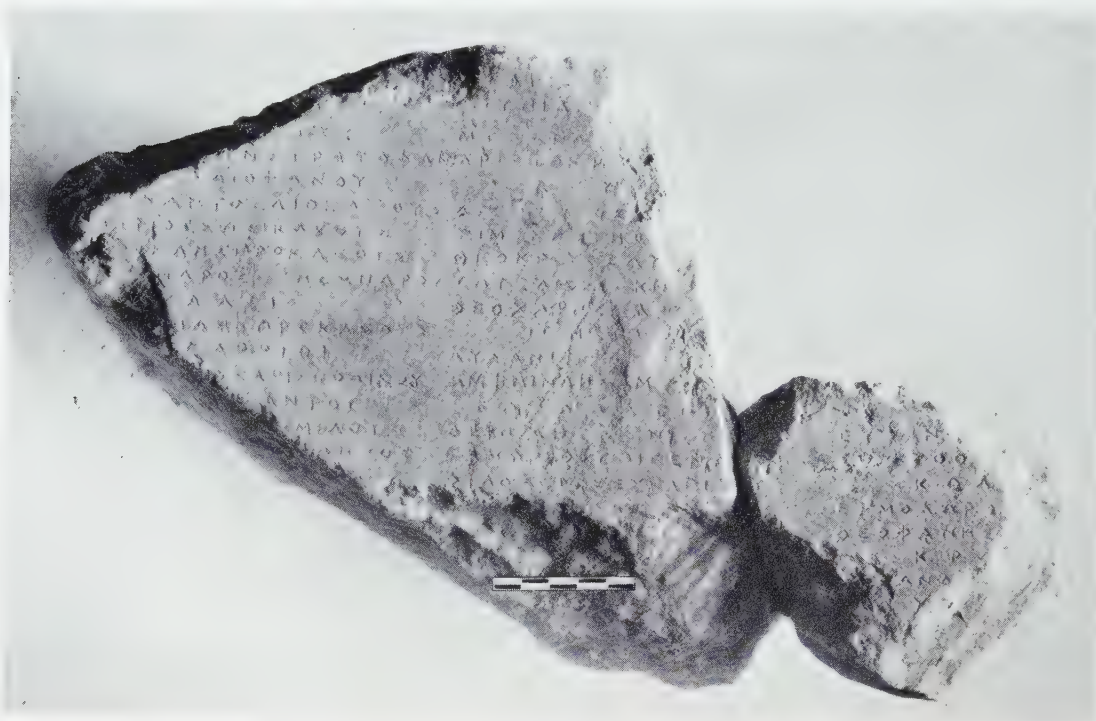
LEONTIS

Middle of the third century B.C.

ca. 55

[ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ στή]σαι ἐ[ν τῷ πρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν]		
[τῆς στήλης μερίσ]αι τ[ὸν ἐπ]ὶ τῇ δι[οικήσει τὸ γεγόμενον ἀνάλωμα].		
[Σουνι]εῖς	25 Μελάνω|πος ---]	[Παιονίδαι ?]
[^{ca. 7} ---]ων Στρατοφῶν:	Ἀριστοκρ[---]	[--- ---]
5 [... ⁵ ...]ης Διοφάνου	Λευ[κονοεῖς]	[--- ---]
[. ²³ .]όφαντος Διοκλέους	Διονύσιος [---]	50 [--- ---]
[Σω]σίβιος Σωσικλέους	Τιμοκράτης [---]	[--- ---]
[...]ικλῆς Προκλέους	30 Θεόκριτος Λυ[---]	[Ἀλιμούσιοι ?]
[Ἡγήσα]νδρος Ἡγησάνδρου	Σωτέλης Ἀλκιμ[έδοντος]	[--- ---]
10 [Ἐ]καλεῖς	Θεοχάρης Χα[ιρ[εφώντος]]	[--- ---]
[^{ca. 6} ---]ίδης Προκλέους	Πήλη[κες]	55 [Ποτάμιοι ?]
[Φ]ρεάρριοι	Λυσανίας Λυ[σάνδρ ---]	[--- ---]
[^{ca. 8} ---]ος Ἀριστοδίκου	35 Ἀμφίων Δη[μο]μ[έλους]	[--- ---]
[--- ^{ca. 10} ---]φάντου	Χολ[λ]εῖδ[αι]	Ε[ὐπυρίδαι]
15 [--- ^{ca. 11} ---δ]ημίδου	Δεινίδης Δεινίδου	Εὐφάν[ης ---]
[--- ^{ca. 12} ---]φώντος	Πάμφιλος Ἐπιγένο[υ]	60 Σμίκνθος [---]
[---, ---]ίου	Φιλόξενος Εὐκλείδ[ο]υ	Κολ[ωνεῖς]
[--- ---]	40 [--- ---]υ	Ἑρμόδωρο[ς Ἑρ]μολύκου
[--- ---]	[--- ---]	Θεοφάνης [Θε?]οκλέους
20 [--- ---]	[Σκαμβωνίδαι ?]	Κρωπίδαι
[--- ---]	[--- ---]	65 [...]ανδ[ρο]ς Θεοβούλου
[Κήττιοι ?]	[--- ---]	Ἵ[βά]δαι
[--- ---]	45 [--- ---]	[^{ca. 7} ---]ς Λυσικλέους
[--- ---]	[--- ---]	<i>vacat</i>
[<i>vacat</i>]	[<i>vacat</i>]	<i>vacat</i>
[<i>vacat</i>]	[<i>vacat</i>]	<i>vacat</i>
[citations missing]		
		[ἡ βουλὴ] τ[ὸν] γραμ
		[ματέα ---] ^v
		70 [---] ^v

The deme Oion has been removed from the register, because it is now known to have belonged to the tribe Demetrias in the third century.⁵⁰ This affords no difficulty in the reconstruction of the list of prytaneis, for the spacing between lines 2 and 3 of fragment *a* reveals that the first two preserved lines were part of the decree, not a portion of the register as previously read. The register is restored with 22 lines



No. 22. Fragments *a* and *c*

in columns I and II in spite of Dow's objections (*op. cit.*, pp. 58-59) that there must be a space of three lines between the register and the row of citations for the painting of the crowns. The unscribed space may be computed as at least 0.02 m., which is greater than the space between the register and citations in *Prytaneis*, nos. 24 and 28. The new arrangement permits the determination of the names and demotics of the Treasurer (line 4) and of the Secretary (line 11) of the Prytaneis. The deme Hekale with one representative was elevated to the first column because it supplied the Secretary.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See Meritt, p. 78 above.

⁵¹ Dow's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 29, note 2) that demes with only one representative never elected a Secretary—true for the evidence then at hand—must be corrected.

Line 59: A possible descendant is *P.A.*, 6021 (first century B.C.).⁵²

Line 62: An Ἑρμόδωρος Ἑρμολύκου Κολωνῆθεν, who must have been a lineal ancestor of our prytanis, is listed in *I.G.*, II², 1742, lines 113-114 (before 350 B.C.).

Line 63: For a possible descendant, see Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 94.

PRYTANY DECREE HONORING AKAMANTIS

23. Two fragments of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides and at the back. The smaller fragment (*c*) was found on February 21, 1936, in Section HH during the clearance of the site of the Church of Christ. The larger fragment (*d*) was found on October 21, 1937, during the demolition of a house in Section AA.

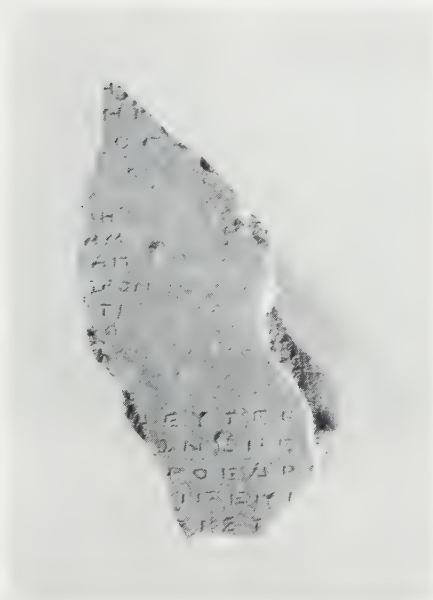
c. Height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.004–0.005 m.

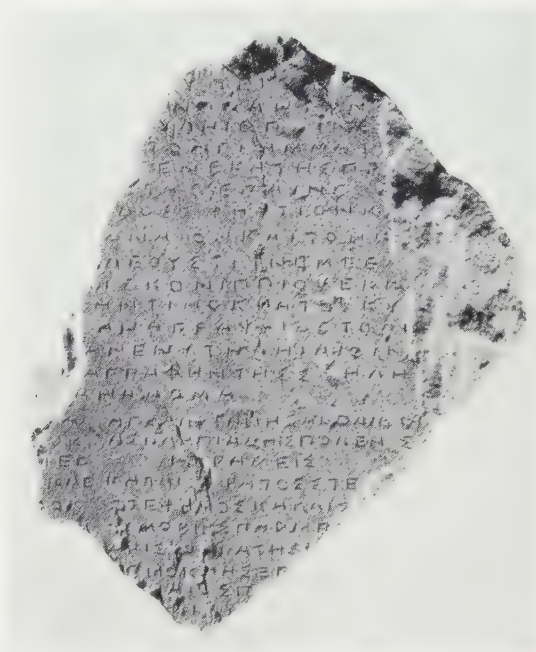
Inv. No. I 3425.

d. Height, 0.275 m.; width, 0.256 m.; thickness, 0.077 m.

Inv. No. I 5031.



No. 23. Fragment *c*



No. 23. Fragment *d*

⁵² For the approximate date of the inscription in which the name occurs, see Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 191, note 1.

These two fragments are a part of *I.G.*, II², 917. This inscription with a photograph of fragment *a* has been republished by Dow in *Prytaneis*, no. 30. Dow's text of lines 1-17 is in no way affected by the new discoveries, so the following transcription commences with line 18.

AKAMANTIS

223/2 B.C.

ca. 44

- Fragment *c* [τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· ἀναγ]ράψα[ι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν]
 Fragment *b* 20 [γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στ]ή[λει λιθίνει καὶ στη]
 σαι ἐν τῷ π[ρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ τ]ήν [ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στηλῆς]
 μερίσαι τὸν ἐπ[ὶ τῇ διοικήσει τ]ὸ γ[ενόμενον ἀνάλωμα].
vacat 0.022 m.
- | | | | |
|------------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| ἡ βουλὴ | 30 | [ἡ βου\|λῇ | [ἡ βουλῇ] |
| τὸν ταμί | ὁ δ[ῆμος] | [τὸν γρ]αμ | [τὸν ταμί] |
| αν Ἀντιφῶ | το[ῦς πρυ] | [ματέα] Ἀπ | [αν τῆς βου] |
| 25 ντα Ἑρμ | τά[νεις] | [ολλοδ]ωρον | [λῆς ---] |
| ειον | | [Προσπάλ]τι | 40 [--- Σφήτ] |
| | 35 | [ον] | [τιον] |
- Ποσιδεῶνος δευτέ[ραι ἵσταμένον], δευτέρ[αι τῆς πρυτανείας]·
 βουλὴ ἐν βουλευτῇ[ρίῳ· τῶν προέδρ]ων ἐπειψ[ήφιζεν ^{ca. 9}]
 Φανοστράτου Φηγ[αιὺς καὶ συμπ]ρόεδρο[ι· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ]·
 45 Ἀρκεσίλας Σωστρ[άτου . . . ^{ca. 8} . . . ε]ἰπεν· ἐ[πειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις]
 τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος ἐ[παίνεσαντες κα]ὶ στ[εφανώσαντες ἀποφαί]
 νουσιν τεῖ βουλεί τὸν [ταμίαν αὐτῶν Ἀντιφῶντα Ἑρμειον καὶ]
 τὸν γραμματέα Ἀπολ[λόδωρον τὰς τε θυσίας τεθυκέναι πάσας]
 50 τὰς καθηκούσας ἐν τ[ῇ πρυτανείᾳ] ὑπὲρ τ[ῆς] β[ουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δή]
 μον, ἐπιμεμελήσθαι δ[ὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλ]ων ἀπάντων [καλῶς καὶ φιλοτί]
 μως ὡς ἀγαθεῖ τύχε[ι δεδόχθαι τῇ βου]λῇ ἐπαινέ[σαι τὸν ταμίαν]
 [Ἀ]ντιφῶντα Ερ[μειον καὶ] τὸν γραμματ[έα Ἀπολλόδωρον]
 [Ἀπ]ολλοδ[ώ]ρου [Προσπάλτιον εὖσεβεία]ς ἕνεκα τῆς πρ[ὸς τοὺς θεοὺς]
 [καὶ] φιλ[οτιμίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς φυλ]έτας· ἐπαινέσα[ι δὲ καὶ τὸν τα]
 55 [μίαν τῆς βουλῆς --- ^{ca. 14} ---]δος Σφήττιον κα[ὶ τὸν ἱερέα]
 [τοῦ ἐπωνύμου Πρόξενον Ἀρμοδίου (?) Ἀφι]δναῖον καὶ τὸν κ[λήρυκα τῆς]
 [βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμον Εὐκλῆν Φιλοκ]λέους Τρινεμεέα [καὶ τὸν γραμ]
 [ματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμον Φι]λίσκον Ἰππίου ἐκ Κ[εραμέων καὶ]
 [τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Τιμοκρά]την Τιμοκράτου Κυ[δαθηναίᾳ καὶ]
 60 [τὸν ἀλλήτην Δεξίλαον Ἀλαίᾳ] ὡς ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδ[ε τὸ ψήφισμα]
 [τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανεί]αν ἐν στηλῇ λιθίν[ῃ καὶ στησαι]
 [ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀν]αγραφὴν τῆς στηλῆς[ς μερίσαι τὸν]
 [ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει τὸ γενόμενον] ἀνάλωμα. *vacat*

[Column I, including Ἑρμειοι and Προσπάλτιοι, missing]	65	[--- ---] α	70 Ἀπολλοφάνης Ἀπολλο	80 Οἰ [--- ---]
		[--- ---] οκ	Ἀσκληπιάδης Πολεμ	Σ [--- ---]
		[--- ---] νεο	Κεραμεῖς	^v [demoticum]
		[--- ---] κλε	Καλλίστρατος Στεφ	[--- ---]
		[--- ---] οκ	Στέφανος Καλλισ ---	[--- ---]
		[--- ---] ρι	75 Τιμόβιος Παρμε ---	[--- ---]
		-----	Ἀριστοκράτης ---	[--- ---]
		-----	[Ξ] ενοκλῆς Ερ ---	[--- ---]
		-----	[Ἑστ] ιαῖος Π ---	[--- ---]
		-----	Κικυν [νεῖς]	[--- ---]
		[Σφήττιοι ?]	-----	[--- ---]

This document, dated by Dow and Meritt (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 137) in 223/2 B.C., contains names of the Priest ([Proxenos], of Aphidna) and of the Undersecretary (Timokrates, of Kydathenaion) which appear to be identical with those praised in Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 28. In addition, the restoration of the Secretary of the Boule and Demos (Philiskos, of Kerameikos) as the same official in lines 76-79 of *Prytaneis*, no. 28, is epigraphically possible, for line 78 requires one more letter than any other of the four lines:

[ἡ βουλῇ]
[Φιλίσ]
[κον ἐκ Κ] ε
[ραμέων].

This probable identity of at least two officials in the two documents requires either a date for *Prytaneis*, no. 28 in 223/2 B.C., to which there is no compelling objection, or the adoption of the hypothesis that the officials held office, continuously or intermittently, in 229-222 B.C. The tribal Priest is known to have held office in different years,⁵³ but the same was apparently not true for the Undersecretary.⁵⁴ Our present knowledge, therefore, favors a date in 223/2 B.C. for *Prytaneis*, no. 28.

The present inscription contains the last example until ca. 60 B.C. (*Prytaneis*, no. 98) of the inclusion of patronymics in the register, except when it was occasionally felt necessary to distinguish one prytanis from another.

Lines 34-35: The position of the letters under the seventh and eighth letter-

⁵³ See below, p. 121.

⁵⁴ Lysias, XXX, 29: ὑπογραμματεῦσαι μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστι δις τὸν αὐτὸν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇ αὐτῇ. Cf. Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsk.*, p. 1058, and Bonner-Smith, *Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle*, vol. II, pp. 31-33. Brillant (*Les secrétaires athéniens*, p. xvii) and Kahrstedt (*Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen*, p. 137, note 1) are of the opinion that this law was abrogated, but the literary evidence which Kahrstedt cites (Demosth., XIX, 200, 249) does not prove this conclusion.

spaces of the preceding line permits the restoration of Probalinthos alone of the Akamantian demes.

Line 56: The patronymic of the Priest is restored according to the stemma *sub P.A.*, 2232.

Lines 70-71: These names have been assigned with some uncertainty to the deme Sphettos. Possible descendants of Apollopheanes, who bear the same nomen and demotic, are *P.A.*, 1473-1475; Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 22; and *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 43. An Asklepiades, of Sphettos, is known from *P.A.*, 2610.

Line 75: Τιμόβιος is new to Greek prosopography.

Lines 77-78: For Xenokles, cf. *P.A.*, 11224; and for Hestiaios, *P.A.*, 5201-5202.

PRYTANY DECREES HONORING HIPPOTHONTIS

24. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on May 29, 1937, in a well in Section Γ. Part of the original left edge is preserved.

Height, 0.51 m.; width, 0.375 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

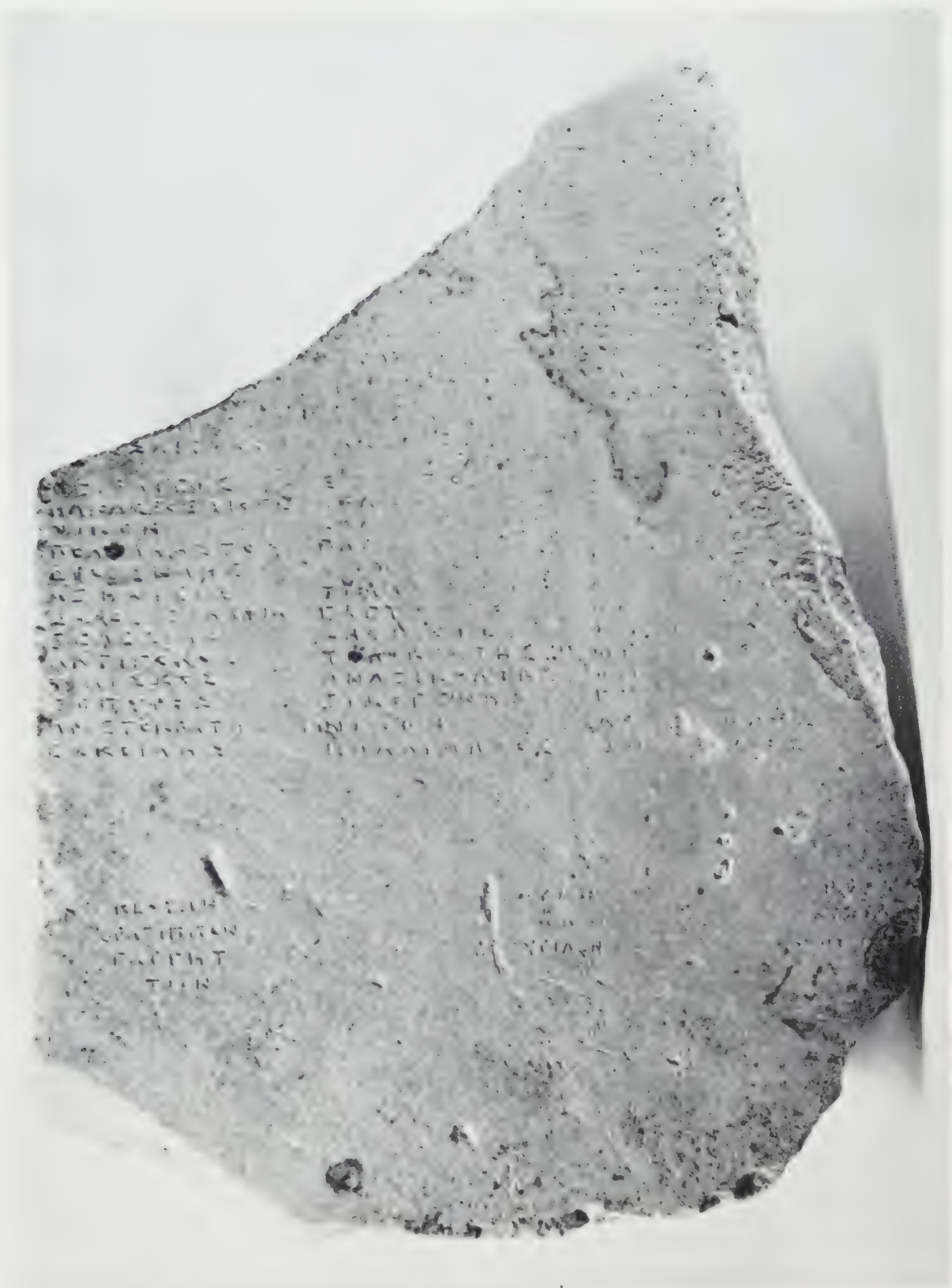
Inv. No. I 4915.

HIPPOTHONTIS

176-169 B.C.

62-65

- [--- τῶν προέδρων ἐπειψήφιζε]ν Σα[τ]υ[ρ (?) ----- καὶ συμπρόε]
 [δροι ὁδοξεν τεῖ βουλευί ---] Ὀνάσου (?) [----- εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις
 τῆς]
 [Ἴπποθωντίδος καὶ οἱ αἰεσίτοι ἐπ]αινέσ[αντες καὶ στεφανώσαντες ἀποφαίνουσιν]
 [τεῖ βουλευί τὸν ταμία]ν [ὃν εἶλοντ]ο ἐξ ἑαυ[τῶν Ἡλιόδωρον Διογένους Πειραιέα τὰς τε]
 5 [θυσίας τεθυκέναι πάσας τὰς καθηκούσας ἐν τεῖ πρυτανείᾳ ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ]
 [τοῦ δήμου, ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, ἀγαθεῖ
 τύχει]
 [δεδοχθαι τεῖ βουλευί, ἐπ]αινέσαι τὸν ταμίαν [Ἡλιόδωρον Διογένους Πειραιέα καὶ στεφα]
 [νῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ]· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ [ν γραμματέα Δημοσθένην Φίλωνος (?)
 Ἀζηνιέα]
 [καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ ἐπ]ωνύμου Θράσιππον Καλλ[ίου Γαργήττιον καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς]
 10 [βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμο]ν Φίλωνα Φίλωνος Εὐπυ[ρίδην καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Λυ-
 σίμαχον]
 [Ἀριστοκράτου Ἀφιδ]ναῖον καὶ τὸν κήρυκα τῆς [βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Εὐκλῆν Εὐ-
 κλέους]
 [Βερενικίδην καὶ τ]ὸν αὐλητὴν Καλλικράτην Κα[λλικράτου Θορίκιον καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τῆς]
 [βουλῆς .? στρα]τον Νικοστράτου Χολαργέ[α καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον θαλλοῦ στεφά]
 [νωι· ἀναγρ]άψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμ[ματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει
 λιθί]



No. 24. Prytany Decree

- 15 [νει κ|αὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ τ[ὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς
στήλης|
[μερ]ῖσαι τὸν ταμίαν τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμ[α].

vacat

Πειραιεῖς	30 Στράτος	Σ — — —	Eleven	One
Ἡλιόδωρος Διογέ	Ἡρακλεῖ[. .]ς	Ἐπί[λν]κο[ς]	lines	column
Νίκων	Καλλικράτης	45 Ἀνακαίε[ῖς]	missing	missing
20 Πολύμνηστος	Παράμονος	Διονύσιος		
Διο[. .]κλῆς	Δαμύλο[ς]	Φιλί[ν]ος		
Ἀζηνιεύς	35 Τιμησι|άν|αξ	Ἀριστοτέλ[ης]		
Δημοσθένης Φίλ	Ἐλευσ|ίν]ιοι	Ἀχερδούσιοι		
Τελεσίας	Κηφισοφῶν	50 Φιλόμ[α]χος		
25 Ἀντίγονος	Τιμοκράτης	Μενίσκος		
Φιλίσκος	Ἀναξικράτης	Ἀμυνίας		
Ζώπυρος	40 Τιμογένης	Εὐδοξος		
Ἀριστοκράτης	Νίκων	Ἀρισ[τ]οκλῆς	—[— — —]	
ἐκ Κοίλης	Καλλίμαχος	55 Δημ[ήτ]ριος	Σ[— — —]	

vacat

ἡ βουλῇ	ἡ βουλῇ	65 ἡ βουλ[ῇ]	[ἡ βουλῇ]
Θράσιππον	Φίλωνα	Λυσίμα[χον]	[Εὐκλῆν]
60 Γαργήτ	Εὐπυρίδην	Ἀφιδ[ναῖον]	70 [Βερενικίδην]
τιον			

vacat

ἡ βουλῇ	[ἡ βουλῇ]
[Καλλικράτην]	75 [·?στρατον]
[Θορίκιον]	[Χολαργέα]

This document must be dated in the same year as *Prytaneis*, no. 70, because of the identity of the three annual officials preserved in the two inscriptions: the Secretary of the Boule and Demos, the Undersecretary, and the Treasurer of the Boule. This year must be after 178/7 B.C., because the payment for the stele was made by ὁ ταμίης (τῶν στρατιωτικῶν), not the Single Officer of Administration, and, in fact, after 177/6 B.C., because seven of the prytaneis appear as members of the boule in both 178/7 B.C. and the year of the present document, if identity of nomen and demotic is a safe guide.⁵⁵ The *terminus ante quem* is 169/8 B.C., when Philokles

⁵⁵ The seven names which are duplicated in *Prytaneis*, no. 64 (178/7 B.C.) and the present inscription are: Nikon and Polymnestos of Piraeus, Paramonos of Koile, Timokrates of Eleusis, Meniskos, Aristokles, and Demetrios of Acherdous. Bouletai were probably excluded from a consecutive tenure of office. See Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatsk.*, p. 1022. For later abrogation of this rule, see Ferguson, *Hell. Athens*, p. 421.

of Trinemeia had succeeded Eukles as Herald.⁵⁶

Although this inscription is of the same year as *Prytaneis*, no. 70, the Priest of the Eponymos is different in both documents. Dow (*Prytaneis*, p. 16) pointed out that in all the inscriptions later than 169 B.C. published in *Prytaneis* the Priest belonged to the honored tribe. (A possible exception may appear in No. 25 below.) New evidence now requires that the period before 169/8 B.C. be reëxamined. In three prytany decrees (*Prytaneis*, nos. 60 and 64, and the present document), all honoring the tribe Hippothontis, the identical Priest, Thrasippos of Gargettos (Aigeis), held office. In the last of these three years, two different Priests are known, one from the deme Semachidai (Ptolemais or Antiochis) for an unknown tribe (*Prytaneis*, no. 70), the other from Gargettos (Aigeis) for the tribe Hippothontis (the present document). The Priest was usually not from the tribe honored, but there is one exception in 212/1 B.C. (*Prytaneis*, no. 36): Euboulides of Potamos for the tribe Leontis. This Euboulides may possibly be restored in another decree, from a different year, which honors Kekropis (*Prytaneis*, no. 31). In 223/2 B.C., Proxenos of Aphidna (Ptolemais) was Priest both for Aiantis (*Prytaneis*, no. 28) and for Akamantis (no. 23 above). The solution which appears to explain most satisfactorily the heterogeneous nature of this evidence is that each tribe was permitted to choose its own Priest without regard to tribal affiliation or to previous tenure of office in preceding years or even in the same year.⁵⁷ The fact that the same priest served for two or more prytanies within the same year suggests that available candidates were limited and that monetary outlay for sacrifices was involved. After new wealth accrued to Athens from Delos in 166 B.C.,⁵⁸ each tribe was usually able to furnish its own Priest, although occasional exceptions, as is tentatively suggested in the case of No. 25 below (Hippothontis), may have occurred.

Line 10: For Philon of Eupyridai, see Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

Lines 10 and 13: The restoration of the names of the Undersecretary and of the Treasurer of the Boule is to be completed in *Prytaneis*, no. 70, lines 9 and 12. Possible ancestors of the latter are *P.A.*, 11057-11058, and Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 136.

Line 18: The father of Heliodoros, the Treasurer of the Prytaneis, is probably the *Διογένης Πειραιεύς* mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 2332, line 70.

Lines 19 and 20: Nikon and Polymnestos of Piraeus also appear as bouleutai in *Prytaneis*, no. 64, lines 77 and 76.

Line 21: For Diokles, see No. 25, line 45.

Line 25: A grandson of Antigonos may be *P.A.*, 1009.

⁵⁶ See Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁵⁷ Alternately, it may be proposed (cf. *A.J.P.*, LX, 1939, pp. 259-260) that in the light of the evidence of the Priesthood of Proxenos the office may have been annual during the earlier period and subsequently changed to the term of a prytany.

⁵⁸ See Larsen in Frank's *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. IV, p. 419.

Lines 27 and 28: For Zopyros and Aristokrates, who are possibly related, see *P.L.*, 6258.

Line 31: Either Ἡράκλειτος or Ἡρακλείδης may be restored in this line. If the latter, a possible descendant is *P.A.*, 6469.

Line 33: Paramonos was also prytanis in 178/7 B.C. (*Prytaneis*, no. 64, line 45). For his grandson, see Dow, *ad loc.*

Line 34: Δαμύλος is new in Attic prosopography.

Line 37: For Kephisophon, see No. 25, line 62.

Line 38: For Timokrates, prytanis in 178/7 B.C., see *Prytaneis*, no. 64, line 52, and Dow, *ad loc.*

Line 39: A possible descendant of Anaxikrates is the secretary of the year 125/4 B.C., who appears in *Prytaneis*, nos. 90 and 91.

Line 42: A possible ancestor is *P.A.*, 8013.

Line 46: Possible ancestors of Dionysios are *P.A.*, 4151 and the Secretary of the Boule and Demos in *Prytaneis*, no. 37, lines 6 and 34. A possible descendant was secretary in the year 137/6 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 974).

Line 47: For Philinos, compare *P.A.*, 14320.

Line 51: For Meniskos, see *Prytaneis*, no. 64, line 67.

Line 53: A son or grandson of Eudoxos may be *P.A.*, 5435, and Sundwall. *Nachträge*, p. 76.

Line 54: For Aristokles, also prytanis in 178/7 B.C., see *Prytaneis*, no. 64, line 69, and Dow, *ad loc.*

Line 55: For Demetrios, see *Prytaneis*, no. 64, line 64.

25. Large fragment of Hymettian marble, broken above and below, found on May 21, 1937, in Section E. The block formed part of the curbing of a late well located in the porch of the Metroon. This fragment joins the base of the stele which has been published as *Prytaneis*, no. 82.

Height (combined), 0.805 m.; width, 0.432 m. (above), 0.467 m. (below); thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.005-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 706.

Syllabic division was occasionally violated at the end of lines.

165/4-150 B.C.

HIPPOTHONTIS

ca. 55

[----- ἀποφα]ίνουσι
[ν τεῖ βουλευῖ τὸν ταμίαν ὃν εἶλοντο ἐξ ἐαντῶν Φιλοκράτην Φιλοκ]ράτου Δε
[κελεύεα τὰς τε θυσίας τεθυκέναι πάσας τὰς καθηκούσας ἐ]ν τεῖ πρυτανεί
[αι ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι δὲ κα]ὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντω
5 [ν καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ὁ ἀγαθεὶ τύχει δεδόχθαι τεῖ β]ουλευῖ ἐπαι<ν>έσαι τὸν τα

- [μίαν Φιλοκράτην Φιλοκράτου Δεκελεύα καὶ στεφ]ανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφά
 [νωι· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Φιλοκράτην] Φιλοκράτου Δεκελεύα <κ>αὶ
 [τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ ἐπωνύμου Καλλίαν καὶ τὸν γρ]αμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ
 [δήμου Διονύσιον – ^{ca. 8} – Λαμπτρ]έα [κ]αὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Δημάνθην
 10 [– ^{ca. 8} – Λαμπτρέα καὶ τὸν κήρ]υκα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Εὐκλῆν
 [Φιλοκλέους Τρινεμεέα καὶ τὸν] αὐλητὴν Τέχωνα Λέοντος Φηγαίεα κα[ὶ]
 [τὸν ταμίαν τῆς βουλῆς Λυ]κίσκον Εὐμνήστου ἐξ Οἴου καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἔ
 [καστον αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ σ]τε[φ]άνωι, ἀναγ[ράψαι] δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν
 [γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ π]ρυτανείαν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ
 15 [πρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ τ]ῇ<ν> ἀναγραφῇ καὶ τὴν ποίησιν τῆς στήλης μερίσα<ι>
 [τὸν ταμίαν τῶν] στρατιωτικῶν τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα.

vacat

Δεκελεύεις	Πειραιεῖς	Νι<κ>ίας	Πυθοδωρίδης
Φιλοκράτης	Νικόμαχος	Ἀ<ζ>ηνιεῖς	Κηφισοφῶν
Φιλοκράτης	Ἀρτε<μ>ίδωρος	Λαμπι[κ]ράτης	Ἀγνόθεος
20 Ἀνδρόνικος	Σωσίνομος	Γηραῖος	ἐκ Κοίλης
Ἀ<ρ>οικλῆς	35 Διονύσιος	50 Σώφρων	65 Εὐεργέτης
Ἀμαξαντεῖς	Ἀντί<μ>αχος	Γαῖος	Ἴπποθῶν
Φι<λ>ήμων	ΘΕΟΧΜΙΟΞ	Ἀντίμαχος	Νίκανδρος
Ἑρμίας	Αὐτό<δ>ικος	Ἀχερδούσιοι	Ἀπολλόδωρος
25 Διοφάνης	Πασίνικος	Φίλαγρος	Ἐλαιούσιοι
Δωρόθεος	40 Ἀ<λ>εξιμένης	55 Ἐπιχάρης	70 Ποσίδεος
Ἐπίγονος	Βασιλ[εί]δης	Ξερόφιλος	Κειριάδαι
Φι<λ>ιστίδης	Δημήτριος	Ἐλευσίνιοι	Εὐκτῆμων
Ἑρμων	Ἀ<λ>εξιμένης	Σώσανδρος	Μενεκράτης
	νε(ώτερος)		
30 Ἠγήσιππος	Γλαῦκος	Ἀσκληπιάδης	Κόπρειοι
	45 Διοκλῆς	60 Συ{ν}ών	75 Ἱεροκλῆς

vacat

ἡ βουλῇ	ἡ βουλῇ	ἡ βουλῇ
Καλλίαν	[Δ]ιο[ν]ύσιον	Δημάνθην
	80 [Λα]μπτρέ[α]	Λαμπτρέα

vacat

ἡ βουλῇ	ἡ βουλῇ	90 ἡ βουλῇ
85 Εὐκλῆν	Τέχυν<ω>να	Λυκίσκον
Τρινεμεέα	Φηγαίεα	ἐξ Οἴου

vacat

The errors of the stonecutter are so numerous that they require comment. In

line 15 chi was inscribed instead of nu, in line 21 beta instead of rho, in lines 23, 28, 40, and 43 unmistakable alphas instead of lambdas, in line 33 rho and alpha for a mu, in line 36 an omega for a mu, in line 38 a lambda for a delta, in line 46 a lambda for a kappa, and in line 47 a chi for a zeta. In line 37 an impossible combination of letters baffles correction. Possibly, an assistant read the name *Θεόκριτος* to an illiterate non-Greek mason, who misunderstood the word.⁵⁹

The *terminus post quem* is 166/5 B.C., for Philokles was not replaced as Herald by his son Eukles (line 11) until after that year.⁶⁰ The style of lettering and a number of prosopographical items require a *terminus ante quem* not much later than 150 B.C., and probably nearer 160 B.C. Hagnotheos of Eleusis (line 63) had earlier served as councillor in the year 178/7 B.C. (*Prytaneis*, no. 64, line 53). Diokles of Piraeus (line 45) and Kephisophon of Eleusis (line 62) may have been prytaneis in No. 24 above (lines 21 and 37), which must be dated before 169/8 B.C. The prytanis Basileides of Piraeus (line 41) and the Treasurer of the Boule were hieropoioi in the archonship of Lysiades (148/7 B.C. ?).⁶¹ The brother of the Treasurer of the Boule was *ἐξηγητής* at Delos in 156/5 B.C. (*Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 1417, B, II, line 111; compare *ad I.G.*, II², 1934).⁶² In the same year, the Priest, Kallias,—if he is correctly identified below,—held a similar post at Delos (*Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 1417, B, II, line 80). A probable grandfather of Nikias of Piraeus (line 46) was Secretary of the Boule and Demos shortly before 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 912, line 15; compare *Prytaneis*, no. 39).

As regards the officials honored, it is to be noted that the Treasurer and Secretary of the Prytaneis, being father and son, were from the same deme. The demotic of the Priest of the Eponymos was omitted both in the text and in the citation, but it is quite possible that this Kallias was a son of *Θράσιππος Καλλίου Γαργήτιος* who is known to have served as Priest for the tribe Hippothontis in three years in the seventies of the second century before Christ (*Prytaneis*, nos. 60 and 64, and No. 24 above). To judge from the evidence of these four inscriptions, this one Gargettian family, although not a member of the tribe, may have filled the Priesthood for Hippothontis during a large part of the second quarter of the century.⁶³

The register is composed of the names of 49 prytaneis and of 10 demes.⁶⁴ In addition to the omission of one prytanis, four demes which appeared in the prytany register of 178/7 B.C. (*Prytaneis*, no. 64) are unrepresented.⁶⁵ Within the span of

⁵⁹ For foreign stonecutters at Athens, see Dow, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 87, and *Prytaneis*, p. 100.

⁶⁰ See Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

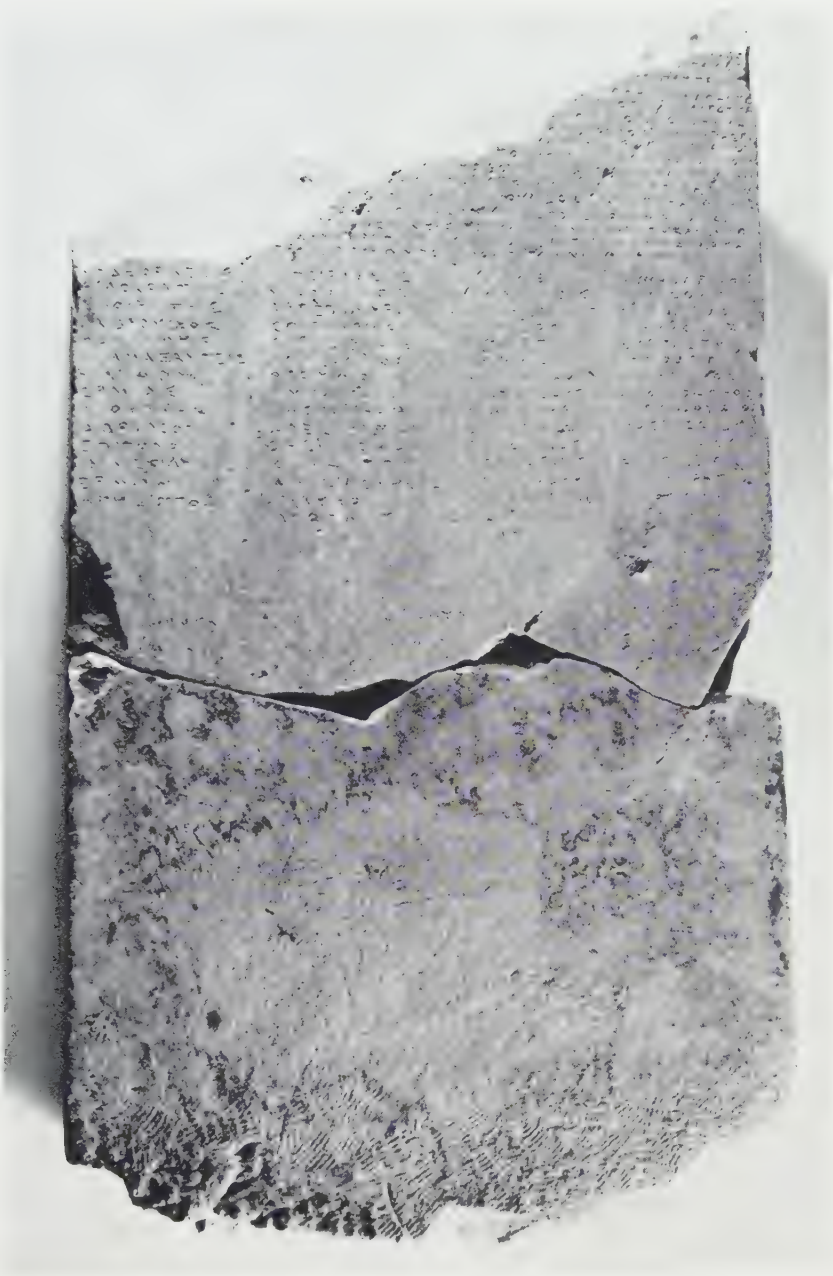
⁶¹ See *I.G.*, II², 1938, lines 51 and 43.

⁶² The archonship of Kallistratos is dated according to Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 30.

⁶³ For the stemma of the family, see Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁶⁴ For two other incomplete prytany registers, see Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁶⁵ Three other demes assigned by Schoeffer (*Realencyclopädie*, s. v. *Δῆμοι*) and Dinsmoor (*Archons*, pp. 444-451) to the tribe Hippothontis are not represented in any of the prytany lists. These are Amymone, Pol---, and Sphendale, but they do not appear in inscriptions until the Roman period.



No. 25

less than a quarter of a century, there are now preserved three registers of the tribe Hippothontis which display a striking disparity in deme representation.⁶⁶ No deme has the same representation in all three lists, and only three demes have in any two lists.⁶⁷ The largest deme, Piraeus, varies with 4, 8, and 15 prytaneis; Azenia with 2, 5, and 6; Anakaia with 0, 1, and 3. Acherdous has 3 in one list, but 8 in another; Elaious has 1 and 5; Auridai 0 and 4.

The names Πασίνικος (line 39) and Γηραιός (line 49) appear to be new in Greek prosopography; the names Συνών (line 60), Πυθοδορίδης (line 61), Ἴπποθῶν (line 66), and Ποσιδεός (line 70) in Attic prosopography. It is possible, however, that errors of the mason are concealed in some of these names.

Line 32: Possible ancestors of Nikomachos are *P.A.*, 10959 and 10960.

Line 35: A Dionysios of Piraeus was a contributor in a list in the archonship of Hermogenes, 183/2 B.C. (*P.A.*, 4240); another was father of Sosikrates who was an ephebe in 119/8 B.C. (*P.A.*, 4238). See also *P.A.*, 4239 and 4241.

Line 42: For possible relatives, see *P.A.*, 3435-3437.

Line 44: For possible relatives, see *P.A.*, 3006-3007, and Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 44.

Line 45: The father (or son) of the councillor Diokles was orator of a decree in 175/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1329). Diokles was possibly prytanis in No. 24, line 21.

Line 46: For relatives other than the one cited above, see *P.A.*, 10820, and Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 134.

Line 59: For a descendant, see *P.A.*, 2601.

Line 62: For Kephisophon, see No. 24, line 37.

Line 65: Possible relatives are *P.A.*, 5455 and 5456.

Line 67: A possible grandson is *P.A.*, 10686.

Line 73: A sepulchral inscription of the daughter of Menekrates may be preserved in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 90.

26. Three joining pieces of Hymettian marble, of which one, the small fragment at the lower left, has been published by Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 56. The large fragment, preserving most of the upper part of the inscribed face, was found on April 28, 1936, in a Byzantine wall in Section P. The small fragment at the lower right was found in Section P on February 18, 1936.

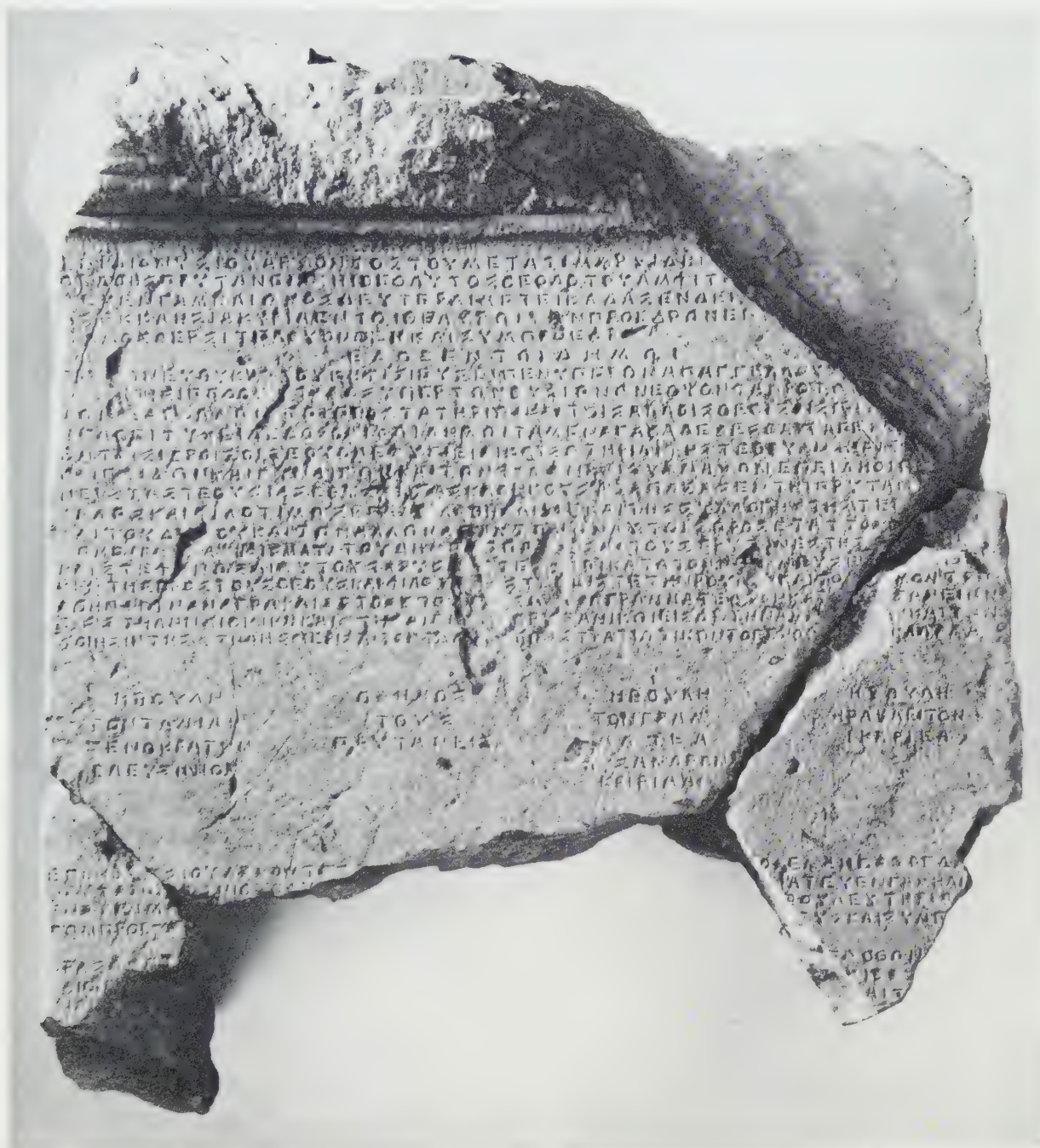
Height, *ca.* 0.60 m.; width, 0.52 m.; thickness, 0.21 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 2145.

⁶⁶ *Prytaneis*, no. 64, No. 24 above, and the present document.

⁶⁷ A disparity in the number of bouleutai, epheboi, and diaitetai from single demes has been noted by Gomme, *Population of Athens*, pp. 51-53, 64. For irregularities in the system of allotment, see Dow, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 181.



No. 26

135/4 B.C.

- Ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Τιμαρχίδην | ἐπὶ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος |
 ὀγδόης πρυτανείας, ἥι Θεόλυτος Θεοδότου Ἀμφιτρ[οπήθεν ἐγραμμά |
 τευεν· Γαμηλιῶνος δευτέραι μετ' εἰκάδας, ἐνδεκ[άτει τῆς πρυτανεί |
 ας· ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπε|ψήφισεν —^{ca. 5}— |
 5 δαμος Θερσιτέλου Ὁγήθεν καὶ συμπρόεδροι. *vacat*
vacat ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ· *vacat*
 Θρά[σ]ων Εὐθυκ[ρά]τον Κηφισιεύς εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσ[ιν οἱ πρυτά |
 [ν]εις τῆς Ἴπποθωντίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσιῶν ὧν ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ τῶν [ἐκκλησιῶν |
 τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Προστατηρίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτ[ριον ἦν· |
 10 ἀγαθὴ τύχει δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγο[νότα |
 ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθνον ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τ[οῦ δήμου |
 καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμάχων· ἐπειδὴ οἱ π[ρυτά |
 νεις τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν τὰς καθηκούσας ἀπάσας ἐν τῇ πρυταν[είαι |
 καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς συλλογῆς τῆς τε β[ουλῆς |
 15 καὶ τοῦ δή[μ]ου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὧν αὐτοῖς προσέταττον [οἷ τε |
 νόμοι καὶ [τ]ὰ ψ[ή]φίσματα | τοῦ δήμου, ἐπα[ν]έσαι τοὺς πρυτάνε[ι]ς τῆς Ἴ[ππο-
 θωντίδος |
 καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρυσ[ῶι] στε[φά]νῳι κατὰ τὸν νό[μ]ον εὐσε[βείας] ἔ[νε] |
 κεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτ[υμίας] τῇ[ς] εἰς τε τὴν βουλ[ῇ]ν καὶ τὸ[ν
 δῆ]μον τὸν
 Ἀθηναίων· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψ[ή]φισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ [πρυ]τανείαν
 20 εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν [τῷ] πρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀνα[γραφῇ]ν καὶ τὴν
 ποίησιν τῆς στήλης μερίσαι τὸν ταμ[ίαν] τῶν στρατιωτικῶν τὸ γενόμε[νον ἀ]νάλωμα.
vacat
- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|
| ἡ βουλὴ | ὁ δῆμος | ἡ βουλὴ | ἡ βουλὴ |
| τὸν ταμίαν | τοὺς | 30 τὸν γραμ | 35 Ἡράκλειτον |
| Ξενοκράτην | πρυτάνεις | ματέα | Ἰκαριέα |
| 25 Ἐλευσίνιον | | Λύσανδρον | |
| | | Κειριάδην[ν] | |
- vacat*
- Ἐπὶ Διο[νυ]σίου ἄρχοντος τ[οῦ] μετὰ Τιμαρχίδην ἐπὶ τῆς Πτ[ο]λεμαίδος ὀγδό[ης]
 πρυτανε[ί]ας ἥι Θεόλυ[τος Θεοδότου Ἀμφιτροπήθεν ἐγραμ]μάτευεν· Γαμηλι[ῶνος]
 ἐνάτει με[τ' εἰκάδας, τετάρτει τῆς πρυτανείας· βουλὴ ἐμ] βουλευτηρίῳ[ι· |
 40 τῶν προέδρ[ων ἐπειψήφισεν — — — —^{ca. 25} — — — —] εὐς καὶ συμπ[ρόεδροι· |
vacat [ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ· | *vacat*
 Θράσων Εὐ[θυκράτου Κηφισιεύς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἴ]πποθων[τίδος]
 καὶ οἱ ἀ[είσιτοι ἐπαινέσαντες καὶ στεφανώσαντες ἀποφαίνουσιν τ]εῖ βου[λῇ] τὸν τα
 μίαν [ὃν εἶλοντο ἐξ ἑαυτῶν Ξενοκράτην — — — Ἐλευσίνιον κ]αὶ τ[ὸν γραμμα]
 45 [τ]ε[α Λύσανδρον — — — Κειριάδην τὰς τε θυσίας τεθυκέναι ἀπά]σ[ας τὰς κτλ.]
-

The most significant feature of this inscription is the information it supplies concerning the archon list. The previously published fragment of the lower decree (Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 56) had been dated on the basis of script in the first quarter of the second century before Christ. But the new fragments, containing the archon's name as Dionysios ὁ μετὰ Τιμαρχίδην, show that the inscription must be removed to the year 135/4 B.C., for Timarchides is fixed by the Delian list of gymnasiarchs in the year 136/5 B.C. (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 232). This new archon gives confirmation to a conjecture made by Roussel in his review of Dinsmoor's *The Archons of Athens* (*R.E.A.*, XXXIV, 1932, pp. 196-204). Roussel, announcing the existence of an unpublished fragment from Delos, reported that a portion of the archon's name was preserved as ---με]τὰ Τιμαρχίδ[ην]. Accordingly, he deduced that the common name Dionysios was to be restored. This fragment has subsequently been published in *Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 2566, and must now be restored as follows:

'Αγαθεῖ τύχει· ἐ]πὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος τοῦ με]
τὰ Τιμαρχίδ[ην] - - - - -
- - - - - IT - - - - -

This determination also requires the dating of *Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 1750 (ἐπὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν), in 135/4 B.C. The possible modifications in Dinsmoor's and Ferguson's archon tables in case of the acceptance of Roussel's conjecture concerning this new archon were tabulated by Ferguson in an *addendum* to his *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 179. These modifications must now be adopted, so they are here presented in detail. Xenon remains dated in 133/2 B.C. in accord with the Delian list of gymnasiarchs.⁶⁸ But Ergokles, formerly dated in 135/4 B.C., must be removed to 132/1 B.C. and Epikles, who is known as his immediate successor (*I.G.*, II², 1227), to 131/0 B.C.⁶⁹ In addition, this requires the retention of Kirchner's original restoration for the secretary's demotic in the year of Epikles as Ἀ[γγελῆθεν] (*I.G.*, II², 977, line 2; see *I.G.*, II², Indices, p. 20); so Dow's restoration of the prescript of this decree (*Prytaneis*, no. 88) must be altered accordingly.⁷⁰ Mikion, who is known from a Delian inscription (*Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 1899; Roussel, *Délos Colonie athénienne*, p. 366) to have been archon when Ariston of Steiria (III) was Priest of the Great Gods, would be eligible only for the year 132/1 B.C., which is now assigned, if the priests of the Great Gods were rotated according to the official order (Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 272). But Ferguson has demonstrated that the priest-hoods were distributed κατὰ φυλὰς by lot in the period 157/6-146/5 B.C.,⁷¹ so it is to one of these years that Mikion must now be assigned. Within this twelve-year

⁶⁸ Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 232.

⁶⁹ Kirchner's assignment (*Gnomon*, VIII, 1932, p. 462) of Epikles to 133/2 B.C. must be rejected, because this year is fixed for Xenon (*Inscriptions de Délos*, nos. 1949 and 2594).

⁷⁰ Cf. *A.J.P.*, LX, 1939, p. 260.

⁷¹ *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 168-171.

span, the years 154/3-148/7 B.C. are not allocated with certainty to other archons.⁷² The inscription *I.G.*, II², 978, which Dinsmoor sought to date in the archonship of Mikion,⁷³ has already been removed by Dow (*Prytaneis*, pp. 104-105) to the early part of the second century before Christ. The only year which remains for Nikomachos, displaced from 131/0 B.C., is 134/3 B.C. It is known from an Herculaneum papyrus that Nikomachos held office 24 years after the archonship of Aristaichmos,⁷⁴ so the latter is dated by exclusive reckoning in 158/7 B.C., not in 154/3 B.C., as in Dinsmoor (*Archons*, pp. 263-265). This new date for Aristaichmos requires the dating of *Prytaneis*, nos. 79 and 80 ([ἐπὶ⁹ . . . ἄρχοντος]), in 159/8 B.C., if Dow's terminal dates are correct.

Line 5: The name Θεροσιτέλης is new in Greek prosopography.

Lines 7 and 16: In the orator's patronymic the letters alpha and rho were transposed by the stonecutter. In line 16, the iota was omitted from πρυτάνεις. The orator was the same in both decrees (lines 7 and 42). This occurred frequently in prytany inscriptions and parallels may be found in Dow, *Prytaneis*, nos. 36, 79, and 84.

Lines 24-25: The tamias is to be included in the family which embraces *P.A.*, 11246-11248. In the absence of the patronymic from our Xenokrates of Eleusis, the stemma cannot be determined.

Lines 35-36: There were usually only three citations between the two decrees, but the addition of a fourth for the Priest of the Eponymos is paralleled in an inscription published by Dow (*Prytaneis*, no. 84). The Priest of the present inscription, Herakleitos of Ikaria B, is to be identified with *P.A.*, 6501. His sister Nikarete was *κανηφόρος* at Delphi in 138/7 B.C. (Ditt., *Syll.*³, 696 c; cf. Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 133).

With reference to the foregoing discussion, the archons in the cycle 147-128 B.C. are presented in the following table. Dinsmoor's initial date for the list of Delian gymnasiarchs (*Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 2589) as 166/5 B.C. and his assignment of the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh names (lines 31-34) to a single year have been adopted in accord with his arguments presented in *Archons*, pp. 229-232, and with the table of Ferguson (*Ath. Tribal Cycles*, p. 30). The acceptance of the alternative date, 167/6 B.C., which is preferred by Kirchner (*Gnomon*, VIII, 1932, p. 461), Kolbe (*Nachr. Goetting. Gesellsch.*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1933, pp. 490-491), Roussel and Launey (*ad Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 2589), and which is admitted by Ferguson to be equally possible (*op. cit.*, *addenda*, p. 180), would move the archons of 147-141 B.C. back one year and require the addition of an unnamed archon in

⁷² Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 30. The fact that Ariston's father was an ἐγγνητής at Delos (*Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 1416, B, col. I, line 73) in 157/6 B.C. does not interfere with this change.

⁷³ *Archons*, pp. 272-273.

⁷⁴ Mekler, *Academicorum philosophorum index herculanensis*, p. 106, col. XXXIII.

142/1 B.C. In the table it has sufficed to refer only to documents which mention the archons or secretaries by name. Bibliography may be obtained by referring to the indexes in Dinsmoor's *Archons* and Ferguson's *Ath. Tribal Cycles* and to the commentaries in *Inscriptions de Délos* and Jacoby's *F. Gr. Hist.*

YEAR	TYPE	ARCHON	SECRETARY	TRIBE
147/6	I	Archon		?
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 968, line 36; <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , nos. 1501-1503, 1505, 1952.		
146/5	0*	Epikrates	Ξε[ν ---] Συπαλήττιος	VIII
		<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , nos. 1504-1505.		
145/4	0*	Metrophanes	Ἐπιγένης Μοσχίωνος Λαμπτρέυς	I
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 967; <i>Prytaneis</i> , nos. 85 and 86; <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , nos. 1442, 1506-1507.		
144/3	0*	Ε ---		2
		<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , no. 1507.		
143/2	I	Theaitetos		3
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 968, lines 37-38; <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , no. 2593; Apollodoros, frag. 47 (Jacoby, <i>F. Gr. Hist.</i> , II B, p. 1034 = Mekler, <i>Academicorum philosophorum index herculanensis</i> , p. 97); Mekler, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 80, col. 0 (cf. Jacoby, <i>op. cit.</i> , II D, p. 739). <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 979 has been removed from this year by Meritt, <i>Hesperia</i> , III, 1934, p. 34.		
142/1	0	Aristophon		4
		Mekler, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 80, col. 0 (cf. Jacoby, <i>F. Gr. Hist.</i> , II D, p. 739).		
141/0	0	Aristophantos??	[--- --- B] ουντάδης	V
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 968; <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , no. 2609; Apollodoros, frag. 59 (Jacoby, <i>F. Gr. Hist.</i> , II B, p. 1036 = Mekler, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 102). The assignment of this archon is preferred by Roussel, but questioned by Dinsmoor, <i>Archons</i> , pp. 223 and 268.		
140/39	I	Hagnotheos	Μενεκράτης Χαριξένου Θορίκιος	VI
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 969-971; <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , nos. 1444 and 1450; Apollodoros, frag. 56 (Jacoby, <i>F. Gr. Hist.</i> , II B, p. 1035 = Mekler, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 89).		
139/8	0*	Apollodoros	[... ^{ca. 10} ...] νος Ὁῆθεν	VII
		<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 973.		

YEAR	TYPE	ARCHON	SECRETARY	TRIBE
138/7	I	Timarchos	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , no. 1987; Dittenberger, <i>Syll.</i> ³ , no. 696 (= <i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> , III, 2, nos. 7 and 11).	8
137/6	0*	Herakleitos	Διονύσ[ιο]ς Δημητρίου Ἀνακαϊεύς <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 974; cf. Meritt, <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, 1935, p. 560; <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , no. 1948.	IX
136/5	0	Timarchides	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , nos. 1922 and 2566.	10
135/4	I*	Dionysios	Θεόλυτος Θεοδότου Ἀμφιτρ[οπήθ]εν <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 887; see above, no. 26, and below, pp. 132-133; <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , nos. 1750 and 2566.	XI
134/3	0	Nikomachos	Mekler, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 106, col. XXXIII.	12
133/2	0	Xenon	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , nos. 1949 and 2594.	1
132/1	I	Ergokles	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1227. <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 978 has been removed from this year by Dow, <i>Prytaneis</i> , pp. 104-105.	2
131/0	0*	Epikles	[Γοργ]ίλος Γοργίλου Ἀ[γγελήθεν] <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 977, 1227; <i>Prytaneis</i> , no. 88; see above, p. 129; <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , no. 2601 (?); Apollodoros, frag. 55 (Jacoby, <i>F. Gr. Hist.</i> , II B, p. 1035 = Mekler, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 100); Mekler, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 91, col. XXV (cf. Jacoby, <i>op. cit.</i> , II D, p. 742). I prefer to interpret <i>Prytaneis</i> , no. 88, as evidence for an ordinary year.	III
130/29	I	Demostratos	<i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1132.	4
129/8	0	Lykiskos	<i>Hesperia</i> , IV, 1935, no. 37; <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , nos. 1877, 1900, 2226; Apollodoros, frag. 56 (Jacoby, <i>F. Gr. Hist.</i> , II B, p. 1035 = Mekler, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 89); <i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> , III, 2, nos. 8, 12, 24, 34, and 35; <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1713.	5

The inscription here presented preserves the name of the secretary for Dionysios' year as Θεόλυτος Θεοδότου Ἀμφιτρ[οπήθεν]. Accordingly, the secretary in *I.G.*, II², 887 is to be identified with this Theolytos,⁷⁵ and the inscription must be removed from the nineties of the second century to the year 135/4 B.C. It is to be restored as follows:

⁷⁵ This identification was conjecturally offered by Roussel (*R.E.A.*, XXXIV, 1932, p. 201).

I.G., II², 887

135 ± B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Ἐ]πὶ Διονυσίου ἄρχον[τος τοῦ μετὰ Τιμαρχί]
 [δ]ὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωντί[δος — ^{ca. 9} — πρυτα]
 νείας, ἥμ̄ Θεόλυτος | Θεοδότου Ἀμφιτροπῇ]
 [θ]εὺ ἐγράμμ[άτευεν · — — — ^{ca. 17} — — — |
 [μετ'] ἐκ[άδας, — — — — — — — — — —]

The calendar formulae of our new inscription require an intercalary year for the archonship of Dionysios.⁷⁶ In line 3, the eleventh day of the eighth prytany is equated with the 29th day of Gamelion (backward count). This was the 235th day of the year. The month Gamelion was full. In line 39, the date of the passage of the decree of the boule, which regularly preceded in time the decree inscribed above it on the stone, is given as the 22nd day of Gamelion (backward count). This is to be equated with the fourth day of the eighth prytany.

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NOTE: For the sake of complete final publication, students of the documents here printed are earnestly requested to send suggestions by letter or reprints of articles they may write concerning them to Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A.

⁷⁶ This requires a correction in the tables of Dinsmoor (*Archons*, p. 439) and Ferguson (*Ath. Tribal Cycles*, p. 31).

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- Καλλίμαχος (Ἐλευσίνιος), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 42.
- Καλλίστρατος Στεφ(άνου) (ἐκ Κεραμέων), prytanis 223/2 B.C., father of Στέφανος, 23 73-74.
- Καλλιφάνης (Σουνιεύς), *ca.* 360 B.C., father of Καλλιχάρης, 8 I 25, 8 II 19.
- Καλλιχάρης Καλλιφάνους [Σουνι]εύς, lochagos 333/2 B.C., 8 I 25-26, 8 II 19-20.
- [Κηδείδης] Θρασυμήδους (Λευκονοεύς), ephebe 333/2 B.C., 8 II 33-34.
- Κηφ[ι]σόδορος (Ἀναγυράσιος), *ca.* 330 B.C., father of Εὐθύδικος, 20 8-9.
- Κηφισοφῶν (Ἐλευσίνιος), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 37, prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 62.

Κι---, of Leontis, *ca.* 360 B.C., father of ---έης, 8 II 28.

[Κ]ίλλης (Ἀγνούσιος), prytanis late third century B.C., 11 11.

[Κόνω]ν Τιμοθέου Ἀναφλύστιος, general 333/2 B.C., 8 II 9-10.

Λαμψι[κ]ράτης (Ἀζηνιεύς), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 48.

Λέων (Φηγαίεύς), *ca.* 185 B.C., father of Τέχων, 25 11.

Λυ--- (Λευκοσιεύς), early third century B.C., father of Θεόκριτος, 22 30.

Λυκίσκος Εὐμνήστου ἐξ Οἴου, treasurer of Boule 165-150 B.C., 25 12, 91-92.

Λυσα---, of Hippothontis, *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Ἀμεινίας, 5 3.

Λύ[σανδρ-] (Πήληξ), early third century B.C., father of Λυσανίας, 22 34.

Λύσανδρος Κειριάδη[ς], secretary of prytaneis 135/4 B.C., 26 32-33, 45.

Λυσανίας Λυ[σάνδρ-] (Πήληξ), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 34.

Λυσικλῆς (Υβιάδης), early third century B.C., father of ---ς, 22 67.

Λυσίμα[χος Ἀριστοκράτου] Ἀφιδναῖος undersecretary 176-169 B.C., 24 10-11, 66-67.

Λυσίμαχο[ς] (Ἑρμειος), *ca.* 315 B.C., father of Καλλίας, 15 8.

Λυσιστράτη, *ca.* 455 B.C., 18 3.

Λυσί[στρατος Ἀριστομ]άχου Παιαν[ιεύς], secretary 287/6 B.C., 14 3-4.

Λυσίσ[τρατος], ephebe early third century B.C., 12 9.

Μεγακλῆς Μενίπ[ου Ἀχαρνεύς], 307/6 B.C., father of Μένιππος, 9 IV 123, 124.

Μέδων (Ἀφιδναῖος), *ca.* 330 B.C., father of Μέμνων, 20 11.

Μελάνω[πος] (Κήττιος?), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 25.

Μελάνωπος (ἐκ Κοίλης), *ca.* 335 B.C., 9 III 129.

Μέμνων Μέδοντος Ἀφιδναῖος, orator in 302/1 B.C., 20 10-11.

Μενεκράτης, *ca.* 335 B.C., father ofτας, 9 III 123.

Μενεκράτης (Κειριάδης), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 73.

Μενέστρα[τος], of Leontis, *ca.* 360 B.C., father of Εὐτελίδης, 8 II 36.

Μένιππος (Ἀχαρνεύς), *ca.* 335 B.C., father of Μεγακλῆς, 9 IV 123.

Μένιππος Μεγακλέους [Ἀχαρνεύς], 307/6 B.C., grandson of the preceding, 9 IV 124.

Μενίσκος (Ἀχερδοῖσιος), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 51.

Μνησι--- (Παιονίδης), *ca.* 360 B.C., father of ---έας, 8 III 6.

[Μνησίδημος], archon 298/7 B.C., 13 1.

Μοιραγένης Ἴκα[ριεύς], phylarch fourth century B.C., 6 3.

[Ναυσικίδης] (Χολαργεύς), *ca.* 315 B.C., father of Ναυ[σιμένης], 15 3.

Ναυ[σιμένης Ναυσικύδου Χο]λαργεύς, secretary 285/4 B.C., 15 3-4.

Νε---, of Demetrias, third century B.C., 10 24.

Νε---, of Leontis, *ca.* 360 B.C., father of ---ς, 8 III 5.

Νε---, of Leontis, *ca.* 360 B.C., father of ---κησίας, 8 III 9.

Νίκανδρος (ἐκ Κοίλης), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 67.

Νικήρατος Νικοδήμο[υ], ephebe of Leontis 333/2 B.C., 8 II 37.

Νικήρατος (Ἡρακλεώτης), *ca.* 335 B.C., father of ...ς, 9 III 124.

Νι<κ>ίας (Πειραιεύς), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 46.

Νικόδημος, of Leontis, *ca.* 360 B.C., father of Νικήρατος, 8 II 37.

Νικοκλῆς, archon 302/1 B.C., 20 2, 12.

Νικοκλῆς (Χολληίδης), *ca.* 360 B.C., father of Νικόξενος, 8 I 26, 8 II 20.

Νικοκράτης, archon 333/2 B.C., 8 1, 8 I 11-12.

Νικόλο[χος] (Φαληρεύς), *ca.* 335 B.C., father of ...ος, 9 III 126.

Νικόμαχος (Πειραιεύς), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 32.

Νικό[ξεν]ος Νικοκλέους Χ[ολλ]ηίδης, lochagos 333/2 B.C., 8 I 26-27, 8 II 20-21.

Νικόστρατος (Χολαργεύς), *ca.* 200 B.C., father of [?. στρα]τος, 24 13.

Νίκων (Ἐλευσίνιος), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 41.

Νίκων (Πειραιεύς), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 19.

Νίκων Θεοδώρου Πλωθεύς, secretary 302/1 B.C., 20 4.

- |Ξ|ενοκλῆς Ερ--- (ἐκ Κεραμέων), prytanis 223/2 B.C., 23 77.
- Ξενοκράτης Ἐλευσίνιος, treasurer of prytaneis 135/4 B.C., 26 24-25, 44.
- Ξενοφίλος (Ἀχερδοῦσιος), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 56.
- Οἰ---, prytanis of Akamantis 223/2 B.C., 23 80.
- Ὀνασος (?), *ca.* 200 B.C., 24 2.
- Π--- (ἐκ Κεραμέων), *ca.* 250 B.C., father of [Ἑστ]ιαῖος, 23 78.
- Παμμένης Ζήνωνος Μα[ραθώνιος], envoy of Gephyraioi, *ca.* 37/6 B.C., 17 8, 20-21.
- Πάμφιλος Ἐπιγένο[υ] (Χολλείδης), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 38.
- Πανάγης Μελιτ(εύς), ephebe early third century B.C., 12 9.
- Πανδαίτης Πασικλέους Ποτάμ[ιος], lochagos 333/2 B.C., 8 I 23, 8 II 16-17, 8 III 10-11.
- Παράμονος (ἐκ Κόιλης), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 33.
- Παρμε--- (ἐκ Κεραμέων), *ca.* 250 B.C., father of Τιμόβιος, 23 75.
- Πασικλῆς (Ποτάμιος), *ca.* 360 B.C., father of Πανδαίτης, 8 I 23, 8 II 17, 8 III 11.
- Πασίνικος (Πειραιεύς), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 39.
- Πείθω[υ], of Leontis, *ca.* 360 B.C., father of Εὐαίων, 8 II 38.
- Πεισιάναξ (Σουნიεύς), *ca.* 360 B.C., father of Ἐπικράτης, 8 I 24, 8 II 18.
- Πολεμ--- (Σφήττιος?), *ca.* 250 B.C., father of Ἀσκληπιάδης, 23 71.
- Πολύμνηστος (Πειραιεύς), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 20.
- Πολύστροφος, of Hippothontis, first half of fourth century B.C., 5 2.
- Ποσίδεος (Ἐλαιούσιος), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 70.
- Πρε[σ]βυ[χάρης] ? υς (Ἀλιμούσιος?), ephebe 333/2 B.C., 8 II 29-30.
- Προκλῆς (Ἐκαλήθεν), early third century B.C., father of [-^{ca. 4} -]ίδης, 22 11.
- Προκλῆς (Σουნიεύς), early third century B.C., father of . . . ικλῆς, 22 8.
- [Πρόξενος Ἀρμοδίου(?)] Ἀφι[δναῖος], priest of eponymos 223/2 B.C., 23 56.
- Πρωτόμαχος Ἑρμ--- (Κειριάδης), first half of fourth century B.C., 5 7.
- Πυθοδορίδης (Ἐλευσίνιος), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 61.
- Σ--- (Ἐλευσίνιος), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 43.
- Σ---, of Akamantis, prytanis 223/2 B.C., 23 81.
- Σ---, of Hippothontis, prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 57.
- Σαννείδης (Ἀλιμούσιος?), ephebe 333/2 B.C., 8 II 30.
- Σα[τ]υ[ρ]---, epistates 176-169 B.C., 24 1.
- Σάτυρος (Λευκονοεύς), *ca.* 360 B.C., father of Θαρσύνων, 8 II 35.
- [Σμίκυ]θος Σμικύθων Ἀναφλύστιος, 307/6 B.C., 9 III 127.
- Σμίκυθος (Ἀναφλύστιος), *ca.* 335 B.C., father of [Σμίκυ]θος, 9 III 127.
- Σμίκυθος (Εὐπυρίδης), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 60.
- [Σμί]κυθος, of Leontis, *ca.* 360 B.C., 8 III 7.
- Στ[ασιάνα]ξ, 408/7 B.C., 19 78-79, 86-87 (?).
- Στέφ(ανος) (ἐκ Κεραμέων), *ca.* 250 B.C., father of Καλλίστρατος, 23 73.
- Στέφανος Καλλισ(τράτου) (ἐκ Κεραμέων), prytanis 223/2 B.C., 23 71.
- Στράτος (ἐκ Κόιλης), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 30.
- Στρατοφῶν (Σουნიεύς), early third century B.C., father of [-^{ca. 7} -]ων, 22 4.
- Συνών (Ἐλευσίνιος), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 60.
- Σω---, of Leontis, *ca.* 360 B.C., father of ---ης, 8 II 23.
- Σω . . . το---, 307/6 B.C., 9 IV 129.
- Σώσανδρος (Ἐλευσίνιος), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 58.
- [Σω]σίβιος Σωσικλέους (Σουნიεύς), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 7.
- Σωσικλῆς (Σουნიεύς), early third century B.C., father of [Σω]σίβιος, 22 7.
- Σωσίνεμος (Πειραιεύς), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 34.
- [Σώσ]τρατος Δαι[δαλίδης], third century B.C., 10 8.
- Σώστρατος, 298/7 B.C., 13 25.
- Σώστρ[ατος], *ca.* 250 B.C., father of Ἀρκεσίλας, 23 45.
- Σωτέλης Ἀλκιμ[έδοντος] (Λευκονοεύς), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 31.

Σώφιλος Ἀριστοτέλους Φυλάσιος, general 333/2 B.C., 8 II 11-12.

Σώφρων (Ἀζηγιεύς), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 50.

[Τεισικλή]ς Τεισικλέους [Ἀφιδν]αῖος, before 350 B.C., 7 1-2.

Τεισικλής (Ἀφιδναῖος), father of [Τεισικλή]ς, 7 1.

Τελεσίας (Ἀζηγιεύς), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 24.

Τέχων Λέοντος Φηγαίεύς, flautist 165-150 B.C., 25 11, 88-89.

Τιμαρχίδης, archon 136/5 B.C., 26 1, 37.

Τιμησι[άν]αξ (ἐκ Κοίλης), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 35.

Τιμόβιος Παρμε — (ἐκ Κεραμέων), prytanis 223/2 B.C., 23 15.

Τιμογένης (Ἐλευσίνιος), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 40.

Τιμόθεος (Ἀναφλύστιος), ca. 360 B.C., father of [Κόνω]ν, 8 II 10.

Τιμοκλής (Ποτάμιος), ca. 360 B.C., father of Τι[μοκρ]άτης, 8 I 27, 8 II 21.

Τιμοκράτης (Ἐλευσίνιος), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 38.

[Τιμοκρά]της Τιμοκράτου Κυ[δαθηναίεύς], under-secretary 223/2 B.C., 23 59.

Τιμοκράτης (Κυδαθηναίεύς), ca. 250 B.C., father of [Τιμοκρά]της, 23 59.

Τιμοκράτης (Λευκονοεύς), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 29.

Τι[μοκρ]άτης Τιμοκλέους Π[ο]τάμιος, lochagos 333/2 B.C., 8 I 27-28, 8 II 21-22.

Φανόστρατος (Φηγαίεύς), ca. 250 B.C., 23 44.

Φίλαγρος (Ἀχερδούσιος), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 54.

Φι<λ>ήμων (Ἀμαξαντεύς), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 23.

Φιλί[ν]ος (Ἀνακαίεύς), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 47.

Φιλίνος (Ποτάμιος ὑπέν.), ca. 360 B.C., father of [.]ν, 8 II 33.

Φιλίσκος (Ἀζηγιεύς), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 26.

[Φι]λίσκος Ἰππίου ἐκ Κ[εραμέων], secretary of Boule and Demos 223/2 B.C., 23 58.

Φι<λ>ιστίδης (Ἀμαξαντεύς), prytanis 165-150 B.C., 25 28.

Φιλιστίδης [Αἰ]σ[χ]ύλ[ου Περιθοίδης], 307/6 B.C., 9 IV 122.

Φιλόθεος Φιλοκλέους Σουνιεύς, sophronistes 333/2

B.C., father of Φιλοκλής, 8 I 4, 15-16, 21-22, 8 II 14-15, 16, 8 III 11, 14-15.

Φιλοκλέης Φ[ιλ]οθέου Σ[ουνι]εύς, taxiarch 333/2 B.C., 8 I 21-22, 8 II 15-16.

Φιλοκλής (Σουνιεύς), ca. 360 B.C., father of Φιλόθεος, 8 I 15-16, 8 II 14-15, 8 III 15.

[Φιλοκ]λής (Τρινεμεεύς), ca. 250 B.C., father of [Εὐκλή]ς, 23 57.

[Φιλοκλή]ς (Τρινεμεεύς), ca. 185 B.C., father of Εὐκλής, 25 11.

Φιλοκράτης [Φιλοκ]ράτου Δεκελεεύς, treasurer of prytaneis 165-150 B.C., father of Φιλοκράτης, 25 2-3, 6, 7, 18.

Φιλοκράτης Φιλοκράτου Δεκελεεύς, secretary of prytaneis 165-150 B.C., 25 7, 19.

[Φιλοκ]ράτης (Δεκελεεύς), ca. 185 B.C., father of Φιλοκράτης, 25 2, 6.

Φιλόμ[α]χος (Ἀχερδούσιος), prytanis 176-169 B.C., 24 50.

Φιλόξενος Εὐκλείδ[ο]ν (Χολλείδης), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 39.

Φίλ[ων?] (Ἀζηγιεύς), ca. 200 B.C., father of Δημοσθένης, 24 8, 23.

Φίλων Φίλωνος Εὐπυρίδης, secretary of Boule and Demos 176-169 B.C., 24 10, 63-64.

Φίλων (Εὐπυρίδης), ca. 200 B.C., father of Φίλων, 24 10.

Φίλων[ίδης], archon of Gephyraioi ca. 37/6 B.C., 17 3.

Χαιρε[.]δου (Λευκονοεύς), ephebe 333/2 B.C., 8 II 34-35.

Χαιρέστ[ρατος], ephebe early third century B.C., 12 11.

Χα[ιρ]εφών] (Λευκονοεύς), early third century B.C., father of Θεοχάρης, 22 32.

Χαρικ[λ—] (Ἐρριόδης), ca. 400 B.C., father of Χαρίσανδρος, 5 5.

Χ[αρ]ίδημος (Ἰκαριεύς), ca. 335 B.C., father of ———, 9 III 128.

Χαρίσανδρος Χαρικ[λ—] (Ἐρριόδης), first half of fourth century B.C., 5 5.

[Χ]αρίστρα[τος] (Ἀγνούσιος), prytanis late third century B.C., 11 9.

Χίων (Κορυδαλλεύς), ca. 335 B.C., father ofης, 9 I 125.

[. ? . στρα]τος Νικοστράτου Χολαργε[ύς], treasurer of Boule 176-169 B.C., 24 13, 75-76.

- [. ²³.]όφαντος Διοκλέους (Σουνιεύς), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 6.
- ... ανδ[ρο]ς Θεοβούλου (Κρωπίδης), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 65.
- ... άριστος Με[λιτεύς], third century B.C., 10 5.
- ... οκλῆς Φυλάσ[ιος], third century B.C., 10 7.
- ... οπέθης Μελ[ιτεύς], third century B.C., 10 6.
- [...]ικλῆς Προκλέους (Σουνιεύς), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 8.
- ... κῆδης Φ[υλάσιος], third century B.C., 10 9.
- ... τας Μενεκράτους, 307/6 B.C., 9 III 123.
- [... ⁵.]ης Διοφάνου (Σουνιεύς), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 5.
- ... ⁵.ς Νικηράτου Ἡρακλεώτης, 307/6 B.C., 9 III 124.
- ... ⁶.ος Νικολό[χ]ου Φαληρείς, 307/6 B.C., 9 III 126.
- [... ⁶....]της Ἀ[... ⁷....]υ Παλλην[εύς], didaskalos of ephebes 333/2 B.C., 8 I 34-35.
- [... ⁷....]ς Ἀρ[...]αινέ[ον?] Μεθων[αῖος], didaskalos of ephebes 333/2 B.C., 8 I 35-36.
- ... ⁸.ς Χίλωνος Κορν[δα]λλ[ε]ύ[ς], 307/6 B.C., 9 I 125.
- [... ⁹....]υ Φιλίνου (Ποτάμιος ὑπέν.), ephebe 333/2 B.C., 8 II 32-33.
- [... ⁹....]υς (genitive), of Leontis, *ca.* 360 B.C., father of Πρε[σ]βυ[χάρης], 8 II 29-30.
- ^{ca. 5}.—δαμος Θερσιτέλου Ὁῆθεν, epistates 135/4 B.C., 26 4-5.
- [—^{ca. 6}.—]ίδης Προκλέους (Ἐκαλήθεν), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 11.
- ^{ca. 7}.—ς Λυσικλέους (Υβάδης), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 67.
- [—^{ca. 7}.—]ων Στρατοφώντος (Σουνιεύς), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 4.
- [—^{ca. 8}.—]ος Ἀριστοδίκου (Φρεάριος), prytanis middle of third century B.C., 22 13.
- ^a.—, of Akamantis, *ca.* 250 B.C., 23 64.
- [—^a.—δ]ημίδης (Φρεάριος), early third century B.C., 22 15.
- ^a.—δης (Λευκονοεύς), *ca.* 360 B.C., father of Χαιρε—, 8 II 34-35.
- ^a.—δος (genitive) (Σφήττιος), *ca.* 250 B.C., 23 55.
- ^a.—έας Μνησι— (Παιονίδης), ephebe 333/2 B.C., 8 III 6.
- ^a.—έης Κι—, ephebe of Leontis 333/2 B.C., 8 II 27-28.
- ^a.—εσίδη[ς], ephebe of Leontis 333/2 B.C., 8 III 4.
- ^a.—ης Μελιτ(εύς), third century B.C., 10 13.
- ^a.—ης Σω—, ephebe of Leontis 333/2 B.C., 8 II 22-23.
- ^a.—ιος (Φρεάριος), early third century B.C., 22 17.
- ^a.—κησίας Νι—, ephebe of Leontis 333/2 B.C., 8 III 9.
- ^a.—κλε—, of Akamantis, *ca.* 250 B.C., 23 67.
- ^a.—νεο—, of Akamantis, *ca.* 250 B.C., 23 66.
- ^a.—ρους (genitive) (Φυλάσιος), *ca.* 330 B.C., 13 3.
- ^a.—ρι—, of Akamantis, *ca.* 250 B.C., 23 69.
- ^a.—οκ—, of Akamantis, *ca.* 250 B.C., 23 68.
- ^a.—οκ—, of Akamantis, *ca.* 250 B.C., 23 65.
- ^a.—ου (genitive) (Παιανιεύς), *ca.* 335 B.C., 9 III 130.
- ^a.—ς Νι[... ⁷....], ephebe of Leontis 333/2 B.C., 8 III 5.
- ^a.—ς Χ[αρ]ιδήμον Ἰκαριεύς, 307/6 B.C., 9 III 128.
- ^a.—ς ἐκ Κοίλη(ς), third century B.C., 10 14.
- [—^a.—]ς [Μ]ελιτεύ[ς], third century B.C., 10 12.
- ^a.—φαντος (Φρεάριος), early third century B.C., 22 14.
- ^a.—φῶν (Φρεάριος), early third century B.C., 22 16.
- ^a.—ῶνος (genitive) (Ἀθμονεύς), *ca.* 315 B.C., 15 6-7.

POTTERY FROM THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS, 1937-1938¹

INTRODUCTION

The pottery presented in this catalogue consists of the fragments found in 1937² and 1938 in the late accumulation on the Slope and of the contents of the five wells of the archaic period (designated A, B, C, D, E) which were dug in 1938.³ The wells are situated on the Slope directly behind the Church of the Saviour, Wells A and C along the upper level near the Acropolis cliff and Wells B, D, and E on a shelf part way down the Slope.

Well A was *ca.* 27.50 m. in depth and had a diameter of 1.10 m. The top of the shaft had been destroyed by the cutting of a modern pit to a depth of *ca.* 1.80 m., and its contents were found mixed with later and modern sherds in a funnel-shaped area within a radius of 2.00-3.00 m. from the shaft.⁴ The side of the well shaft at *ca.* 24.75 m. had collapsed in antiquity shortly after the well was dug or cleaned, for only one sherd (No. 302) was found between that point and the bottom. In the upper part of the shaft, however, the sides were firm and neatly cut, and provided with the small steps usually found in wells of the late sixth century. From the top of the well to a depth of *ca.* 18.45 m. the fill contained fragments of vases, terracottas, and lamps from the Acropolis,⁵ which had all been thrown in at one time.⁶ They were not distributed evenly down through the well, but were in masses separated by layers of varying thickness of yellow clay, similar to the surrounding stereo of the Slope. These layers of clay contained a few fragments also, and fragments from different levels joined. It is possible that some levelling operation was being carried out on the Slope at the same time that the débris was thrown into the well. The depths 18.45-21.30 m. were filled with this yellow clay, into which a few figured fragments had made their way from the mass⁷ of material above. The deposit of household

¹ I should like to thank Dr. Oscar Broneer for generously affording me the opportunity of excavating and studying the pieces and for his constantly useful criticism; the authorities of the National Museum in Athens, particularly Mrs. Semni Karousou, for allowing me to examine the fragments from the Acropolis and to photograph those vases to which new pieces were added; Miss Lucy Talcott, who read the manuscript; and Mr. Eugene Vanderpool for continuous advice in the preparation of the catalogue. Mr. J. D. Beazley examined many of the fragments in Athens in the summer of 1938, and his observations are acknowledged specifically in the text. The photographs were taken by Mr. H. Wagner of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens.

² The contents of two wells and a cutting dug in 1937 are published by Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 170-252.

³ Cf. Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 445-450, for a preliminary account of the excavations of 1938.

⁴ The pieces from this area are inventoried as Well A, 0-1.80 m., although a few may not have come from the well.

⁵ No. 2, a fragment from an onos found at *ca.* 8.00 m. and so well below the point contaminated by modern intrusions (1.80 m.), joins a piece found on the Acropolis.

⁶ Cf. Nos. 8 and 45, fragments of which were found at varying depths from 0 to 18.45 m.

⁷ About eight hundred pieces of pottery were inventoried from Well A alone.

ware, which represented the period of use of Well A, was found at the depths of 21.30-24.75 m. It consisted of a rather small number of vases, and with it were some figured pieces,⁸ evidently from the Acropolis pottery above.

Well E was filled with this débris from the Acropolis,⁹ apparently at the same time as Well A, for in Well E was discovered a fragment of a plate (No. 217) two other pieces of which were found in Well A. Well E measured *ca.* 13.00 m. in depth and 0.95 m. in diameter. The sides of its shaft were carelessly cut. Its deposit of household pottery at the bottom consisted of only three or four pieces.

Well D, like Wells A and E, contained pottery and terracottas from the Acropolis. None of the pieces from Well D could be connected with pieces found on the Acropolis, but one fragment, No. 187, connects with a piece found in Well A, which, as we have seen, contained pottery from the Acropolis.¹⁰ The depth of Well D was *ca.* 16.30 m., and its diameter was 1.00 m. The top of Well D was destroyed by a later cutting to a depth of *ca.* 1.00 m., and its sides were poorly dressed. The deposit of household ware at the bottom, like those of Wells A and E, was small.

Thus Wells A, D, and E were filled with débris from the Acropolis at the same time and probably from the same place on the Acropolis, since there are so many joining fragments in the pottery. In fixing the date for the filling only those sherds are important which were found in the closed well shaft of Well A below 1.80 m., in Well D below 1.00 m., and in Well E (the top of Well E was undisturbed). With few exceptions the pottery was black-figured, and a large portion belonged to the rather amorphous period of the late sixth and early fifth centuries. No. 84 is from a skyphos by the Theseus Painter, whose period of greatest activity lies in the decade 490-480 B.C.¹¹ Seven red-figured pieces are available for dating, two from Well A (Nos. 260 and 261) and five from Well E (Nos. 266-269 and 278). No. 260 belongs to the early red-figure period and seems to be related in style to the work of Oltos, and No. 261 has been attributed to Epiktetos by Beazley. Both, then, probably date from before 500 B.C. The fragments from Well E are mere scraps, Nos. 266 and 278 apparently from the early red-figure period before 500, whereas Nos. 267, 268, and 269 seem to belong to the early fifth century. Thus the wells were apparently filled up in the early fifth century, when this mass of sherds and terracottas was thrown over the cliff of the Acropolis. The period of reorganization and clearing up after the Persian destruction in 480 B.C. suggests itself as the most natural time for such an operation.¹²

⁸ No. 238, a pinax fragment, was found at *ca.* 24.25-24.75 m.

⁹ The head of Herakles (cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 91-100) and a fragment of a white-ground pinax (No. 13) belonging to a pinax from the Acropolis were found in this well.

¹⁰ Fragments from No. 57 were found near the top and near the bottom, indicating that well D was filled at one time.

¹¹ Cf. Miss C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, p. 163. Most of the Theseus Painter's skyphoi date *ca.* 500 B.C.

¹² The provenance of one of the fragments of No. 8 found on the Acropolis is given as "in

The pottery, thoroughly mixed up when dumped into the wells, contains representative pieces from almost every period from Mycenaean to early red-figure, so that no stratification or top date can be established; thus the dating of the pieces is based on purely stylistic considerations.

The type of fill in Well B was very different from that of the other wells. Very few figured fragments were found, and practically no terracottas. Its sherds, although from the same period, seemed to have no connection either with fragments found on the Acropolis or with those from Wells A, D, and E. No. 165, however, belongs to a lid another fragment of which was found in late fill above the cutting Y-Z dug in 1937.¹³ Possibly Well B was filled¹⁴ in the late sixth century at the same time as the cutting. Its depth was *ca.* 16.60 m. and its diameter 1.10 m. The sides were well cut.

Well C, on the same level as Well A near the top of the Slope, was only *ca.* 2.15 m. in depth and 0.90 m. in diameter. The shaft had been destroyed at the top to a depth of *ca.* 1.00 m. by a modern cutting. Below that point a few late black-figured sherds were found, an archaic terracotta mask, and a surprisingly large amount of household pottery. The correspondence in date between the figured sherds from Wells C and A and the proximity of Well C to Well A—it is only *ca.* 5.00 m. east of A—suggest that both wells were filled at the same time.

Fourteen additions to vases from the Acropolis were made. Most important are eleven new fragments of a calyx-krater (No. 8), closely related to Exekias in style, and a fragment of a very early black-figured dinos (No. 1) representing the Funeral Games of Pelias. A rim fragment of a column-krater (No. 7) is almost a duplicate of the New York krater by Lydos, and two important pinax fragments (Nos. 11 and 13) belong respectively to a black-figured pinax attributed to the Amasis Painter and to a white-ground piece assigned to the Cerberus Painter. The Acropolis pottery is supplemented by important additions in almost every period. From the seventh century are two pinax fragments (Nos. 26-27) in an unusual technique, in which the outlines and details are raised, showing that they were made on a shallow mold. An immense lekanis lid of the Vourva period (No. 45) belongs to the Gorgon Group, and from the early black-figure period are some interesting fragments from Siana Cups, one of which (No. 107) Beazley has attributed to Lydos. Fragments of a very large band-cup (No. 134), dating a little before the middle of the sixth century, add another gigantomachy to the already large Acropolis list. To the same period belong the new names of a potter, Sotes, and a painter, Paideros, whose signatures appear on a plate (No. 217) with a representation of Athena

der Schüttung am Parthenonfundament" (cf. Graef-Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, I, p. 73, no. 615). This is scarcely the place, however, to speculate on the place of origin of the pottery on the Acropolis.

¹³ For the cutting cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 170-171.

¹⁴ Pieces of No. 94 were found at depths between 2.20 and 6.90 m., which suggests that the well was filled at one time.

striding to right in full panoply. The name of Amasis is written on the bottom of a beaker-like vessel (No. 294), which was found in the late fill on the Slope and is the only other piece preserving the name of its maker or painter. Another name, rather more famous, is that of Alkibiades the Elder, one of whose ostraka (No. 296) was found in the late fill. Some excellent late black-figured pieces came from Well A, including a white-ground pinax (No. 253), attributed by Beazley to the Cerberus Painter. It is one of the most exquisite pieces of this master and adds one more to the rather small list of vases by painters who worked in both techniques. There is also an early cylinder-shaped lekythos (No. 194) with decoration on the back, and on the front a representation of Hermes leading the three goddesses to the Judgment of Paris. Very little red-figure was found, a significant fact if the wells were filled up in the early fifth century.¹⁵ Nos. 260 and 261 are from good early cups, one of which (No. 261) has been attributed to Epiktetos by Beazley. An important addition to the coarse pottery of the late sixth and early fifth centuries is a huge pithos (No. 324), which stands 1.37 m. in height and is similar to those depicted in use as well curbs on figured vases of that period.

Since the figured pottery is from the Acropolis, it has been classified according to the system of the Acropolis publication by Graef and Langlotz,¹⁶ and the method of presentation is essentially that chosen by Miss Pease.¹⁷ The catalogue is divided into three main parts: the first part contains contiguous fragments and the second part non-contiguous fragments belonging to vases from the Acropolis, while the third part contains fragments of hitherto unknown vases. The household pottery, of which there is very little, is added for the sake of completeness, as are two prehistoric pieces found in the pockets of prehistoric fill which lie in the crannies of the rocks. In the first two sections the Acropolis and North Slope inventory numbers are given side by side, the former in brackets, the latter in parentheses. In the third section and in the supplement devoted to household pottery the North Slope inventory number follows directly upon the catalogue number. In the case of the fragments picked up in the late fill on the Slope no provenance is indicated, but in the case of the well pottery the well from which the fragment came is designated after the inventory number. The depth at which each fragment was found can be ascertained by consulting the chart recording the day by day progress of the excavation of the well in question.¹⁸

¹⁵ A similar observation has been made in late sixth-century deposits in the Agora (cf. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 366, note 2); consider also the vases from the Marathon tumulus.

¹⁶ Graef and Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (2 vols. text and 2 vols. plates), Berlin, 1909-1933; hereafter cited as Graef-Langlotz.

¹⁷ Miss M. Z. Pease, "The Pottery from the North Slope of the Acropolis," *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 214-302.

¹⁸ In the charts the catalogue number of the vase is listed opposite the date and the depths at which the vase was found. If separate fragments of a vase were found at varying levels, the catalogue number is repeated opposite each depth from which a fragment came.

CHART RECORDING THE EXCAVATION OF WELLS A-E

WELL A			WELL A			WELL A		
Date	Depth Metres	Pottery Cat. No.	Date	Depth Metres	Pottery Cat. No.	Date	Depth Metres	Pottery Cat. No.
Mar. 21	0-1.80	8, 29, 44, 55, 61, 62, 73, 82, 84, 88, 98, 102, 103, 115, 116, 119, 153, 154, 169, 171, 179, 198, 202, 240, 256, 272, 300, 304, 316, 317.	Apr. 13	9.40-10.10	113, 155, 157, 202, 292, 299, 37, 45, 66, 87, 135, 155, 156, 260.			80, 81, 87, 105, 110, 132, 136, 137, 138, 140, 143, 147, 150, 175, 179, 183, 188, 193, 212, 218, 229, 246, 251, 253, 257, 261, 301.
22	0-1.80	8, 33, 45, 75, 91, 130, 136, 142, 186, 190, 201, 206, 209, 211, 212, 242, 264, 285, 322, 332.	14	10.10-10.90	297.			
			15	10.90-11.60	34, 45, 51, 92, 112, 114, 134, 160.			
			16	11.60-12.20	45, 62, 80, 83, 86, 100, 112, 136, 186, 188, 192, 198, 213, 216, 219, 220, 221, 243, 303, 345.			
			18	12.20-12.80	45, 89, 99, 186, 204, 211, 260.			
23	0-1.80	8, 60, 85, 91, 118, 123, 134, 163, 172, 178, 221, 226, 252, 288, 290, 291.	19	12.80-13.40	109, 114, 123, 134, 148, 176, 186, 192, 195, 298.			
24	0-1.80	3, 11, 23, 25, 26, 52, 53, 80, 117, 138, 194, 200, 203, 224, 227, 229, 260, 271, 273, 276, 286, 306, 343.	20	13.40-14.00	37, 45, 56, 65, 71, 76, 81, 85, 96, 111, 121, 122, 133, 136, 181, 223, 230, 243, 245, 254, 292, 305.			
			21	14.00-14.40	45, 62, 63, 81, 126, 198.			
26	0-1.80	28, 45, 72, 122, 222.	28	15.20-15.70	8, 45, 62, 63, 71, 80, 85, 93, 134, 149, 166, 198, 233, 248, 249, 318.			
30	0-1.80	293.						
30	1.80-2.20	87.	29	15.70-16.25	8, 45, 62, 67, 71, 81, 84, 90, 127, 128, 170, 177, 189, 214, 221, 240, 253.			
31	2.20-2.90	42, 97, 131, 152, 244.	30	16.25-16.90	8, 45, 49, 50, 62, 71, 80, 99, 134, 138, 164, 180, 182, 197, 207, 239, 260.			
Apr. 1	2.90-3.80	194, 247.						
2	3.80-4.50	21, 45, 93, 99, 152, 153, 247.	May 2	16.90-17.40	40, 45, 50, 88, 186, 187, 288.			
4	4.50-5.20	45, 89, 95, 116, 123, 155, 158, 159, 187, 188, 195, 234, 255, 260.	3	17.40-17.90	8, 45, 82, 93, 192, 235.			
5	5.20-5.45	87, 174, 258, 261.	4	17.90-18.45	45, 161, 236.			
6	5.45-5.90	12, 30, 120, 145, 146, 162, 241, 295.	5-11	18.45-22.05	324.			
8	6.85-7.80	74, 99, 125, 168.	12	22.05-22.45	324, 336, 338.			
9	7.80-8.50	2, 44, 45, 64, 91, 99, 114, 132, 134, 135, 159, 224, 298.	13	22.45-22.90	309, 310, 312, 314, 315, 324, 325, 334.			
11	8.50-9.10	8, 40, 62, 87, 93, 107, 113, 155, 217, 341.	18	24.25-24.75	238, 340.			
12	9.10-9.40	8, 45, 46, 47, 66, 93, 106,	20	25.05-25.55	302.			
				Earth	8, 18, 19, 24, 29, 62, 65, 79,			

WELL B

Apr. 7	0-1.00	225, 308.
8	1.00-1.50	17.
9	1.50-2.20	165.
11	2.20-4.00	94.
14	5.30-6.20	167.
15	6.20-6.90	94.
May 27	9.35-10.35	331.
30	11.45-12.05	326, 327, 331.
31	12.05-13.30	326, 327.
June 1	13.30-14.00	326.
2	14.00-15.50	287, 326.
3	15.50-16.60	68, 196, 287, 311, 313, 326, 327, 331, 333.
	Earth	287, 342, 346.

WELL C

Mar. 30	0-1.10	335.
Apr. 8	1.10-2.15	319, 328, 329, 330, 339.

WELL D

May 2	0-1.00	57.
3	1.00-2.00	57, 231.
6	3.95-5.25	32.
13	7.70-8.50	259.
20	12.00-12.30	20.
23	12.55-12.80	57.
25	13.85-15.20	173, 337.
	Earth	129, 151, 187, 321.

WELL E

May 20	0-1.95	36, 266.
21	1.95-3.00	268, 269.
23	3.00-3.85	135, 184, 289.
24	3.85-4.80	14, 70, 124, 205, 267.
25	4.80-6.00	208, 217.
26	6.00-6.75	35, 48.
	(Herakles Head) ¹⁹	
27	6.75-8.00	10, 199, 278.
28	8.00-9.30	13.
30	9.30-10.40	344.
June 1	11.50-12.30	228.
	Earth	78, 101, 141, 232, 250.

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 91-100.

FRAGMENTS JOINING VASES FROM THE ACROPOLIS

BLACK-FIGURED

1. [Acropolis, I, 590 *a-c*] (A-P 906) Dinos. (Fig. 1)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, I, pp. 64-65, pl. 27; Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 340-341, fig. 12; Pease, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 226, no. 13.

New fragment: greatest dimension, 0.076 m.

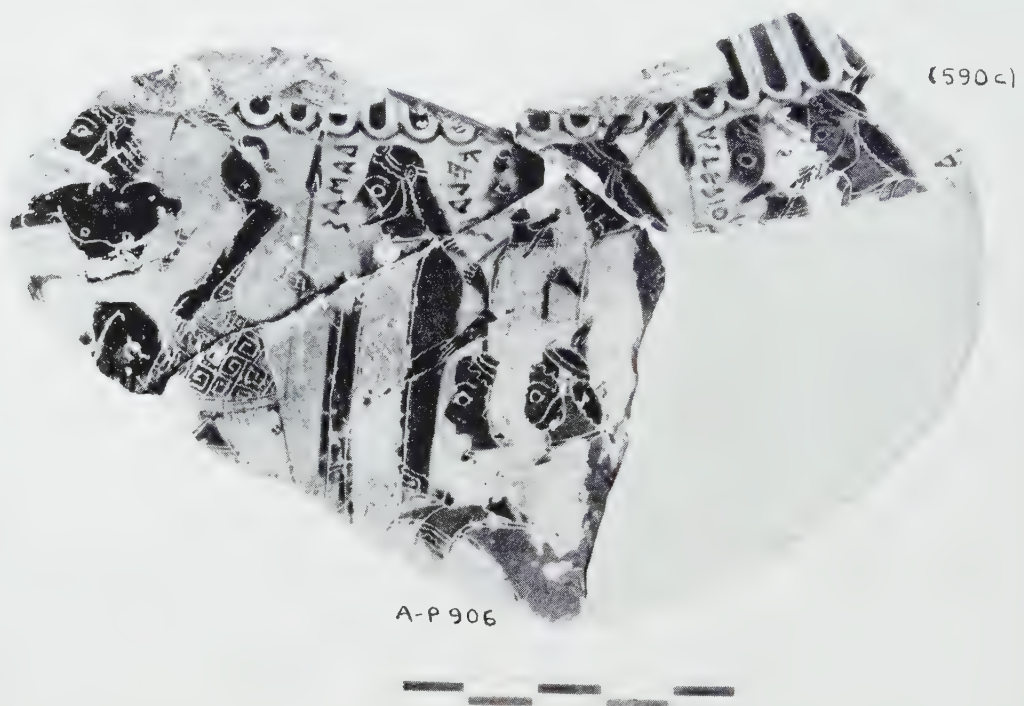


Fig. 1. Black-Figured Dinos

The fragment is from the upper zone of the side and joins both a fragment found previously on the North Slope (Broneer, *loc. cit.*) and Acropolis, I, 590 *c*. It is unglazed on the interior. The surface is worn and some of the glaze and paint has disappeared entirely. Purple: the faces and necks of the male figures, cloaks, hair fillets, and the triangular object hanging between the legs of Atalanta. White: the female flesh surfaces and traces on the inner garments of the figures.

The Funeral Games of Pelias. On the fragments illustrated here, Atalanta and Peleus are wrestling on the left, watched by groups of spectators on the right. The wrestling match and the identification of the figures have been discussed in the previous publications. The new fragment adds part of the legs of Atalanta and most of the body of the foremost spectator, Damas. Between the legs of Atalanta is a purple triangular object hanging by one point from her chiton. The name of

the figure on the right of Damas is supplied as ΚΕΛΑΑΣ, Kelaas, not Kelainos as formerly proposed (Broneer, *loc. cit.*). The group of three standing male spectators, who were partly preserved on Acropolis, I, 590 c, is filled out, and a new group of three seated male figures to the left is added in front of them. All hold spears over their shoulders. Graef had previously suggested (Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 65) that there were seated judges; but since the seated figures hold spears like the standing figures, they are probably to be regarded as spectators also.

The name Kelaas can scarcely be a different form of Kelainos, hence a different person must be represented. The charioteer of Pelops was called Killas (Pausanias, V, 10, 7) or Killos (Strabo, XIII, 63), which is not greatly different from the form Kelaas, considering the "hodge-podge" of the inscriptions on the vase (Pease, *loc. cit.*, p. 228). A form of the name with upsilon as its first vowel has some manuscript authority (schol. Eurip. *Or.*, 990, ed. Schwartz). The use of a single for a double consonant is frequently found on vase inscriptions (Kretschmer, *Griechische Vaseninschriften*, p. 173, no. 151), and the double vowel at the end may represent an uncontracted

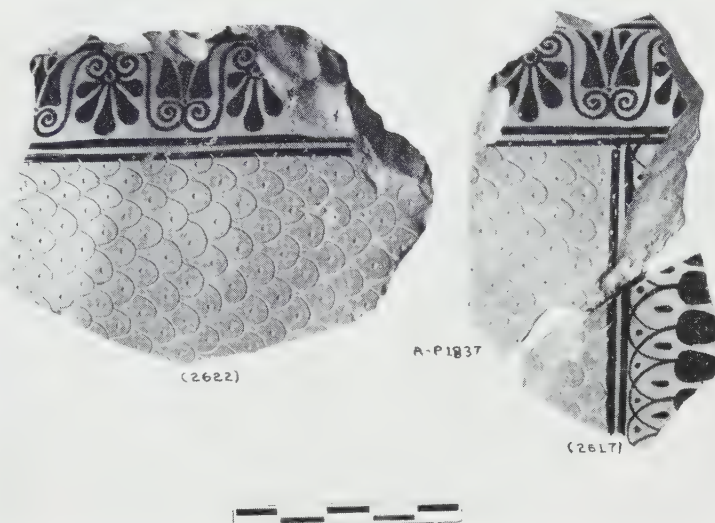


Fig. 2. Onos

transitional form. The presence of the charioteer of Pelops at the games is natural, for like Iphitos on Acropolis, I, 590 a he was associated with Olympian tradition (for a discussion of the Killas legend cf. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad*, p. 312).

The style and the date of the fragments have been discussed by Miss Pease, who notices the strong Corinthian influence, but rightly considers them Attic.

2. [Acropolis, I, 2617 e 26 and 2622 e 30] (A-P 1837, Well A) Onos. (Fig. 2)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, I, pp. 254-255.

New fragment: greatest dimension, 0.075 m.

The fragment was found at the depth *ca.* 8.00 m. in Well A, and thus is confirmatory evidence that the pottery in that well came from the Acropolis. It is from near the end of the onos, joins Acropolis, I, 2617, and by the lotus-palmette pattern on its side identifies Acropolis, I, 2622 as from the same vase. Shiny black glaze. Purple: a stripe along the edge of the onos.

At the end is a lotus-bud pattern, and on the side a lotus-palmette band. Both are marked off from the central part by two black lines. In the center is an incised scale pattern with dots.

3. (A-P 1216 and 1705, Well A) Kylix. (Fig. 3)

Previously discovered North Slope fragments: Pease, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 270-271, no. 115 (= A-P 111), fig. 29.

New fragment: greatest dimension, 0.069 m.

Fragment from the side with the base of the stem on the lower surface. Dull glaze. Purple: the mane of the horse, hair fillets, and stripes on the drapery. White: dots on the drapery.



Fig. 3. Black-Figured Kylix

The kylix is an unusual type with a central gorgoneion and zone decoration on the interior. The new fragment preserves parts of both zones and a piece of the central gorgoneion. The head of the male figure seated to left on the inner zone is joined to his body. Next to him is a nude male figure standing behind a horse, both facing right, and farther along a draped figure facing left. Of the outer zone two male heads to left are preserved and of the gorgoneion more of the fringe of its whiskers is recovered. For a discussion of the type of kylix compare Pease, *loc. cit.*, p. 271.

RED-FIGURED

4. [Acropolis, II, 356] (A-P 1258) Kylix. (Figs. 5 and 11)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, II, p. 33, pls. 27-28.

New fragment: greatest dimension, 0.042 m.

Fragment from the side. Glaze worn. Relief contour. The anatomical markings are in dilute glaze.

On the interior (Fig. 5) is a male figure seated to right; before him stands a female figure (Graef-Langlotz, II, pl. 27). On the exterior (Fig. 11) is an assemblage of deities. The new fragment completes the chair leg and the feet and staff of the seated figure on the interior and adds a little more of the meander frame and the exergue. On the exterior it completes the feet of Artemis (who is not shown on the Acropolis reproduction) and preserves the lower drapery of the figure on her left, as well as the toes of a third figure. School of Makron (cf. J. D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils*, p. 223, no. 25; hereafter cited as Beazley, *Att. V.*).



Fig. 4. Vourva Fragments

OTHER FRAGMENTS FROM ACROPOLIS VASES

VOURVA STYLE

5. [Acropolis, I, 500] (A-P 1234) Bowl-like vessel. (Fig. 4)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 54.

New fragment: greatest dimension, 0.098 m.

Fragment from the side. Brownish glaze. Purple: the face and shoulder of the sphinx on the right, the neck of the creature on the left, and the neck (?) of the animal in the lower zone. The outlines are incised. On the interior is a wide band of glaze.

Animal-frieze decoration. There is little doubt that the fragments are from the same vase, as is indicated by the similarity of glaze, paint, thickness, and style of drawing. It is probable that both are from the same zone, for the thickness and the position of the band of glaze on the interior are identical. There were at least three zones of figured decoration, for on the Acropolis piece there are feet in the upper zone, and on the new fragment there is the neck (?) of an animal in the lower zone. Of the central zone our fragment preserves the foreparts, a hind paw, and part of the tail of a sphinx facing left and the neck and breast of some long-necked creature facing it.

DEVELOPED BLACK-FIGURE STYLE

6. [Acropolis, I, 648] (A-P 881) Krater. (Fig. 5)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, I, pp. 78-79, pl. 43.

New fragment: greatest dimension, 0.082 m.

Fragment from the side. Both the inner and the outer surfaces are worn. Dull, thick glaze. Purple: central stripe of the drapery. White: arm of the female figure.



Fig. 5. Fragments from Acropolis Vases

On the left are the breast and arm of a female figure, who is apparently resting her arm on the shoulder of a nude male figure with arm akimbo. The piece does not aid in the clarification of the Acropolis fragments, which may be from one or from two kraters; for the new fragment's place in the composition can scarcely be determined, although it should belong to those pieces which form a "friedliche Szene" (Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 79).

7. [Acropolis, I, 649 and 650] (A-P 1224) Column-Krater. (Figs. 6, 7, and 8)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 79.

New fragment: diameter at inner edge estimated *ca.* 0.55 m.; width of rim, 0.058 m.; width of handle (Acropolis, I, 649), 0.16 m.

Fragment from the rim of a large column-krater. Its dimensions and the style of the drawing are identical with the rim fragment Acropolis, I, 650 *a*, which Graef had connected with no. 649 *c-d*



Fig. 6. Rim Fragments of a Column-Krater

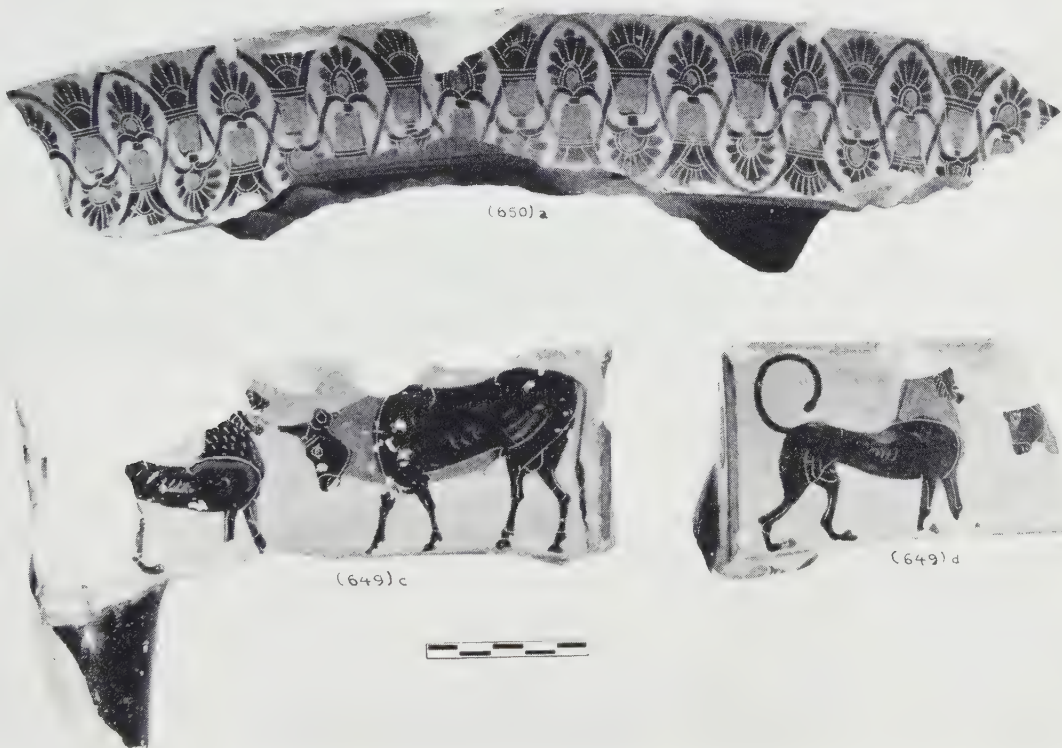


Fig. 7. Rim and Handle Fragments of a Column-Krater

(Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 79). It seems unlikely that Acropolis 649-650 belong to Acropolis 648, as Graef suggests; for the color of the glaze on no. 648 is entirely different from the color on nos. 649-650, and the glaze on no. 648 is much thicker than that on nos. 649-650. The outer edges of the rim and of the handles are slightly bevelled. Purple: the edges of the rim and of the handles, a band along the top on the inside, the necks of the animals and stripes on their haunches, stripes on the shoulders of the lions and their tongues, circles around the nipples of the Triton, the hearts of the palmettes and of the lotus flowers. White: a stripe down the belly of the Triton and the teeth of the lion on the handle, fragment *c*. The glaze is excellent on the interior, but thin on the animals.

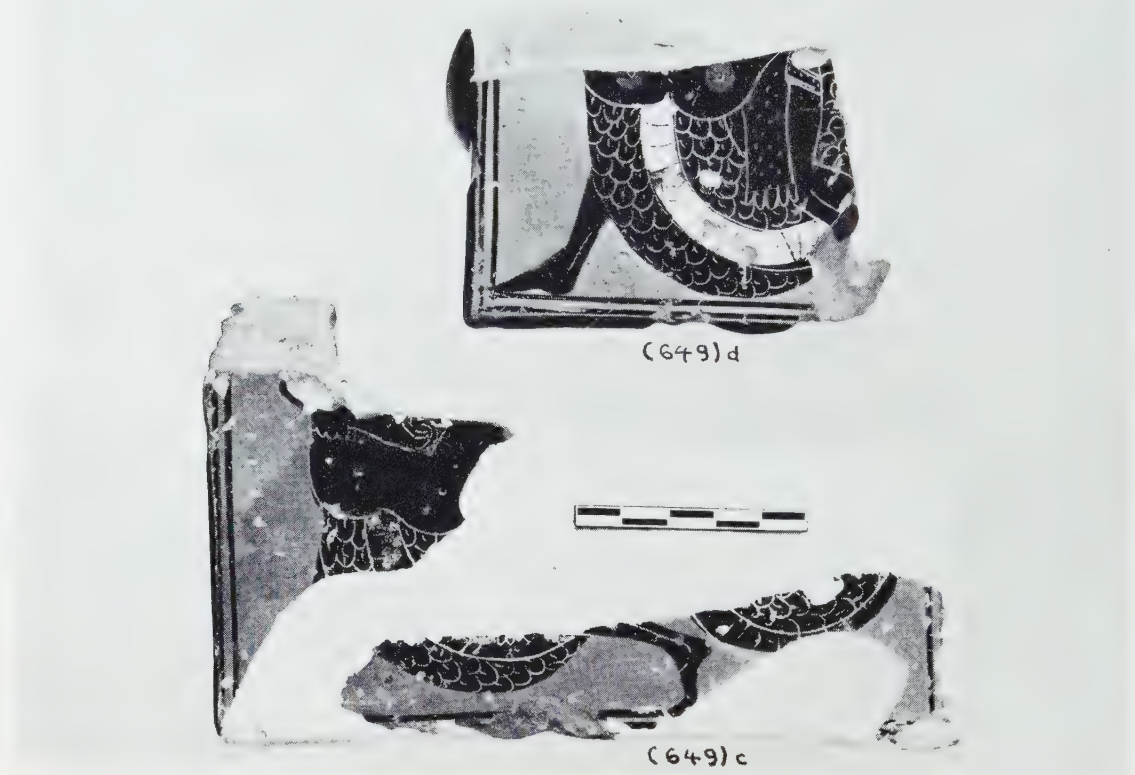


Fig. 8. Handle Fragments of a Column-Krater

There are two fragments from the rim (*a-b*) and two partially preserved handles (*c-d*). The rim is decorated with a row of animals on the top and a lotus-palmette chain on the side. On *a* are a lion and a bull to right, a lion to left, and the head of a boar partly preserved on the right edge of the fragment; on *b* a bull to left. Each handle has on top a representation of Herakles wrestling with the Triton, and on the side a lion facing a bull. On *c* are preserved part of one of the arms for attachment to the side of the krater and a great part of the decoration; *d* is more fragmentary, preserving considerably less of the groups.

In size and scheme of decoration the fragments are close to the Lydos krater in New York (Richter, "Lydos," *Met. Mus. Studies*, IV, 1932-1933, p. 172, fig. 3; Lydos [Sakonides], Rumpf, *Bilder griechischer Vasen*, XI [edited by J. D. Beazley and Paul Jacobsthal], pp. 9-10). The drawing of the animals, too, is very similar. It is not at all improbable that such a successful krater as that in New York should have a counterpart.

8. [Acropolis, I, 615 a-p] (A-P 2173 and 2487 [=A], 1580 [=B], 1847 [=C], 2089 [=D], 1636 [=E], 2170 and 1642 [=F], 1759 [=G], 2175 [=H], 1519 [=I], 2090 [=J], 1863 [=K]; Well A)²⁰ Calyx-Krater. (Figs. 9 and 10)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 73.

New fragments: The ascertainable dimensions are given in tabular form with those of the krater by Exekias (Broneer, "A Calyx-Krater by Exekias," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 469, note 2).

Acropolis, I, 615, etc.		Exekias Krater.
Outer diameter (top)	ca. 0.55 m. (estimated)	ca. 0.53 m.
Height of rim	0.08 m.	0.037 m.
Height of main zone	ca. 0.20 m. (estimated)	0.222 m.
Thickness of fabric	0.015 m. (top)	0.011 m.
Thickness	0.003 m. (thinnest point)	0.006 m.
Thickness	0.019 m. (bottom)	0.013 m.

The height of the main zone was calculated by doubling the height of the preserved half of the body of Dionysos.

Eleven new fragments of a calyx-krater, one of which preserves the scar of the missing handle on the lower zone and thus makes it possible to identify the shape beyond question, were found in Well A at various depths from 0 to 18.45 m. They are from the Acropolis krater no. 615, of which fifteen (?) fragments are preserved. From the twenty-six fragments thus obtained the composition can be determined in part and a comparison of the shape may be made with the somewhat later calyx-krater by Exekias found in a well on the North Slope in 1937 (Broneer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 469-486). It is evident that the two sets of fragments and the pieces within each set are from the same vase, as the physical features of clay, glaze, paint, and thickness of fragments from the same height on the wall are identical. The scheme of decoration is the same in every respect, and the pieces interlock to make an intelligible composition. The large number and small size of the fragments, particularly those from the heavy rim, indicate how completely the krater was shattered; thus it is not surprising that there are no joins.

The preservation of the surface, of the colors, and of the glaze is fair. The purple is a light shade, and both it and the white are thinly applied. The glaze is also thin in places on the exterior, but on the interior it is a smooth lustrous black, except on the bottom, where to a height of ca. 0.035 m. there are signs of wear as if a liquid had stood in the vase for a long time. The clay is a light pinkish red, fine in texture, and very hard. Purple: on the rim, hair of the charioteers, manes and tails of the horses, their collars, and the cars of the chariots; in the main zone, diagonal stripes in the cloaks and the interior of the squares on the garments of the female figures, either all squares as on *a* or alternate squares as on *D*, dot centers of the rosettes on the drapery, hair fillets, leaves of the garland on the head of Dionysos, the flower on *g*, pupils of the female eyes; in the lower zone, the tongue of the panther, the manes of the horses, the fillet between the foot and the body, and the line at the top of the ray zone. White: on the rim, chitons of the drivers and the cap of the goal post; in the main zone, female flesh surfaces, dot petals of the rosettes on the drapery, joints of both chairs, the edge of the seat on *C*, and the foot of the seat on *B*; in the lower zone, the teeth of the panther and the harness bangles on the horses' brows.

The shape, although similar to that of the Exekias krater, is less developed. The body is separated from the foot by a heavy fillet. The large fragment *A* from the lower zone is strongly curved and suggests a wide-bottomed, spreading vessel. But the curve of fragment *a* from the rim

²⁰ I have retained the small letters to designate the Acropolis fragments and have used capitals for the fragments from Well A. Although the Acropolis series is given as *a-p*, the text says there are fifteen pieces. Of the fifteen I was able to find thirteen only. Two, *m* and *p*, appear to be missing.



Fig. 9. Calyx-Krater



Fig. 10. Calyx-Krater

and the main zone is slight, so that the wall must have been almost as straight as that of the Exekias krater. There is little hint of the inward curve of the sides and the bulge of the lower part that are found on the late black-figured kraters (Broneer, *loc. cit.*, p. 484; for a list of the late black-figured and early red-figured calyx-kraters cf. Jacobsthal, "The Nekyia Krater in New York," *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, 1934-1936, pp. 133-134; our own fragments are from the eleventh black-figured calyx-krater known). The offset between the lower and the main zones is slight. The wall is very thick at the bottom, but thins rapidly to the center of the main zone, then thickens again to the top. The sides are crowned by a high, thick rim slightly offset from the main zone. The rim itself is decorated with a frieze between two bands of tongue ornament with slight offsets between each. The rounded black lip is of the same type as on the Exekias krater. This heavy rim and extremely thin wall doubtless resulted in an improperly balanced shape, in which the sides had to bear a disproportionate share of the weight. In the Exekias krater the fabric has been thickened in the center, thinned at the top and bottom. The high rim has been cut to half its height and has been given a conventional lotus-palmette ornament. The result is a more balanced, harmonious, and structurally better vessel than our No. 8.

The rim has the importance of a separate element on this krater, for it is offset and decorated with a figured frieze. In the Exekias krater it is only half as high and is decorated with a floral ornament, while on the late black-figured kraters it has shrunk still more and has only a conventional border pattern of ivy leaves. Apparently, then, when the krater was made, its rim was felt to have the importance of the rim on a volute-krater. This fact and the complete lack of a stem are significant in the light of the proposed derivation of the shape from the Naukratite chalice and its Vourva imitation (Jacobsthal, *loc. cit.*, p. 117), for they have a stem but no rim, whereas on our calyx-krater the rim is important, and its progressive subordination can be traced on the later examples of the shape.

The decoration on the rim consists of a frieze with a chariot-race to right framed on either side with narrower offset bands of tongue ornament. No connection can be established between the nine fragments which are preserved (only six fragments are illustrated, since the others are scraps). Parts of eleven teams remain and the upper part of the goal post. The motive was a common one for narrow friezes, and the artist has treated it somewhat carelessly.

Only two fragments from the lower zone are preserved. On *A* are preserved the beginning of the foot, separated from the body by a thick fillet, and, in the upper left corner, the scar left by the handle. The lower part is decorated with a band of rays marked off by a purple line. Under the handle is a panther to right with its head reverted. On *B* are the heads of three horses which apparently belonged to a quadriga facing. Above the offset separating the lower and main zones is a patch of white paint which is probably the foot of one of the chairs in the main zone, possibly that on *D*. If so, it serves to fix the position of *D*, for the quadriga would be placed midway between the handles. Thus the lower zone has been treated in the same manner as on the Exekias krater, a single figure under the handles and a larger group in the center between them. The motives are not as well chosen, for the straight back of the panther would not fit into the space under the handle as well as a capering satyr, and a quadriga is rather large to be compressed into the narrow field of the predella.

Although parts of the composition from both sides of the main zone are preserved, it is possible to reconstruct only one with any certainty, and the manner of the transition cannot be ascertained. Most of the fragments come from one side and represent a group of gods and goddesses. The scene (Fig. 9), from the analogy of its preserved parts to other representations, is probably to be interpreted as the introduction of Herakles to Olympos (cf. the amphora Orvieto no. 187, attributed to Exekias; Technau, *Exekias (Bilder griechischer Vasen)*, IX [edited by J. D. Beazley and Paul Jacobsthal], pl. 9 a, and p. 21, no. 3). The fragments fall into two main groups. The first of these is composed of parts of three figures, a goddess who cannot be identified, Dionysos, and Athena. On *a* are the head, the upper part of the body, and the arm of a goddess to right. Above her head is the name Dionysos. The god himself stands next to her on the right. On *a* part of his garlanded head and some drapery are preserved and on *k* the lower part of his beard and part of

the drinking horn with one finger crooked around it. The back of the aegis of Athena and part of her neck are on the right edge of *k*. Nothing of the chariot is preserved or of the figure of Herakles, who would probably be placed here if the scene depicted is his Introduction to Olympus. The second group of fragments preserves parts of the horses and the figures placed around them. On *F* the rumps and tails of two horses to right are partly preserved; behind them from left to right are the upper part of the body of a goddess facing right, the shoulder of a god to right, and the lower part of the skirt of a goddess facing left. The god is probably Apollo, as his long hair and position behind the rumps of the horses indicate. In that case it is likely that one of the goddesses is Artemis. On *g* is the head of a goddess smelling a flower. It may very well belong to the figure facing left behind the horses (cf. the calyx-krater Louvre F 316; *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Louvre, 5, III H e, pl. 7, 4; hereafter cited *C.V.A.*). On *G* are a little more of the horses' haunches and possibly part of the arm of the goddess facing left on *F*. On *H* parts of their shoulders, necks, and manes are seen, and the reins which stretch over their backs on *G* and across the figures on *F*. The single line in the center of *F* is the upper trace of the harness yoke and the two lines below are the lower traces (for a similar arrangement cf. the Orvieto amphora no. 187; Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 9 a). On *n* parts of the horses' heads and the nude arm of a male figure are preserved. To judge from other representations of the scene it is probably the arm of Hermes, to whom the end of the kerykeion on *I* belongs.

Some of the deities on the other side of the main zone (Fig. 10), if they are deities, are seated, and some are standing. On *C* are the backs of two draped figures seated on stools facing away from each other. Fragment *D* preserves the legs and part of the staff of the figure on the right and the foot with the edge of the skirt of a female figure advancing to left. On *E* is the back of a male head which, to judge from its angle, belongs to the figure seated to right. Fragment *I* with the upper part of a female figure is placed arbitrarily above the figure seated to left. The edge of a staff (?) is preserved on the lower right corner of *o*. It apparently does not belong to the figure seated to left on *C*, for the staff would show on that fragment. An edge of drapery is placed opposite the seated figure on *o*; above this the drapery from the upper part of a male figure on *i* has been placed arbitrarily. It is tempting to see in this group a seated Zeus and Hera, to whom Herakles is being conducted. The standing figures suggest that an easy transition could be made from the standing figures which flank the chariot group on the other side. The knobby staff is of a type more frequently used by humans than gods, but on an amphora in the British Museum Zeus holds a knobby sceptre (Br. Mus. B 166; *C.V.A.*, Br. Mus., 3, pl. 30, 3 a). If such a reconstruction is correct, however, the continuity of the scene was not felt strongly, for the chariot is the center of one side, and the seated group presumably of the other.

The unusual shape of the vase, a calyx-krater which belongs to the period of Exekias, and the fact that the only known contemporary example of the shape was painted by Exekias furnish strong presumptions for connecting the fragments with that master. The arrangement of the decorative units also, with the exception of the frieze on the rim and the rays at the foot, perhaps indicative of an earlier date, are similar to that on his krater. A frieze, too, is not unknown to Exekias, for there is one on the dinos in the Castellani Collection signed by Exekias as potter (Mingazzini, *Vasi della Collezione Castellani*, p. 212, no. 446; hereafter cited Mingazzini, *Collezione Castellani*).

The theme of the Introduction of Herakles to Olympus is used on the Orvieto amphora no. 187 (Technau, *Exekias*, pl. 9 a), and on the calyx-krater also (Broneer, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 475, fig. 4, and p. 480). If our reconstruction of the chariot scene (Fig. 9) is correct, parts of seven figures are preserved. Poseidon does not seem to have been among them, although he is found on both the Orvieto amphora and the krater. It is possible that he was among the deities on the other side of the vase. Herakles can be restored as on the other representations, between Athena and the goddess standing next to Apollo behind the tails of the horses. As on the Exekias krater Apollo and another deity face each other in the middle of the scene. The arrangement of the other deities seems to have been much the same, with Dionysos and Athena at one end and Hermes at the horses' heads. In addition to the arrangement of the figures there is an interesting parallel between these fragments and the Orvieto amphora, no. 187, which recalls the parallel between the

krater painted by Exekias and the New York hydria (*Bull. Met. Mus.*, X, 1915, pp. 122 f., fig. 2; Broneer, *loc. cit.*, p. 477, note 1). The reins cross the arm of Apollo in the same place on our fragment and on the amphora, and the traces are in the same relative position. Thus the scheme of the composition, too, is Exekian.

The richly embroidered garments of the deities, the purple striped cloaks, the elaborate treatment of the manes and tails of the horses, and their incised collar ornament are all in the general Exekian manner. In the male head, in particular, on *E* the painter has aimed at the effect made by the fine, surely incised lines of hair and beard on the heads of Ajax and Achilles on the Vatican amphora (Technau, *Exekias*, p. 21, no. 8, and pl. 21), but the lines jostle one another, and the execution is less sure. Other details, too, suggest another hand than that of Exekias: filling the squares of the female drapery with purple, incising the tails of the horses with diagonal rather than vertical lines, and the clumsy drawing of the female heads. The general effect is not that given by the vases painted by Exekias. The drawing is more clumsy, the purple not as rich, and the incision more careless. It is striking, however, that it is worst where he is most careless (in the female drapery) and best where he takes the most pains (in the male heads and the horses). It is as if some one deliberately set out to imitate his style with a less sure hand. Accordingly, although the conception of both the shape and the composition indicates the work of Exekias rather than his school, the differences in execution and quality suggest that the painting of the krater was done by a member of the workshop rather than by Exekias himself, as he is known at the present time.

9. [Acropolis, I, 619] (A-P 886) Krater. (Fig. 5)

Acropolis fragment: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 74.

New fragment: greatest dimension, 0.04 m.

Fragment from the side. The clay is fired or burnt to a dark gray color. The glaze is a thick, shiny black on the outside, but dull on the interior. Purple: a stripe on the leg of the animal skin.

On the Acropolis fragment the back of a garlanded head, presumably that of Dionysos, and part of his side are preserved. On our fragment are preserved a nude male arm and what appears to be the leg of an animal skin. The color of the clay, the glaze, and the style of the drawing are the same on each of the fragments.

10. [Acropolis, I, 2187] (A-P 1254 *b* and 2347 *c*, Well E) Pyxis. (Fig. 11)

Acropolis fragment: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 220, pl. 95.

New fragments: greatest dimensions, *b*, 0.05 m., and *c*, 0.034 m.

Two fragments, *b* from the side and *c* from the lid of the pyxis, Acropolis, I, 2187 *a*. The curve, technique, and thickness of *b* and of the Acropolis fragment, which is from the wall of the vessel, are the same. A comparison of the drawing of the heads on *a* and *c* indicates that they too are from the same vase. The glaze on the inside of all the fragments is streaked with brown. Purple: *b*, stripes in the drapery and the centers of the dot rosettes; *c*, alternate tongues of the tongue band, hair fillets, pupil of the eye, and the centers of the rosettes. White: dots of the rosettes, the dots at the ends of the lines separating the tongues of the tongue band, and the female flesh surfaces.

Two women in one cloak. On *b* part of the large cloak which contained two figures is preserved. It may belong to the pair one of whom is preserved on the left of *a*. At the top of *c* there is a tongue band, and below on the left is the head of a female figure with her cloak drawn around her head and stretched out in front. On the right is the top of the head of another female figure. The position of the cloak of the figure on the left seems to indicate that there was another figure inside it. There is a large group of vases decorated in such a manner, with two women in one cloak. Some are attributed to the Pharos Painter, who takes his name from such representations (cf. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, p. 25, note 1; hereafter cited Haspels). They are related

stylistically to Beazley's "E" Group (cf. Beazley, "Groups of Mid-Sixth-Century Black-Figure," *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-1932, pp. 3-8), on vases of which representations of two women in one cloak sometimes occur (cf. the amphora B 163 in *C.V.A.*, Br. Mus., 3, III H e, pl. 29, 1 d). In style the British Museum amphora and our fragments are very close. On each the cloak of the women is drawn around the head well above the nose so that a rosette can be set there, an incised line marks the edge of the cloak on the back of the head, and a rosette is placed beside it. Several pyxides are included in the group of the Pharos Painter (Guarducci, "Due o più Donne sotto un solo Manto," *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, pp. 52-53); a pyxis of the group in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*C.V.A.*, Bib. Nat., 1, III H e, pl. 46, 10-12) seems to be of the same type as our fragment *a*.

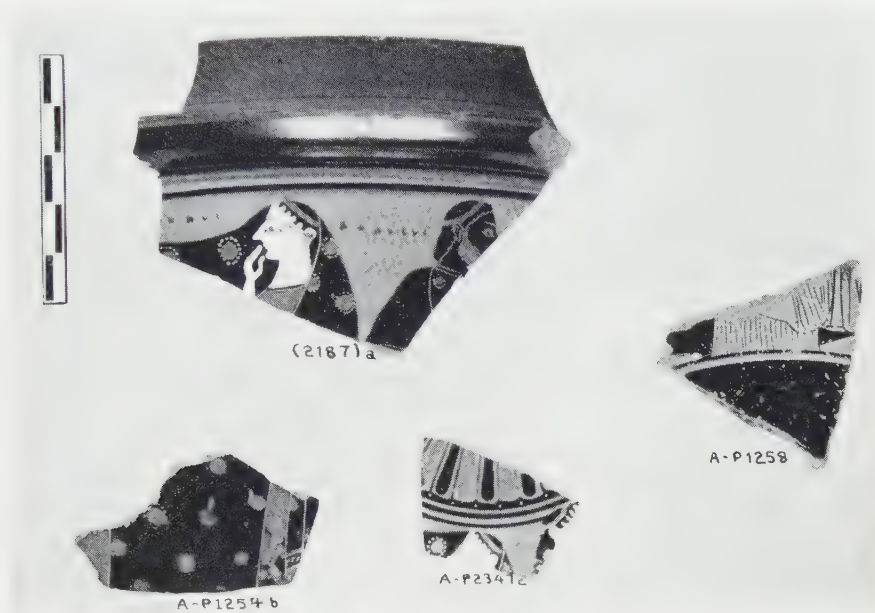


Fig. 11. Fragments from Acropolis Vases

11. [Acropolis, I, 2510] (A-P 1702, Well A) Pinax. (Fig. 5)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 244, pl. 104.

New fragment: thickness, 0.01 m.; greatest dimension, 0.074 m.

Fragment from the upper part of the pinax. The glaze is a little thin under the elbow of Athena. Purple: the fastenings at the end and the central loop of the shield strap. White: the arm of Athena. The incision is very careful.

Athena. The Acropolis fragments preserve most of the lower part of her skirt, and the new fragment adds her arm, passed through the shield strap, the inside of the shield, the border of the upper part of her garment, and four snakes of her aegis. The border of the upper part of her garment is a diamond pattern which terminates at her belt; the belt is decorated with a scale pattern, and below it begins the chequer pattern found on the edge of the skirt. The thickness, the rather rough finish of the back, the snakes, and the general technique are identical on both the Acropolis fragment and the new fragment. The Acropolis fragment has been attributed to the Amasis Painter by Beazley (*B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-1932, p. 19). With its rich contrast of black, purple, and white against the orange of the clay it is one of the most striking representations of Athena on the pinakes from the Acropolis.

12. [Acropolis, I, 2517] (A-P 1810, Well A) Pinax. (Fig. 5)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 245, pl. 103.

New fragment: thickness, 0.008 m.; greatest dimension, 0.041 m.

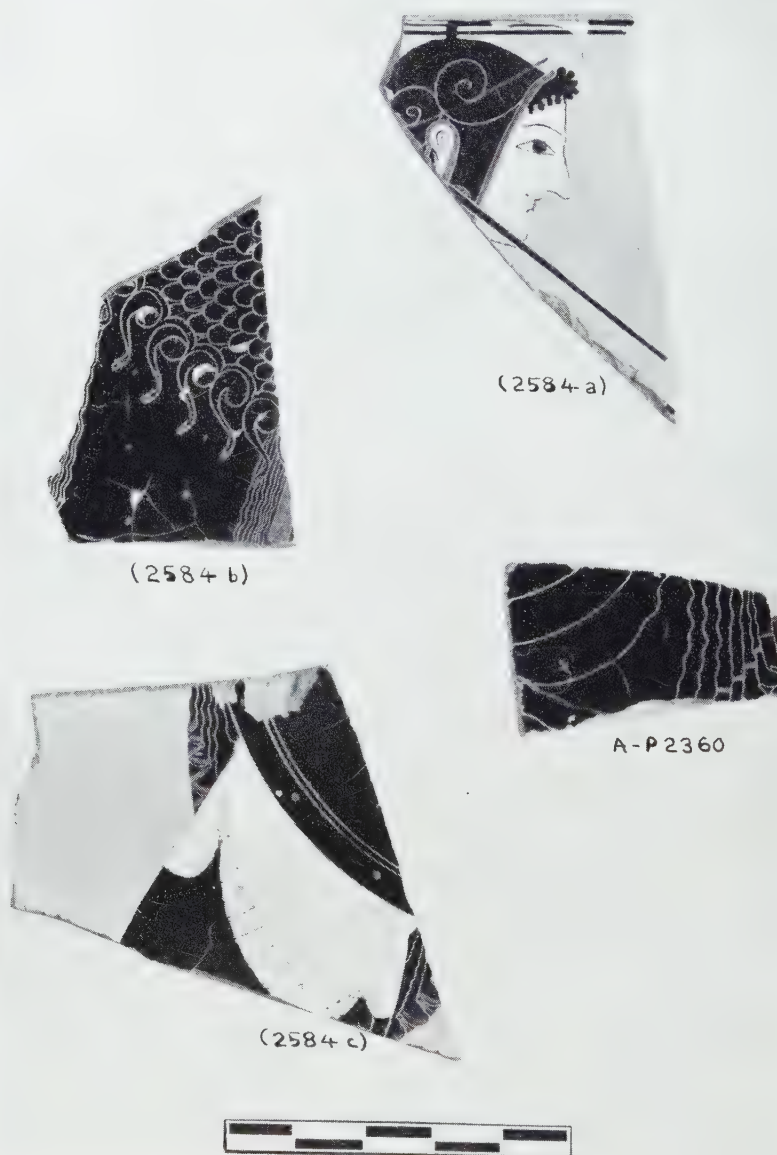


Fig. 12. White-Ground Pinax

Fragment from the outer part of the pinax. Dull glaze. White: the outer edge of the aegis.

Athena. Our fragment preserves part of the outer row of snakes from the aegis. It shows that they were drawn in profile with open mouths in contrast to the snakes of the inner row with heads in facing view.

13. [Acropolis, I, 2584 *a-c*] (A-P 2360, Well E) Pinax. (Fig. 12)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 252, pl. 109.

New fragment: thickness, 0.007 m.; greatest dimension, 0.039 m.

Fragment from a white-ground pinax. The ground is visible at the broken edges. The back is rough, almost to corrugation, like the other fragments of no. 2584; this roughness is peculiar to no. 2584 alone of the white-ground pinakes. Purple: a line near the edge of the drapery.

Athena. The fragment preserves part of her drapery and is to be placed above and to the right of 2584 *c* and below 2584 *b*. Athena is represented as striding to right, possibly in a gigantomachy (as Langlotz suggests), but the subject of the scene can scarcely be determined with certainty. The Acropolis fragments have been tentatively attributed to the Cerberus Painter by Beazley (Caskey and Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 2). For the Cerberus Painter see No. 253, and for a discussion of his white-ground pinakes compare Roebuck, "The White-Ground Plaques by the Cerberus Painter," in *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 467-473.

SIX'S TECHNIQUE

14. [Acropolis, II, 1230] (A-P 2314, Well E) Phiale. (Fig. 5)

Acropolis fragments: Graef-Langlotz, II, p. 110, pl. 88.

New fragment: greatest dimension, 0.03 m.

Fragment from the rim with part of the side. Purple: stripes to represent the folds of the cloak. The paint is buff.

Symposium. The Acropolis fragments preserve parts of two reclining figures and the new fragment adds part of a third. The paint, glaze, thickness, and subject are identical, so that all fragments are apparently from the same plate. The decoration consisted of a row of banqueters set along the rim in the manner in which banqueters are set along the side of certain archaic red-figured kylikes (cf. Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen*, pl. IX, 34).

FRAGMENTS FROM OTHER VASES

EARLY HELLADIC

15. (A-P 1151) Bowl. (Fig. 13)

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.18 m.

Fragment from the rim with a horizontal lug-handle pierced by two holes. The clay is dark red and coarse in texture. It is covered with a hard, highly polished red slip.

A fragment with a similar handle was found previously on the North Slope (Hansen, "The Prehistoric Pottery on the North Slope of the Acropolis, 1937," *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 543, fig. 31, and p. 544). Red Monochrome Ware.

MINYAN

16. (A-P 2248) Bowl. (Fig. 13)

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.14 m.

Fragment from the side with a strap handle. The rim and the body are sharply offset, and the shoulder is ribbed. The clay is dark gray.

For the type compare Hansen, *loc. cit.*, p. 550 and p. 551, fig. 8 d.



Fig. 13. Fragments of Various Early Fabrics

GEOMETRIC

17. (A-P 2222, Well B) Amphora. (Fig. 13)

Greatest dimension, 0.098 m.

Fragment from the side. The clay is buff and the glaze brownish.

The zones of decoration are divided by three black lines. At the top are hatched triangles, in the middle a diamond chain with dots, and at the lower edge the top of a hatched maeander.

18. (A-P 2499, Well A) Closed vase. (Fig. 13)

Greatest dimension, 0.028 m.

Fragment from the shoulder. The clay is buff with a cream-colored slip on the outside. Reddish brown glaze.

The zones of decoration are divided by three horizontal lines. The preserved decoration consists of chequers and a diamond chain with dots.

19. (A-P 2497, Well A) Pinax. (Fig. 13)

Thickness, 0.008 m.; greatest dimension, 0.051 m.

Fragment from the upper left corner. The surfaces of both back and front are unevenly finished. The clay is buff and the glaze reddish brown.

The pinax is decorated on the back, front, and sides. On the side are diagonal lines. The design on both back and front is bordered by two parallel lines. On the front are the head and shoulders of a figure to right whose hair is indicated by individual strands. The filling-ornament consists of hatched triangles and zigzags. On the back (not illustrated) is the top of a hatched maeander.

20. (A-P 2409, Well D) Shoulder of a closed vase. (Fig. 13)

Greatest dimension, 0.036 m.

Fragment from the shoulder. The clay is buff, the glaze brownish.

Warriors. At the top is a row of *Z's*, and below is a file of warriors facing left. The warriors carry large round shields and two spears which project out to the rear. The warriors wear a single crest, and their faces and shields are in outline. For a discussion of the motive compare Cook, "Protoattic Pottery," *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, pp. 167-168.

SEVENTH CENTURY

21. (A-P 1769, Well A) Handle. (Fig. 13)

Width, 0.026 m.

Fragment of a flat handle. The clay is pale buff, the glaze brownish.

On each side of the handle there are two deeply incised lines. In the center is a diamond chain and on the right side are short horizontal lines apparently painted before the incision was made, as there is no glaze in the cut. For the pattern compare pinax No. 25.

22. (A-P 1081) Skyphos. (Fig. 13)

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.12 m.

Fragment from the rim. The clay is buff with a light slip and reddish glaze.

The decoration consists of a panel within which is a deer grazing to left. Wavy lines, *V*'s, and between the legs of the deer a diamond with a dot in the center are used as filling-ornament. For the motive compare a fragment in Eleusis (*B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-1935, pl. 40, a).

23. (A-P 1680, Well A) Skyphos. (Fig. 13)

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.16 m.

Fragment from the side. The clay is buff, the glaze reddish brown. Near the top on the inside is a reserved line.

On the outside at the top are pendent dotted triangles, and below is a long-legged bird to the right bending down. On the left is the head of another; thus there was probably a row of them. Their heads are drawn in outline. For the motive compare Burr, "A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Votive Deposit," *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 579, no. 158.

24. (A-P 2206, Well A) Closed vase. (Fig. 13)

Greatest dimension, 0.046 m.

Fragment from the side. There is a thickening on the right side as if for a handle attachment. The clay is buff and the glaze brownish.

The lower part of the legs and the skirt of a figure drawn in outline facing right. The filling-ornament consists of inverted *V*'s and loops.

PINAKES

25. (A-P 1682, Well A) Fig. 14

Thickness, 0.009 m.; greatest dimension, 0.06 m.

Fragment from the central part of the plaque. The clay is buff and coarse in texture and the glaze thin and brownish. The front is finished smoothly, but the back is irregular.

Both front and back are decorated. On the front are two bands of diamond-chain pattern, and in the lower right corner is the edge of a third (cf. No. 21). On the back (not illustrated) are large hooked spirals with projecting points.

26. (A-P 1664, Well A)²¹ Fig. 14

Thickness, 0.01 m.; greatest dimension, 0.074 m.

Fragment, broken on all edges, from the central part of the plaque. The clay is pinkish buff, very hard, and shows traces of burning on the back. Both front and back are unevenly finished. All the outlines, the locks of the horse's mane, the reins, and details such as the belly stripe of the horse and the muscles of the rider are indicated by slightly raised lines. Their edges are straight and sharp, which indicates that they were made from a shallow mold. Further, the surface on the buttock of the rider is scraped a little, as if it had adhered to the surface of the mold when it was being removed. The scraped surface is painted over, and so the fault occurred before the paint was applied. The colors used are matt white, purple, and tawny yellow. The background visible above the back of the horse is painted white, the body of the horse a tawny yellow, and the reins, the mane, and the rider are painted purple. The purple has spread on to the horse's body from the leg of the rider. The paint is applied directly to the surface of the clay.

Horseman. The legs and hands of the rider and part of the horse's body and neck with a few locks of the mane are preserved. The rider is seated well up on the shoulders and has clamped his legs back on the sides of the horse. The reins are held high above the horse's neck with their

²¹ Preliminary report, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 445.

ends dangling down. The position is similar to that of Protocorinthian riders (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 71, fig. 17). The parallel lines at the lower edge of the fragment are evidently intended to represent the belly stripe of the horse. The rider's leg is well rendered with the details of thigh, knee, and calf muscles partly indicated.

There is a group of Proto-Attic pinakes from the Agora (Burr, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 604-609, nos. 277-280, and p. 628) on which are used the same type of matt paint and the same technique of painting. They are dated in the first half of the seventh century, which seems too early for our piece, as the form of the leg and the details of its musculature are so well grasped by the painter. For a discussion of the technique of the manufacture of the pinax see the next item.



Fig. 14. Proto-Attic Pinakes

27. (A-P 2524) Fig. 14

Thickness, 0.007 m.; greatest dimension, 0.047 m.

Fragment from the right edge of the pinax. The clay is buff and rather soft, its surface worn. The back is unevenly finished. The outlines and the details of the design are molded as in the previous item. Purple, applied over black, is used for the frame of the cithara and the cross-bow. Brown is used for its strings.

Of the design is preserved only part of the side of a cithara. The cross-bow projects on the right, and on the left are three strings. The cross-bow ends in a projecting knob, and below it on the frame is a spiral. The use of brown for the strings is similar to the color scheme used for the lyre on a pinax fragment found on the North Slope in 1937 (Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 224-228).

The process employed to obtain the outlines and the raised detail on Nos. 26-27 is to the best of my knowledge unparalleled. It seems to have been done in some such manner as follows. The

outline of the required design was traced on a flat piece of soft clay with a blunt, straight, flat-sided instrument. A piece of wood or metal, properly finished, might serve the purpose. A slab of clay of the desired thickness was applied to this as to a mold; thus the resulting outlines and details would appear as raised lines similar to those on our fragment. The result is analogous to that obtained by applying strips of clay to the surface of plastic vases and pinakes, but the method is entirely different.

IMPORTED WARES

FIKELLURA

28. (A-P 2469, Well A) Fig. 13

Greatest dimension, 0.047 m.

Fragment from the side of a closed vase. The clay is pinkish and coarse; it has a cream-colored slip on the outside.

Of the design is preserved a row of crescents, above which is a dot pattern.

LAKONIAN

29. (A-P 1539 *a*, 1540 *b*, and 2126 *c*; Well A) Kylix. (Fig. 13)

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.03 m.; *b*, 0.025 m.; *c*, 0.035 m.

Three fragments from the side of a kylix decorated both on the interior and on the exterior. The clay is pinkish and covered with a cream-colored slip. Purple: the design on the exterior, on *a* the stripe on the animal's neck, on *b* the hair ribbon and the neck band of the sphinx, and on *c* the tips of the feathers; the design on the interior, purple stripes on the drapery are preserved on all the fragments.

Of the outer design remain: on *a* the paws of an animal, a rosette, and some feathers; on *b* part of the head and the loop of the tail of a sphinx to right; on *c* a wing and the tail and legs of a cock to left. Of the inner design only some scraps of drapery are preserved (not illustrated). The style of the drawing is Lakonian; compare the cock on *c* with one from Sparta (*Artemis Orthia*, p. 97, fig. 68) and with another on a Lakonian hydria found on Rhodes (*Clara Rhodos*, VIII, p. 89, fig. 73); compare, also, the drawing of ear and hair of the head on *b* with that of ear and hair of the komast on the same Lakonian hydria from Rhodes (*loc. cit.*, p. 93, fig. 78).

CORINTHIAN

30. (A-P 1811, Well A) Aryballos. (Fig. 13)

Estimated diameter of foot, *ca.* 0.04 m.

Fragment from the foot and the lower part of the body. The clay is yellowish. Purple: dots in the center of the scales on alternate rows.

The body is decorated with an imbricated pattern. For the type of aryballos, Early Corinthian, compare Rhitsona 13.10 (*J.H.S.*, XXX, 1910, p. 349, fig. 12; Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 291, no. 643).

31. (A-P 900 *a-b*) Skyphos. (Fig. 13)

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.18 m.

Two fragments from the side. The clay is buff. Purple: stripes on the interior, around the body at the top and bottom of the design zone, the centers of the palmettes, stripes on the shoulder, the belly, and the neck of the panther, and stripes on the haunch of the sphinx on *a* and on the animal on *b*.

Around the top of the skyphos there is a band of double palmettes. The main zone is decorated with an animal frieze and incised rosette and dot filling-ornament. On *a* are preserved most of a standing panther to right and the hind-part of a sitting sphinx also facing right; on *b* are the hindquarters of some animal. There is a fragment of a similarly decorated skyphos from the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, I, 416, pl. 15).

ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

VOURVA AND RELATED FABRICS

32. (A-P 2396, Well D) Amphora. (Fig. 15)

Greatest dimension, 0.09 m.

Fragment from the side. The clay is buff, and the glaze dull black. Purple: the upper part of the wings of the geese.

A row of geese to left feeding. Preserved are parts of two geese and the ends of the ray pattern at the foot of the vase. The geese resemble those on Acropolis no. 499 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 20).

33. (A-P 1601, Well A) Small closed vase. (Fig. 17)

Greatest dimension, 0.025 m.

Fragment from the side with the beginning of the neck (?) of the vase. Dull glaze. Purple: the face, hair fillet, edge of the wing, and alternate petals of the rosette.

The head and part of the wing of a sphinx or siren to left. The rosette filling-ornament is drawn very close to the back of the head.

34. (A-P 1886, Well A) Bowl. (Fig. 15)

Greatest dimension, 0.038 m.

Fragment from the side near the top. Dull glaze. Purple: alternate tongues of the band at the top, the hair fillet, and the cloak of the figure.

The head and shoulders of a female figure facing left with her arms outstretched. The drawing of the head is similar to Acropolis no. 501 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 20).

35. (A-P 2339, Well E) Large open vase. (Fig. 15)

Greatest dimension, 0.042 m.

Fragment from the side. Brownish glaze.

The head, parts of neck and body, and a segment of the outstretched wings of a swan to left, preening itself.

36. (A-P 2282, Well E) Neck of a vase. (Fig. 15)

Greatest dimension, 0.025 m.

Fragment from a neck. The glaze is chocolate brown. Purple: a dab on the wing.

The head of a sphinx to left wearing a polos, with filling-ornament in the background. The workmanship is careless as on other members of the Polos Group (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 190-191). There are several typical specimens in Brussels (*C.V.A.*, Brussels, 1, III H d, pl. 1).

37. (A-P 2071, Well A) Skyphos. (Fig. 17)

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.10 m.

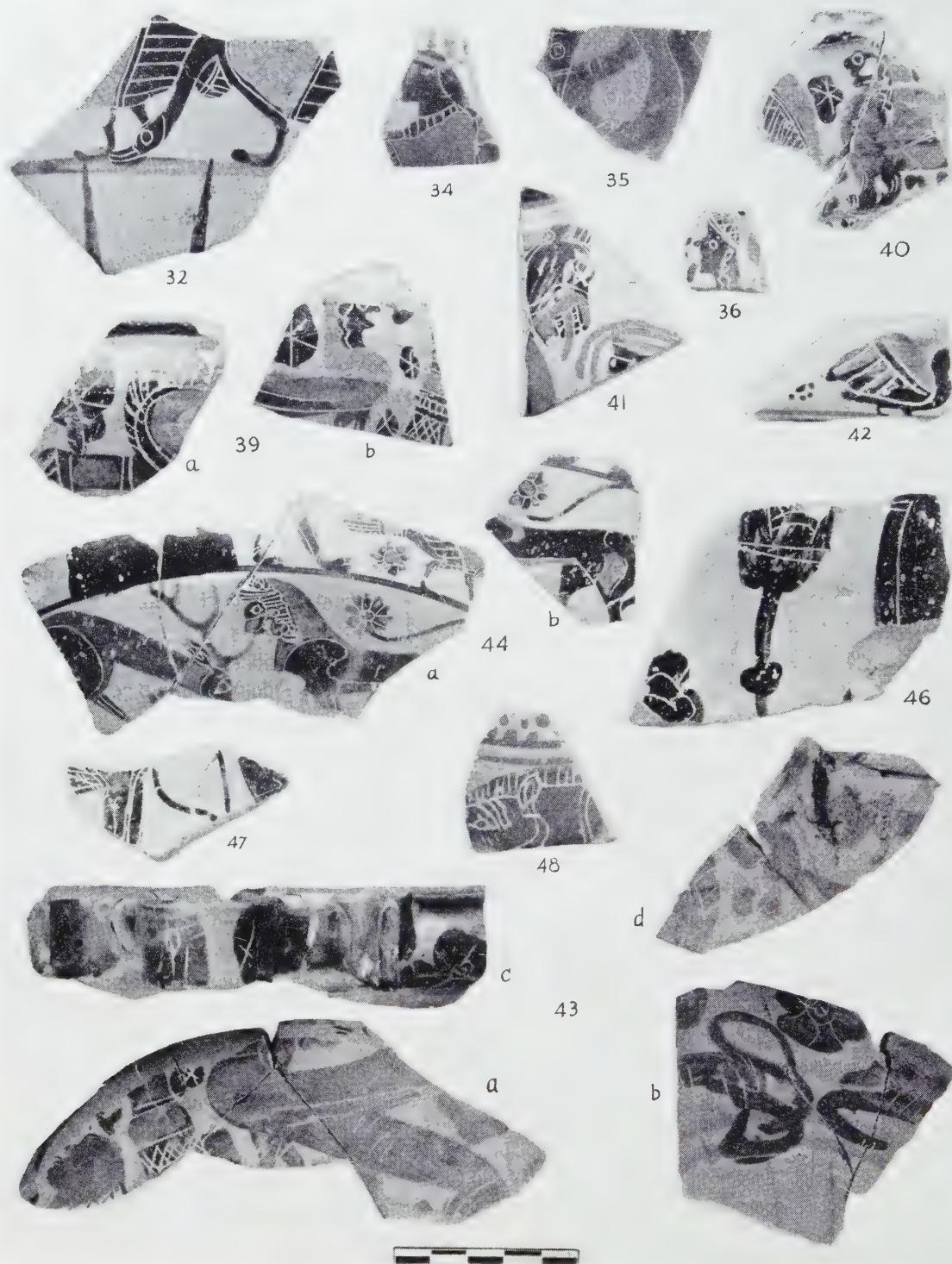


Fig. 15. Fragments in Vourva and Related Styles

Two fragments from the side (only the larger piece is illustrated). Purple: alternate leaves and hearts of the palmettes. White: dots in the links joining the palmettes.

The fragments are from a squat-shaped skyphos of the early Corinthian type (cf. *C.V.A.*, Oxford, 2, III H, pl. XIII, 4-5, for the shape, and the text, p. 102, for a discussion). The main zone is decorated with a chain of double palmettes separated by single leaves. The lower zone contains rays and the upper a double row of lotus buds. The ornament is of a late sixth- or early fifth-century type (cf. Haspels, pp. 185-186) and seems out of place on this early shape.

38. (A-P 1210) Skyphos. (Fig. 17)

Greatest dimension, 0.067 m.

Fragment from the side. Dull glaze. Purple: the neck, brow, and stripes on the belly and haunch of the panther.

The fragment is from the same type of early skyphos as the preceding item. Two panthers facing, with rosette filling-ornament.

39. (A-P 1198 *a-b*) Lekanis. (Fig. 15)

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.16 m.

Two fragments from the side with the projecting rim preserved on *a*. Dull glaze. Purple: on *a* the edge of the wing and the body of the sphinx; on *b* the neck, breast, and edge of the wing of the sphinx and the center of the lotus. There are two purple lines on the interior at the top, and on the top of the rim a double row of dots.

The decoration apparently consisted of a row of sphinxes and rosette and double-lotus filling-ornament. On *a* is preserved the wing and body of one sphinx; on *b* are preserved the head and breast of another sphinx and part of a lotus on the right. Polos Group (cf. No. 36). For the shape compare *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, 3, III H d, pl. 100, 5.

40. (A-P 1852 and 2135, Well A) Lekanis. (Fig. 15)

Greatest dimension, 0.058 m.

Fragment from the side with part of the rim preserved. Brownish glaze. Purple: the necks and breasts of the sphinxes. On top of the rim are diagonal bars of glaze.

On the main zone are parts of two sphinxes facing each other and filling-ornament of dots and rosettes. A band of dots encircles the lower part of the lekaneis. Polos Group. The shape is similar to that of the preceding item.

41. (A-P 1200) Lekanis. (Fig. 15)

Greatest dimension, 0.06 m.

Fragment from the side with part of the rim preserved. Dull glaze. Purple: the neck, chest, and the lips and tongue of the lion and the tail feathers of the cock. A dilute streaky glaze is used to represent the lighter hair around the lion's mouth and eye.

The head of a lion to right and the tail feathers of a cock. The head of the lion is like that of a lion on a plate from Naukratis assigned to the Gorgon Group (Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 53, 4, and p. 192, no. 3). Compare in particular the rounded ear and the square mouth.

42. (A-P 1752, Well A) Lekanis. (Fig. 15)

Greatest dimension, 0.055 m.

Fragment from the side with part of the projecting rim preserved. Dull glaze. Purple: the back and alternate wing feathers of the duck and the diagonal bars on top of the rim.

The body and neck of a duck to right behind which is a dot rosette. The fragment is from a lekanis with a frieze below the rim like Acropolis no. 526 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 21).

43. (A-P 1199 *a-d*) Lekanis. (Fig. 15)

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.226 m.

Two fragments (*a-b*) from the lid and two (*c-d*) from the bowl of a lekanis. The surface is unevenly finished, the glaze thin and brownish. Purple: two stripes around the inside of the bowl; on *a* the wing of the sphinx and the heart of the lotus; on *d* the wing and dabs on the rosette. The bowl fragments are from opposite sides of the vase, and on *c* a handle is preserved.

On the lid there was a band of rays around the missing handle and presumably two zones of decoration. On *b* are preserved the ends of the rays and parts of two panthers (?) with rosette filling-ornament; this apparently formed the inner zone of decoration. On *a*, from the outer part of the lid, parts of two confronting sphinxes separated by part of a lotus (?) ornament are all that remain of the outer zone of decoration. The bowl was decorated with a row of sphinxes or sirens and rosette filling-ornament of which part of a rosette is preserved on *c* and part of a wing on *d*. The style of the fragments is degenerate (cf. a lekanis in Scheurleer, *C.V.A.*, Scheurleer, 2, III H, pl. 4, 8).

44. (A-P 1558 *a-b*, Well A) Lekanis. (Fig. 15)

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.122 m.; *b*, 0.049 m.

Two fragments from the side with parts of two zones preserved on each. Dull glaze. Purple: the necks and stripes on the bellies and haunches of the animals, the mouth of the lion, wings and tails of the birds, and the centers and alternate petals of the rosettes. There are two purple stripes around the interior. On the surface of the exterior is a deep orange wash.

The lekanis was decorated with friezes of animals. In the upper zone of *a* on the left is what appears to be the bottom of a black-glazed panel; but if so, it is difficult to understand why the front quarters of the feline to the right were placed so close. On the right is part of a sirens' wings; the necks, stripes on the bellies, haunches, and sides of the animals; around the mouths of the lions and the lions' manes; the brows of the panthers; a stripe across the nose of the bull; the pupils of the eyes; alternate petals of the rosettes; and a stripe across the wings of the geese. White: traces of dots on the short feathers along the inside of the wing of the sirens on the lower zone and traces on the teeth of the lions. (White thus was used very sparingly.)

45. (A-P 1734 and 1729, Well A)²² Lid. (Fig. 16)

Restored diameter, 0.536 m.; thickness at bottom, 0.017 m.; at thinnest point, 0.006 m.; at top edge, 0.011 m.

The large lid of a lekanis or bowl-like vessel. About half of it is preserved. Its fragments were found scattered through the levels between 0 and 18.45 m., a fact which indicates that the well was filled at one time. The clay is buff. The interior is reserved and finished smoothly except for several places where the surface is scraped, apparently before it had hardened. The outer surface is worn, so that the glaze has disappeared in places. Of the colors the purple has remained fast, but the white has left only traces. Purple: the faces, breasts, and outer edge of the sirens' wings; the necks, stripes on the bellies, haunches, and sides of the animals; around the mouths of the lions and the lions' manes; the brows of the panthers; a stripe across the nose of the bull; the pupils of the eyes; alternate petals of the rosettes; and a stripe across the wings of the geese. White: traces of dots on the short feathers along the inside of the wing of the sirens on the lower zone and traces on the teeth of the lions. (White thus was used very sparingly.)

The surface of the lid (only the better preserved side is illustrated) was divided into three zones, of which the two lower and wider were decorated with animal friezes, and the upper with a

²² Preliminary report, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 446, fig. 1.

row of geese. Two rows of rays were set around the missing handle. The first and second zones were divided by two lines of glaze, the third and the ray zone by three lines. Most of one side of the lid is preserved, and a large section near the top on the other side, so that with a number of small fragments preserving identifiable parts of the animals almost the whole composition can be worked out. On the lower zone their order is, starting at the lion and going clockwise around the zone, a sitting lion to right, a standing panther to left, a boar to left, a siren to right, another boar to left, a standing lion to right, a standing panther to left, and a siren to right. In the second zone, starting with the bull and going clockwise around the zone, a bull to right, a lion to right, a deer to



Fig. 16. Lid

left, a siren to right, a panther to right, a goat to left, an unidentifiable animal to left, and a lion to left. Parts of eight geese of the upper zone are preserved, and there is room for three more.

The style of the drawing is that of the Gorgon group (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 192 for a discussion and a list of the component vases). The sharp, clear-cut profile of the siren is close to that of the sirens on the amphora Louvre E 817 (*C.V.A.*, Louvre, 4, III H d, pl. 1, 10) or on Acropolis no. 472 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 18), where the profile is incised as on our lid. The animals, too, are close, particularly the big grinning lions with round ears and slightly curling manes and the wistful panthers (cf. the animals on the Gorgon dinos in the Louvre; *C.V.A.*, Louvre, 4, III H d, pls. 14-17). The use of white is similar. It is found on the wings of the sirens in an identical position on our lid and on Acropolis no. 515 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 23). The drawing on the lid falls short of that on most of the pieces in the Gorgon Group, but the painter's attempt to vivify the conventional animal-frieze style of decoration by deliberate groupings makes it one of his more interesting pieces.

46. (A-P 2509, Well A) Lid. (Fig. 15)

Greatest dimension, 0.097 m.

Fragment from a large lid of a similar type to that of the preceding item. The clay is pinkish buff. Brownish glaze.

In the center is the lower part of a lotus flower, on the right the breast of some creature, and on the lower left a badly drawn rosette.

47. (A-P 2510, Well A) Lid. (Fig. 15)

Greatest dimension, 0.059 m.

Fragment, possibly from the same lid as the preceding, since the clay and the glaze are similar. Purple: traces on the neck of the animal on the left, and on the hindquarters of the sphinx on the right.

On the left is the forepart of some creature, on the right a loop of the tail and part of the haunch of a seated sphinx facing right.

48. (A-P 2337, Well E) Lid. (Fig. 15)

Greatest dimension, 0.04 m.

Fragment from a small lid. The clay is red and coarse, and the glaze is reddish brown. Purple: the neck of the boar.

At the top is a band of dots of which two rows are preserved. Of the animal-frieze decoration only the top of the head and the neck of a boar facing left are preserved.

SWAN GROUP

Nos. 49-53 belong to a group of miniature vases of the first half of the sixth century. They are distinguished by their decoration, swans and filling-ornament of short vertical lines. The most usual shapes are small pyxides, little omphalos plates, and skyphoi of the Corinthian type. Recently, however, in the Agora was found an amphora decorated in this manner (Vanderpool, "The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft," *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 372, no. 4); thus the style is now associated with more important vases. On the group compare Beazley, *C.V.A.*, Oxford, 2, text, p. 103, no. 6; and for the Acropolis examples, Graef-Langlotz, I, pp. 61-63.

49. (A-P 2100, Well A) Lid. (Fig. 17)

Diameter, 0.036 m.

A small pyxis lid with part of the edge and the handle missing. The edge is flanged to fit on the rim of the pyxis. Purple: the wings of the swans and two stripes, one around the handle, the other around the outer edge of the lid.

A row of six swans at rest facing right; groups of short vertical lines as filling-ornament.

50. (A-P 2101 *a-b*, Well A) Lid. (Fig. 17)

Estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.011 m.

Two fragments of a lid with a rounded edge.

Around the edge are two lines of glaze, one broad, the other narrow; inside the lines is a row of badly drawn swans facing left. Around the missing handle is a zone of rays. The filling-ornament consists of short vertical lines.

51. (A-P 1894, Well A) Pyxis foot. (Fig. 17)

Height, 0.015 m.

One foot of a tripod pyxis. Purple: the wing of the swan.

A panel within which is a swan to right; short vertical lines as filling-ornament.

Nos. 52-53 are from skyphoi. For the shape cf. Robinson, Harcum, and Iliffe, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, I, p. 93, no. 274; II, pl. XXV, no. 274.



Fig. 17. Fragments of the Swan Group, etc.

52. (A-P 1693, Well A) Fig. 17

Diameter of foot, 0.048 m.

The foot and part of the side of a small skyphos. Purple: the wings of the swans, and a line around the lower part of the vase. In the center of the bottom of the vase is a circle and dot.

Swans upside down facing left; short vertical lines as filling-ornament.

53. (A-P 1703, Well A) Fig. 17

Greatest dimension, 0.033 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: a stripe on the wing of the swan, and a line around the lower part of the vase.

Parts of two swans upside down facing left; short vertical lines as filling-ornament.

GROUP OF THE FRANÇOIS VASE

54. (A-P 1279) Large closed vase. (Fig. 18)

Greatest dimension, 0.071 m.

Fragment from the side. The surface is worn. Purple: traces on the drapery, the beards, and the hair of the figures.

Two warriors, the second on a lower level than the first, are advancing to left with raised spears. They appear to be driving a boar before them, of which only the rump and the tail

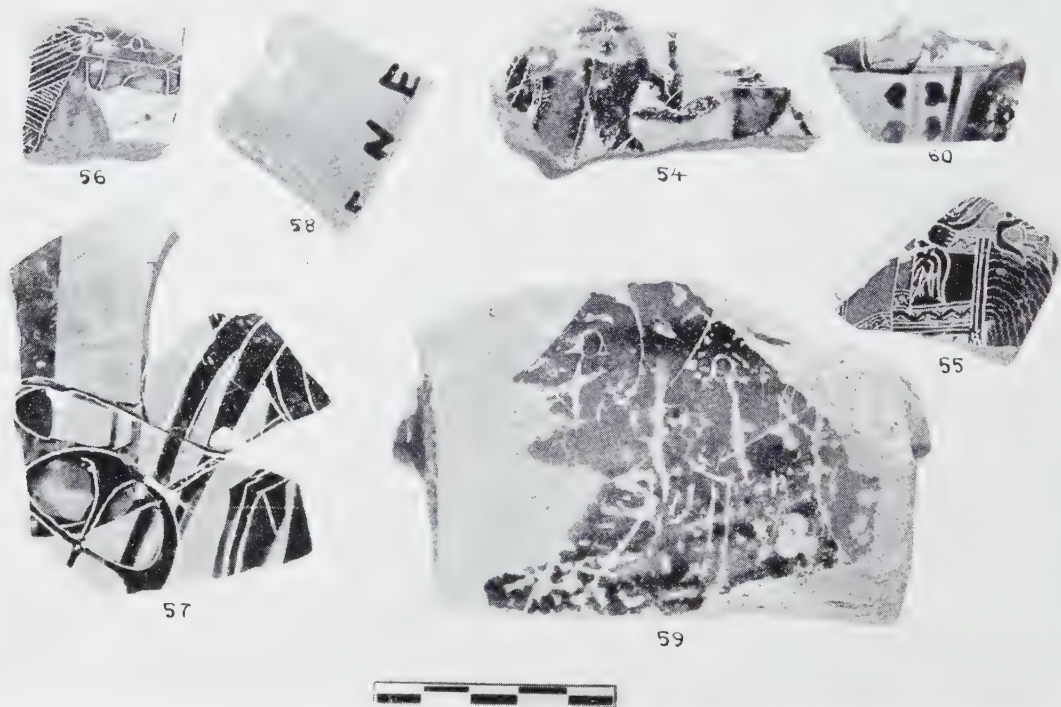


Fig. 18. Early Black-Figured Fragments

curling over its back are preserved. Below the extended left arm of the warrior on the left is a shield (?). Possibly a scene from the Calydonian Boar Hunt is represented. The fragments appear to date from the period of Sophilos.

55. (A-P 1497, Well A) Large open vase. (Fig. 18)

Greatest dimension, 0.05 m.

Fragment from the side. The glaze on the interior is discolored to a greenish shade. Purple: stripes on the drapery of the figure by Zeus' knee and on that of the figure behind the throne, the heart and alternate leaves of the lotus on the arm of the throne.

Zeus, a thunderbolt in one hand, is seated to right on a throne. The arm of the throne ends in a lotus. On the right edge of the fragment is the drapery of a figure standing by Zeus' knee, and on the left the drapery of another figure behind the throne. The scene probably represented

the Birth of Athena. For the composition and a similar drapery treatment compare Acropolis, I, 601 c (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 28). The general style of the fragment is Kleitian, but the execution is careless.

DEVELOPED BLACK-FIGURE

LARGE VASES GLAZED ON THE INTERIOR

56. (A-P 1993, Well A) Fig. 18

Greatest dimension, 0.031 m.

Fragment from the side. The glaze on the exterior is reddish brown, but on the interior black and coarse.

The head and neck of a horse to right. For the treatment of the mane compare the cup Louvre F 65 (*Met. Mus. Studies*, V, 1934-1936, p. 104, fig. 13).

57. (A-P 2387, 2390, and 2411; Well D) Fig. 18

Greatest dimension, 0.083 m.

Fragment from the side. Two of the pieces were found near the top and one near the bottom of Well D, thus indicating that the well was filled at one time. The glaze is dull black on the exterior, but reddish on the interior. Purple: the car of the chariot. White: traces on the chiton of the charioteer.

Chariot scene. Preserved are the lower part of the charioteer, most of the chariot, and the tails and hind legs of the horses; all are facing right. Third quarter of the sixth century.

58. (A-P 1221) Fig. 18

Greatest dimension, 0.039 m.

Fragment from the side. The letters of the inscription are written in thick, dull black. The glaze on the interior is thin.

Three letters of an inscription written vertically: Ε Ν Ε. Probably the fragment is from the side of a Panathenaic amphora.

59. (A-P 2273) Handle of a Column-Krater. (Fig. 18)

Width, 0.097 m.

The handle-plate of a column-krater. The fragment was found on the East Slope of the Acropolis. The surface is very worn. Purple: the beard of the inner figure and a line along the upper edge of the fragment. The faces are now brownish red, although originally the female face was probably white.

Two overlapping heads facing left. The inner head is that of a bearded male figure, and the outer female. For the motive compare Acropolis, I, 699 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 45). The motive of two overlapping heads seems to have been used during the second quarter of the sixth century along with the motive of a single head.

HYDRIA

60. (A-P 1620, Well A) Fig. 18

Greatest dimension, 0.042 m.

Fragment from the side with the beginning of the rounded shoulder. Purple: the chiton of the fallen warrior, the tail of drapery of the second warrior, and a line at the edge of the base of the handle. Beside the handle are two rows of vine leaves.

On the shoulder is a fallen warrior lying on his back, his head to right, his face turned downward. On the right is the leg of a second warrior. For the composition compare a fragment from Naukratis (*J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, p. 269, no. 53, and pl. XV, 30). The warrior is tucked away at the edge of the shoulder design, whereas usually on the shoulders of hydriai fallen warriors are made the center of combat scenes. About the middle of the sixth century.



Fig. 19. Fragments of Amphorae

AMPHORAE

61. (A-P 1555, Well A) Tyrrhenian Amphora. (Fig. 19)

Greatest dimension, 0.061 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the helmet and crest of the falling Amazon, the crest on the left edge of the fragment, and the helmet of the Amazon facing left. White: the flesh surfaces.

Amazonomachy. Preserved are an Amazon in the foreground facing left, her left arm raised to thrust her spear, which is held awkwardly (compare the manner in which the Amazon on Acropolis, I, 597 f [Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 24] holds her spear); on the right the head and shoulders of an Amazon falling backwards, her eyes closed. She is wounded in the breast by a spear the shaft of which is visible between her arms. On the extreme left is the crest of another helmet. The subject is frequent on Tyrrhenian amphorae, but the representation of a figure falling in this manner appears to be unusual (cf. Thiersch, *Tyrrhenische Amphoren*, p. 21 for a discussion of the types). Second quarter of the sixth century.

62. (A-P 1855, 2021, 2500, 2072, 2110, 2048, 2054, 1526, and 2070 [= *a*]; and 1899 [= *b*]; Well A) Neck-Amphora. (Fig. 19)

Diameter at shoulder, 0.098 m.

The shoulder and the beginning of the neck of a small neck-amphora. Shiny black glaze. Purple: stripes on the hats and dots on the drapery of the Amazons, manes of the first and third horses, tail of the first horse, and a stripe at the base of its neck. White: the female flesh surfaces, dots on the drapery, and rosettes on the horses' collars. The details of harness and bridle are carefully incised.

Amazons in a quadriga. Fragment *a* preserves most of the upper part of one side of the vase; it shows a plunging quadriga in three-quarter view to right. Two Amazons are in the chariot. The Amazon in the foreground holds the reins and a whip, and her companion carries two spears. On the shoulder of the vase is a band of tongue ornament, and on each side of the handle is a palmette, from which a long tendril runs down to open in a lotus bud. On *b*, which is from the other side of the vase, are part of the handle palmette and three letters of an inscription written vertically: H E P. The motive of a plunging quadriga is very popular toward the end of the sixth century, either with the chariot and its drivers alone or in more complex compositions with a figure on the ground in front of the horses. There is a good example in Würzburg (Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 53, no. 192). Near the Edinburgh Painter (Beazley). For the Edinburgh Painter compare Haspels, pp. 86-89.

63. (A-P 2018 *a-b* and 2022 *c*, Well A) Neck-Amphora. (Fig. 19)

Diameter of neck, 0.05 m.

Three fragments of a small, ovoid neck-amphora; *a* is from the neck with part of the shoulder; *b* and *c* are from the side. On the interior there is a very thin brownish glaze. Purple: a stripe at the base of the neck of the vase. White: traces on the leg of the figure on *c*.

A small imitation Panathenaic amphora. On the neck is the lower part of a rearing horse to right and the base of the handle. On each side of the body was an Athena striding to right. Parts of the columns which flanked the scene, and parts of Athena's helmet, shield, and leg are preserved. There are several small imitation Panathenaic amphorae in the British Museum (*C.V.A.*, Br. Mus., 3, III H e, pl. 6, 3 a), but the horse on the neck is rather unusual (compare a small neck-amphora in Brussels; *C.V.A.*, Brussels, 2, III H e, pl. 20, 9).

64. (A-P 1835, Well A) Amphora. (Fig. 19)

Greatest dimension, 0.062 m.

Fragment from the neck with the scar left by the handle. Purple: the hair of the figure and the center of the lotus buds.

Along the top under the lip is a chain of upright lotus buds with every other bud linked by tendrils at the base. The buds are open and closed alternately. Of the design is preserved the upper part of the body of a horseman and the mane of his horse facing right. The ornament is similarly placed just below the lip on an amphora from Rhodes (cf. *Clara Rhodos*, VIII, p. 198, fig. 194). About the middle of the sixth century.

65. (A-P 1983 and 2028, Well A) Amphora. (Fig. 19)

Greatest dimension, 0.054 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the hair of the spectator. White: traces on the teeth of the lion and the sword belt of Herakles.

Herakles and the lion. They are wrestling in the standing position. On the left is a nude male figure with his hand outstretched toward the scene. It is probably a spectator rather than Iolaos, for the latter usually holds Herakles' club. His pose is similar to that of the spectator on the amphora Louvre F 1 (cf. *C.V.A.*, Louvre, 5, III H e, pl. 10, 5). For a list of the types used in the wrestling matches between Herakles and the lion compare Luce, "The Nolan Amphora," Appendix I, *A.J.A.*, XX, 1916, pp. 460 f.



Fig. 20. Black-Figured Amphora

66. (A-P 1868 and 1870, Well A) Amphora. (Fig. 19)

Greatest dimension, 0.057 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the drapery and the hair fillet of the maenad, the hair and beard of the satyr. White: traces on the flesh of the maenad.

Maenad and satyr. The tips of four of the lotus buds of the shoulder pattern are preserved on the upper edge of the fragment. Both the maenad and satyr are standing turned slightly to the right with their heads turned back over their right shoulders. The satyr holds his right arm akimbo. For the type of amphora and the design compare Würzburg no. 252 (Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 69, no. 252). Third quarter of the sixth century.

67. (A-P 2068, Well A) Amphora. (Fig. 19)

Greatest dimension, 0.038 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the central stripe of the drapery of the figure on the right, the hair and beard of the satyr.

Maenad and satyr. The fragment seems to be from the same type of amphora as the preceding item. Along the upper edge are the tips of two lotus buds of the shoulder pattern. Of the design itself parts of two figures are preserved, on the left a satyr and on the right a maenad.

68. (A-P 2242, Well B) Amphora. (Fig. 20)

Height, 0.255 m.; diameter of mouth, 0.108 m.; of shoulder, 0.15 m.

A small amphora, complete except for the foot and small fragments from the side. The surface is worn, so that both glaze and paint are partly obliterated. Purple: lines around the vase at the top of the ray zone, at the bottom of the panels containing the designs, and on the outer edge of the lip; the hair of the figures, and stripes and dots in their drapery. White: a strap across the chest of the central figure on A and dots on the drapery.

The body is slender with a rather flat shoulder which dips on one side. The ornamental decoration is simple, consisting of a zone of rays at the bottom of the vase and a row of upward-pointing vine leaves at the top of each panel.

On each side (only A is illustrated) are three figures. On A a nude youth strides to right, a cloak over his arm, his gaze directed backward over his shoulder; he is flanked by two draped male figures. All carry staffs. The scene on B is a duplicate of that on A except that the youth carries no cloak. The scene seems to be devoid of all real significance. An amphora of similar type and decoration was found on the North Slope in 1937 (A-P 948; cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 176, no. 4, and p. 175, fig. 12). These amphorae, in shape, decoration, and type of representation resemble the amphora no. 467 in the Collezione Castellani (cf. Mingazzini, *Collezione Castellani*, pl. LXIII, 2-3). It is one of a large group of similarly decorated amphorae. They all have the same type of meaningless scene and poorly drawn ivy leaves at the top of the panels containing the design. Our own amphora seems to be a little later than the example cited from the Collezione Castellani, which Mingazzini dates 540-530 B.C.

PANATHENAIIC AMPHORAE

69. (A-P 1247) Fig. 19

Greatest dimension, 0.063 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the hair fillet.

The tops of the heads of two male figures facing each other; the one on the left is bald.

70. (A-P 2309, Well E) Fig. 19

Greatest dimension, 0.061 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: a stripe across the tail of the cock.

A cock facing right on a column.

LOUTROPHOROI

71. (A-P 1988 and 2052, Well A) Fig. 21

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.14 m.

Five fragments from the rim and neck (only the largest fragment is illustrated). The lip is offset and has a band of black around its base. The interior of the neck is glazed and has three purple lines near the top.

The outside of the lip is decorated with rosettes separated by dots at top and bottom. The rosettes have purple centers and a purple dot at the tip of each petal (cf. Acropolis, I, 472 a; Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 18). On the neck is a row of women facing right and wearing alternately

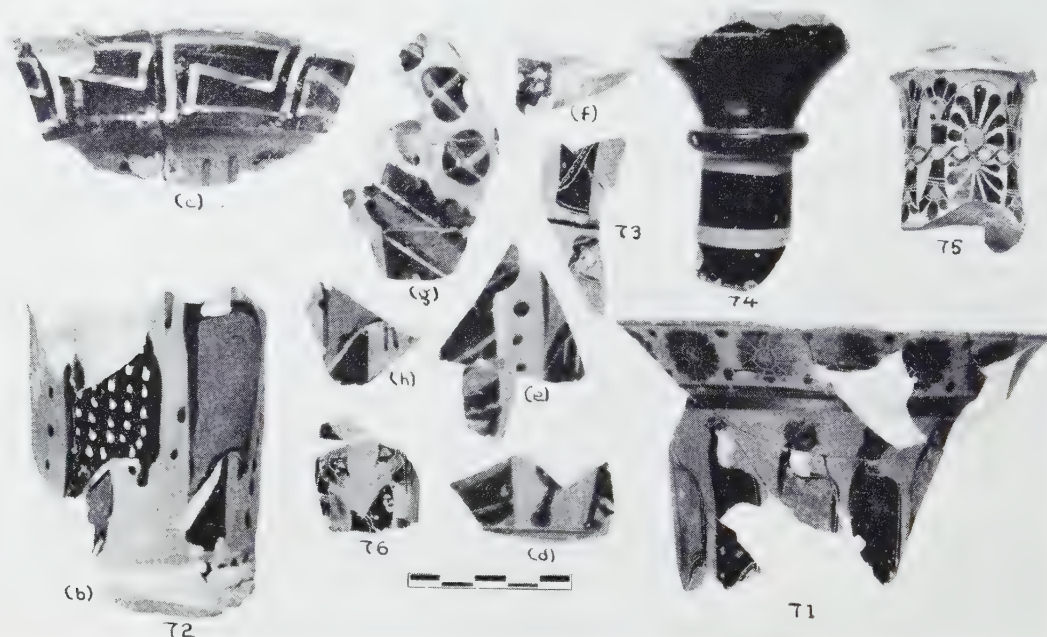


Fig. 21. Fragments from Loutrophoroi and Thymiateria

purple and black cloaks. There are purple dots and white flowers on the black cloaks, whereas the purple cloaks are left plain. The women wear purple hair fillets. In all, parts of twelve women are preserved. The fragments, to judge from their size, are probably from a tall-necked loutrophoros with two zones of decoration (cf. an example in Eleusis, *Jahrbuch*, XVIII, 1903, p. 147, fig. 13). The rosettes on the lip and the drawing of the women suggest a date in the second quarter of the sixth century.

72. (A-P 1722 A [= a], 1722 B [= b], 1722 D [= c]; 1723 A-D [= d-g]; 1724 B [= h]; Well A) Fig. 21

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.13 m.

Four fragments from the neck and four from the body (only three of the neck fragments [b, c, h] are illustrated). The rim is offset and slightly grooved underneath. The interior of the neck is reserved except for two lines of glaze near the top.

The exterior of the lip is decorated with a white meander and a purple line at the top edge. On the neck is a row of cloaked women facing right, alternate figures wearing black cloaks, with rows of white dots, over purple chitons and purple cloaks over black chitons. Both black and purple cloaks are edged with white. The figures are separated by vertical rows of dots at the bottom and two vertical dashes of glaze at the top. Parts of five women are preserved, probably all that were placed on the neck. Of the design on the body, parts of draped figures, presumably male, wearing purple and white striped cloaks are preserved. They are also separated by rows of dots. On *g* is the stub of one of the small handles with part of a figure below it.

There is no incision used anywhere, and those details which would normally be incised are shown by white paint. The vase closely resembles a loutrophoros hydria from the Agora (cf. Vanderpool, "The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft," *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 398, no. 32, and p. 397, fig. 34). Identical on both vases are the filling-ornament of dots and short lines and the contrasting colors of the drapery. The only difference lies in the quality; for where the Agora piece uses incision, our fragments use paint, which results in an extremely untidy appearance. The Agora example is dated in the third quarter of the sixth century (cf. Vanderpool, *loc. cit.*, pp. 365-366).

73. (A-P 1553, Well A) Fig. 21

Greatest dimension, 0.055 m.

Fragment from the neck. It is divided into two zones, in each of which is a procession of women to the right.

In the upper zone the lower part of a woman is preserved wearing a black cloak with purple dots. Underneath her in the lower zone are the head and part of the body of a woman wearing a purple cloak and hair fillet. The flesh is white.

THYMIATERIA

74. (A-P 2477, Well A) Fig. 21

Height, 0.086 m.; estimated diameter of bowl, *ca.* 0.084 m.; depth of bowl, 0.028 m.

Fragment of the bowl and stem. The stem, a heavy tube with a very small channel through the center, is decorated with two narrow reserved bands and separated from the bowl by a thick fillet. The outer edge of the lip is slightly raised to keep the lid in place.

The type of thymiaterion in use in the late black-figure period consisted of a high, slender stem divided into two parts by a projecting flange, and terminating at the bottom in a broad foot. At the top is a small bowl covered with a pierced, conical lid (cf. Kourouniotes, *Θυμιατήρια ἐν Ἑλευσίνι*, *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, p. 212). The shape of the bowl on our fragment is not far from that on the black-glaze example found at Eleusis (Kourouniotes, *loc. cit.*, fig. 22), with the difference that the Eleusis bowl is a little larger and its lip is bevelled. The Acropolis fragments, Acropolis, I, 1217-1234 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pp. 135-137), described as "röhrenförmigen fusses," are probably from thymiateria stems and feet (compare Acropolis, I, 1222 [Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 70] with either Eleusis 1238 or 1239, both published by Kourouniotes, *loc. cit.*, pp. 205 f.).

75. (A-P 1585, Well A) Fig. 21

Height, 0.063 m.; diameter of stem, 0.037 m.

Fragment of a stem apparently from a thymiaterion. It is tabular and has thin walls which are roughly finished on the inside. At the lower end there is some glaze on the interior, possibly indicating that the undersurface of the foot was glazed. Above, the thymiaterion is broken at the flange which divided the stem. Purple: the palmette and lotus hearts.

The exterior is decorated with a chain consisting of two lotus buds and a palmette in alternating groups, with the outer ends of the lotus buds linked together above the palmettes. Third quarter of the sixth century.

76. (A-P 1963, Well A) Fig. 21

Diameter of stem, 0.04 m.

Fragment of a hollow, thick-walled stem. Purple: the hair and beards of the figures and the borders of their cloaks. White: the brim of the petasos and the chiton of the figure on the right.

Two bearded male figures facing each other. The figure on the left wears a petasos. Good workmanship of the late third quarter of the sixth century.

LARGE VASES UNGLAZED ON THE INTERIOR

77. (A-P 899) Fig. 19

Greatest dimension, 0.058 m.

Fragment from the side of a thick-walled vase. The surface is very worn.

In the upper part of the fragment are the heads of two warriors to left; below them is a shield with a satyr's head emblem. The rim of the shield is decorated with alternate double circles and "asterisks." Three spear shafts appear in the scene, one behind the head of the figure on the left (apparently belonging to the figure on the right), one on the right edge (this belongs to a warrior not preserved), and a third slanting diagonally across the helmet of the warrior on the left. About the middle of the sixth century.

78. (A-P 2379, Well E) Fig. 19

Greatest dimension, 0.043 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: traces on the chiton of the warrior (but the surface is too worn to determine how largely it was used).

The torso of a warrior to right wearing a cuirass and a short chiton with an embroidered edge. His sword sheath projects behind the cuirass. The position of his body and sword sheath and the drawing of the folds of his chiton are the same as on a hydria in the Louvre (F 6; *C.V.A.*, Louvre, 5, III H e, pl. 59, 1). About the middle of the sixth century.

79. (A-P 2205, Well A) Fig. 19

Greatest dimension, 0.034 m.

Fragment from the side. The surface of the vase is covered with a light slip. Purple: the hair of the negro. His flesh is brownish red.

The head of a male figure to left. It is apparently that of a negro, as the lips are thick and projecting. The slip suggests that the piece is of non-Attic origin.

SKYPHOI

80. (A-P 2197, 2117, 2190, 2106, and 2043 [= *a*]; 1908 and 1710 *A* [= *b*]; 2494 [= *c*]; and 1710 *B* [= *d*]; Well A) Fig. 22

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.08 m.; *b*, 0.05 m.; *c*, 0.015 m.; *d*, 0.023 m.

Four fragments from the side, with the beginning of the handle and the lip preserved on *b*. Purple: hair and beards, alternate bands on the stems of the flutes, stripes on the drapery, and the leaves. White: berries on the garlands, alternate bands on the flutes, and dot rosettes on the drapery. The incision is heavy.

A sacrificial procession. On *a* a male figure is leading a pig to right and carrying under his arm a bag with three sacrificial knives (cf. *C.V.A.*, Oxford, I, pl. II, 9; the parallel was suggested by Beazley). Behind him come two figures playing double-flutes. The object on the right of *b* is obscure. It is scarcely possible to determine what religious procession is represented, if any particular one. Both flautists and wreathed figures might appear in almost any procession. The pig was preferred by Demeter (cf. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*, p. 122) and branches were carried in the Mysteries (cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 74 and pl. 5, 1), but there are no torches such as usually identify their celebrants. Like the procession on the Lydos dinos from the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, I, 607, pl. 33), it is probably a theme which the artist adapted from such processions as he knew, without having any specific one in mind. Third quarter of the sixth century.



Fig. 22. Black-Figured Skyphos

81. (A-P 2016 and 2177 [= *a*]; 2015 [= *b*]; 2020 [= *c*]; Well A) Fig. 23

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.072 m.; *b*, 0.059 m.; *c*, 0.043 m.

Three fragments from the side. Purple: on *a*, the mane of the white horse, and a stripe on the drapery of the figure behind the horses; all the shield rims. White: on *a*, one of the horses and a stripe on the drapery; on *b*, the chiton of the charioteer; all the shield emblems.

A warrior's departure. On *a* are the horses of the quadriga and on *b* is the charioteer; *c* appears to be from the opposite side of the vase. The object at the top of *b* is probably a bird.

82. (A-P 2168 *a* and 1571 *b*, Well A) Fig. 23

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.04 m.; *b*, 0.022 m.

Two fragments from the lower part of the side. Purple: stripes on the drapery and lines on the neck of the animal. White: on *b* the foot of the figure.

A procession. On *a* are the lower parts of two male figures walking to right with an animal; on *b* a foot and draped lower leg of a female figure facing left. At the lower edge of each fragment a band of lotus buds. Possibly a Bacchic procession is represented.

83. (A-P 1922, Well A) Fig. 23

Greatest dimension, 0.044 m.

Fragment from the side of a skyphos-like vessel. Purple: the centers of the dot rosettes on the drapery, and a stripe on the drapery. White: the petals of the rosettes on the drapery.

Two zones (?) of decoration. In the lower are the heads and shoulders of two male figures to right. Third quarter of the sixth century.



Fig. 23. Black-Figured Skyphoi

84. (A-P 1549 *a* and 2069 *b*, Well A) Fig. 23

Greatest dimensions, *a*, 0.052 m.; *b*, 0.033 m.

Two fragments from the side. Dull glaze. Purple: the beards. White: on *a*, traces of a stripe on the drapery.

Dionysos. On *a* are his head and shoulders to right with a drinking horn and on *b* his head and part of the horn. The similarity of glaze and thickness seems to indicate that the two fragments are from the same or identical skyphoi. They have been attributed to the Theseus Painter by Beazley. For the drawing of the heads compare Acropolis, I, 1281 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 74 = no. 29 in Haspels' list of the vases by the Theseus Painter; cf. Haspels, p. 250). They probably date from the early fifth century (cf. Haspels, p. 163).



Fig. 24. Two Black-Figured Skyphoi

85. (A-P 1890 [= *a-b*], 1999 and 2091 [= *c*]; Well A) Fig. 23

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.20 m.

Three fragments from the side with the rim preserved on *b*. Dull glaze. Purple: hair fillets, stripes on the drapery and the beard on the right edge of *a*. White: female flesh surfaces, berries in the satyr's hair, chair joints, and dots on the drapery.

Dionysos. On *a* the god is seated to right holding a drinking horn, the top of which is visible under the vine tendril on the right. A satyr bends forward over his back, and on the right edge of the fragment is the fringe of a beard. On *c*, from the other side of the vase, are a group of seated female figures. The head type seems related to the Theseus Painter. Compare the continuous line used for the incision of the ear with the similar method of indicating the ear employed in No. 84.

86. (A-P 1912, Well A) Fig. 23

Greatest dimension, 0.04 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the beard and stripes on the drapery. White: the petasos and the central stripe on the drapery.

The head and the upper part of the body of a bearded male figure with his head turned to right. The treatment of the drapery is similar to that in the preceding item.

87. (A-P 1871 *a*, 1849 *b*, 1806 *c*, 2202 *d*, 1742 *e*, and 2201 *f*; Well A) Fig. 24

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.037 m.; *b*, 0.027 m.; *c*, 0.029 m.; *d*, 0.023 m.; *e*, 0.022 m.; *f*, 0.027 m.

Six small fragments from the side. Purple: on *a*, the helmet crest; on *c*, the helmet; on *d*, the greave. White: thick blobs laid on the shields, breastplates, chitons, and the helmets of the warriors.

Combat scene. All the fragments preserve parts of the armor or of the warriors themselves.

88. (A-P 1552 *a* and 2148 *b*, Well A) Fig. 23

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.22 m.

Two fragments from the side with the rim preserved on *a*. On the interior of the wall are incised lines at regular intervals. Purple: on *a*, the mane of the horse, the edge of the hat and a hand on the top of the quiver; on *b*, stripes on the drapery. White: the flesh surfaces and the feathers at the ends of the arrows.

On *a* is a mounted Amazon facing right. Fragment *b* preserves the upper part of a female figure with her arms outstretched to right toward a mounted figure.

89. (A-P 1932 *a-d* and 1927 *e*, Well A) Fig. 24

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.042 m.; *b*, 0.065 m.; *c*, 0.04 m.; *d*, 0.031 m.; *e*, 0.092 m.

Five fragments from the side. Purple: traces on the outer stripe on the drapery on *b*. White: traces on the foot of the draped figure on the right edge of *e*.

Parts of nude male and draped female figures are preserved, so that the scene was probably some type of Bacchic revel.

90. (A-P 2066, Well A) Fig. 23

Greatest dimension, 0.065 m.

Fragment from the side with part of the rim. Purple: hair of the figures.

On the left is the upper part of a nude male spectator with his arm outstretched toward the horseman on the right. For the motive compare a similar scene on a lekythos in the Villa Giulia (*C.V.A.*, Villa Giulia, 2, III H e, pl. 50, 12).

91. (A-P 1579 *a*, 1629 *b*, and 1828 *c*; Well A) Fig. 25

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.034 m.; *b*, 0.043 m.; *c*, 0.029 m.

Two fragments (*a* and *c*) from the rim, and one (*b*) from the lower part of the side. Metallic glaze. Purple: drapery stripes and the hair fillet of the figure on *a*. White: traces on the female flesh surfaces and rows of dots on the drapery on *b*.

On *a* is the head and arm of a female figure facing left before the ring of a tripod. Fragment *b* preserves the leg of the tripod and the lower part of the same figure. On *c* is the head of another figure facing left.

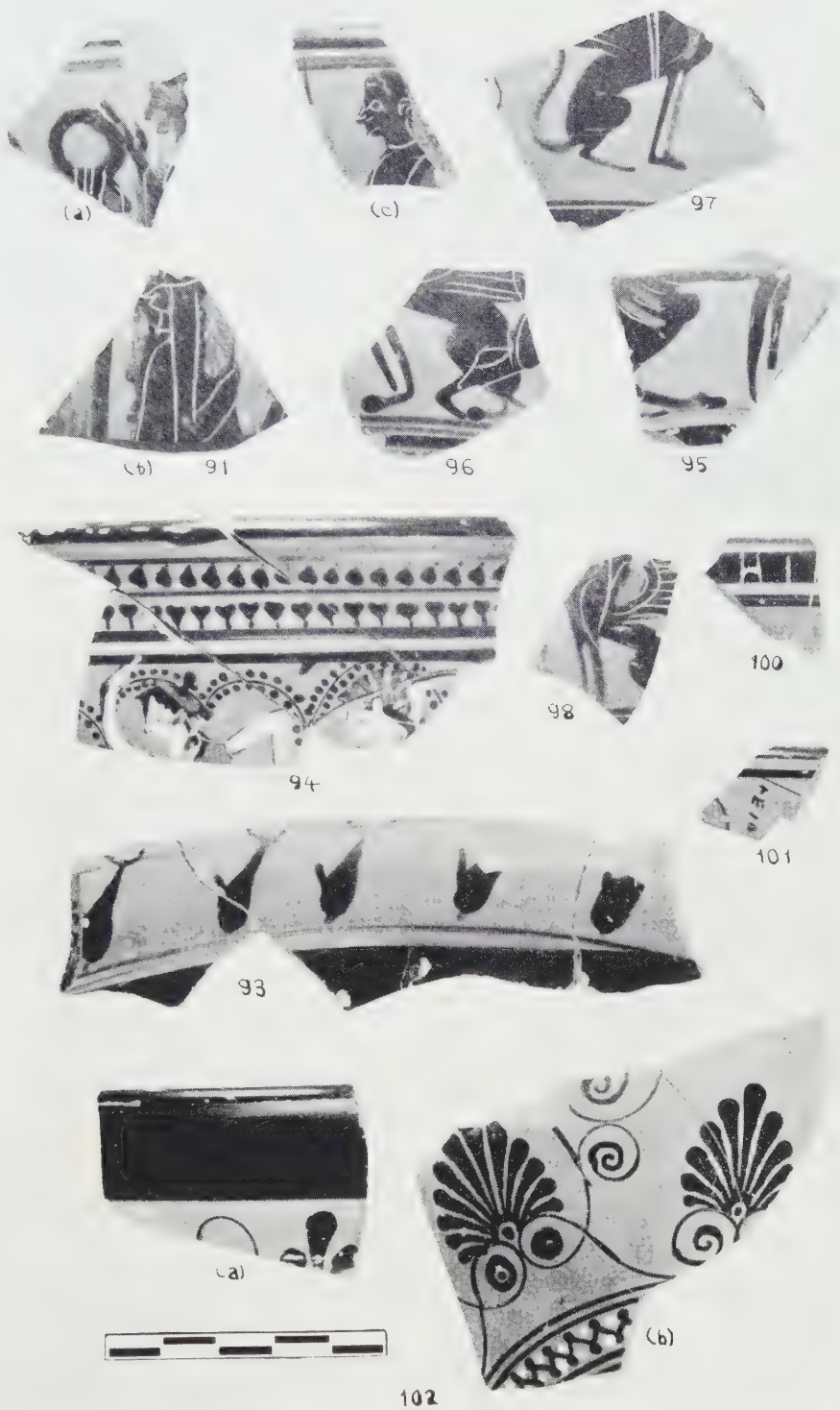


Fig. 25. Black-Figured Skyphoi

92. (A-P 1895, Well A) Fig. 23

Greatest dimension, 0.037 m.

Fragment from the side. Chocolate brown glaze. Purple: the greave.

The greaved leg of a warrior to the left with the leg of another figure partly preserved on the lower right.

93. (A-P 1786 *a-d*, Well A) Fig. 25

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.18 m.

Four fragments from the rim (only the largest is illustrated). No incision is used.

The rim is reserved on the inside and is decorated with a row of dolphins. The decoration is unusual on a skyphos rim, but finds a parallel on the Louvre amphora signed by Nikosthenes (Louvre F 102; *C.V.A.*, Louvre, 5, III H e, pl. 33, 1).

94. (A-P 2232 and 2430, Well B) Fig. 25

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.17 m.

Fragment from the rim and side. The pieces were found at varying depths in Well B, indicating that the well was filled at one time. The inside of the rim is covered with a white slip. Purple: a stripe around the inside of the lip at the bottom, the hair fillet, stripes on the turban of the maenads, the pupils of their eyes. White: the flesh surfaces. The details of the dolphins are incised unlike those of the preceding item.

On the inside of the lip is a row of dolphins placed head downward. On the outside of the vase two maenads, one wearing a turban-like headdress, are dancing to left.

Nos. 95-98 are from small skyphoi decorated with sphinxes which are used either as handle ornament or as the main design. In the latter case there is a palmette at the handle. Many skyphoi of this type were found at Rhitsona in the B graves, and thus date from the last quarter of the sixth century or the early fifth century (cf. Haspels, pp. 108-110, for a redating of some of the B graves).

95. (A-P 2184, Well A) Fig. 25

Greatest dimension, 0.044 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: shoulder and stripes on the haunch of the sphinx.

Part of the body and legs of a sphinx seated to right.

96. (A-P 1992, Well A) Fig. 25

Greatest dimension, 0.037 m.

Fragment from the side.

The body, legs, and part of the wing of a sphinx to left, with a male leg crossing its rump.

97. (A-P 1755, Well A) Fig. 25

Greatest dimension, 0.054 m.

Fragment from the side with the beginning of the handle on the right. Purple: a stripe on the shoulder of the sphinx. White: the edge of the breast of the sphinx.

Part of a sphinx seated to right, and on the left some white paint which may be part of another sphinx.

98. (A-P 1570, Well A) Fig. 25

Greatest dimension, 0.031 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: a stripe on the inside of the wing. White: a stripe on the edge of the breast of the sphinx.

A sphinx to left with wings outstretched.

99. (A-P 1892 *a-d*, Well A) Fig. 26

Height, 0.085 m.

Four fragments of a white-ground skyphos. The glaze is dull on the figured decoration, but is good on the interior. The ground is buff. Purple: stripes on the drapery.

Dionysos (?). On *a* is a draped male figure to right, apparently alone; in the background are tendrils with leaves. On *b* are the beginning of a handle and a small spiky palmette.



Fig. 26. White-Ground Skyphos

100. (A-P 1898, Well A) Fig. 25

Greatest dimension, 0.025 m.

Fragment from the rim. Scratched on the outside of the lip are two letters of an inscription: *HI*. On the right is a long scratch running from the edge of the lip to the broken edge of the sherd. Possibly the vase was a dedication, as the neatness of the lettering suggests (cf. Graef-Langlotz, II, nos 1368 f., p. 119).

101. (A-P 2368, Well E) Fig. 25

Greatest dimension, 0.026 m.

Fragment from the rim. Purple: part of the object in the lower left corner of the fragment. Four letters of an inscription are written vertically in glaze: *AEIΔ*.

102. (A-P 1544 *a* and 1531 *b*, Well A) Fig. 25

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.14 m.

Two fragments, *a* from the rim and *b* from the side. White: dots on the band at the bottom.

Parts of the floral decoration are preserved; on *b* are a large central palmette and a smaller one on the right; at the bottom, encircling the vase is a band of net pattern, consisting of alternate black and white dots with the black dots interconnected by a line. The large central palmette was probably placed under a handle and flanked by small palmettes. The type of palmette, the spirals, and the "targets" inside the volutes are found on early red-figured ornament. There are "targets" on a late black-figured stamnos in the Bibliothèque Nationale (cf. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, pl. 88, c).

KOMAST CUP. Graef: Group I

103. (A-P 1521, Well A) Fig. 27

Greatest dimension, 0.031 m.

Fragment from the side with part of the sharply offset lip. The glaze is thin on the profile of the head. Purple: hair, beard, and the object on the left side of the fragment.

A bearded male head to left with the end of some object (drinking horn?) on the left. On the lip is a net pattern. The piece appears to be from a Komast Cup belonging to Payne's Group III, which is characterized by a net pattern on the lip (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 194). The heads are close to the heads on the cup Munich no. 2120 (Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 194, no. 17, and pl. 51, 2). Acropolis, I, 1420 belongs to this group, but is not from the same cup as our fragment. For a bibliography of the Komast Group compare Beazley, "The Troilos Cup," *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, 1934-1936, p. 93, note 3.

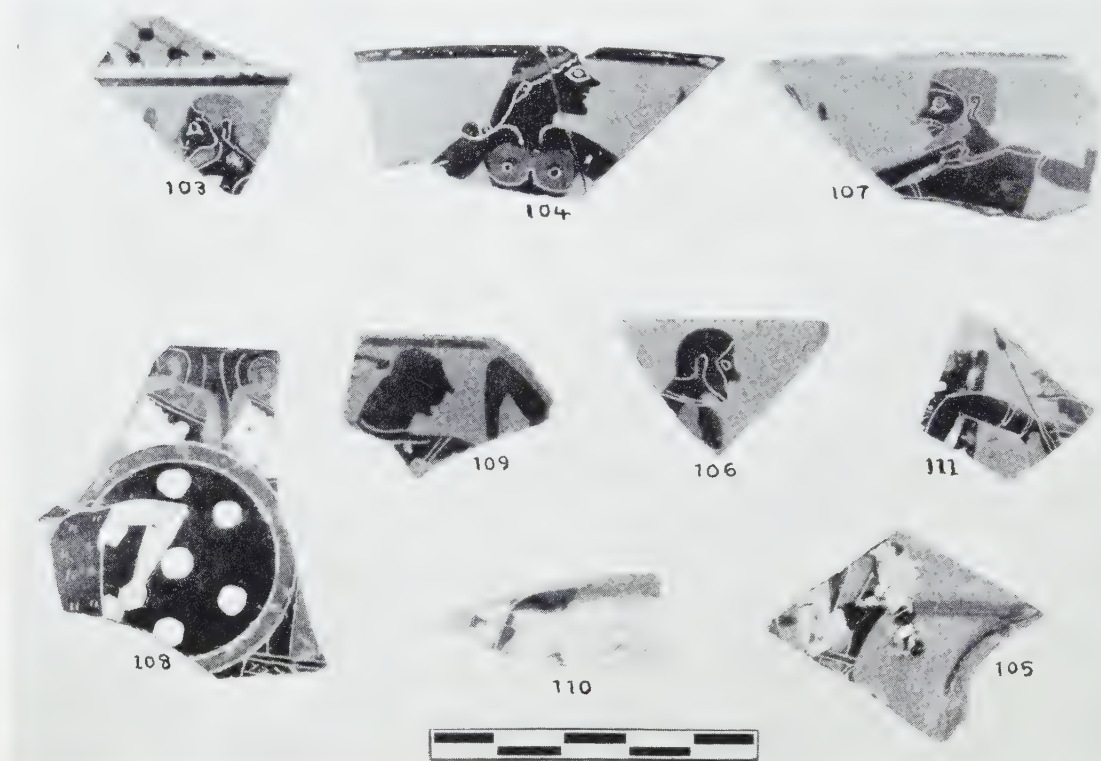


Fig. 27. Fragments from Komast and Siana Cups

SIANA CUPS. Graef: Group II

104. (A-P 1060) Fig. 27

Estimated diameter at rim, ca. 0.20 m.

Fragment from the lip. There is a narrow reserved line just below the lip on the interior. Purple: hair fillet and circles round the nipples.

The head and shoulders of a dancing male figure to right with his arms outstretched. The pose and the style of the drawing are similar to a dancer on a cup fragment from Naukratis (cf. Beazley and Payne, *J.H.S.*, XLIX, 1929, p. 260, no. 25, pl. XVI, 2). The Naukratis fragment belongs to a small group of early Siana Cups which continues the Komast style. For a discussion of the Siana type of cup, most of which date from the second quarter of the sixth century, compare Beazley, *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, 1934-1936, p. 93.

105. (A-P 2203, Well A) Fig. 27

Greatest dimension, 0.042 m.

Fragment from the shoulder with the beginning of the handle on the right. Purple: the central stripe of the drapery and the small piece of drapery in the left corner. White: the female flesh surfaces.

A female figure is standing to right and grasping with both hands some objects in front of her. Possibly it is Aphrodite holding on her shoulders the child Eros (this interpretation was suggested by Beazley).

106. (A-P 1865, Well A) Fig. 27

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.18 m.

Fragment from the lip. Purple: the central stripe of the drapery.

The head and shoulders of a bearded male figure to right. The piece has been attributed to the "C" Painter by Beazley. The use of a single line to include both hair and beard is characteristic. The drawing is somewhat perfunctory, and the head resembles the heads of the mounted figures by the "C" Painter rather than his better work (cf. Louvre F 65; Beazley, *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, 1934-1936, p. 104, fig. 13). The work of the "C" Painter and the pieces connected with him form a large group of Siana Cups (cf. Beazley, *loc. cit.*, p. 99).

107. (A-P 1846, Well A) Fig. 27

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.24 m.

Fragment from the lip. The glaze is thin on the profile of the head. Purple: the hair, beard, and a spot on the drapery.

The head and shoulders of a bearded male figure facing left and wearing a short-sleeved garment. On the upper left edge of the fragment are his thumb and forefinger. His throat is clutched by the hand of a male figure standing in front of him. In the posture of the figures there is some resemblance to wrestlers beginning a match, when each places his hand on the neck of his opponent; but a clutching hold would scarcely be fair, and wrestlers as a rule are nude. The fragment has been attributed to Lydos by Beazley. The head is of the same type as that on the Lydos Dinos from the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, I, 607 e, pl. 33). For Lydos compare Richter, "Lydos," *Met. Mus. Studies*, IV, 1932-1933, p. 169; [Sakonides] Rumpf, *Sakonides*, pp. 9-10.

108. (A-P 866) Fig. 27

Greatest dimension, 0.05 m.

Fragment from the lip and shoulder. Shiny black glaze. There is a reserved line just below the lip on the interior. Purple: the helmets, crest-holders, shield rim, and a stripe on the drapery. White: dots on the shields and the female flesh surfaces. The pupils of the eyes are indicated by scraping through the white paint to the glaze beneath.

A procession of Amazons to left. The figure on the extreme left is at a lower level than the others. The long-nosed, sharp-chinned women resemble those on the amphora London B 163 (*C.V.A.*, Br. Mus., 3, III H e, pl. 29, 1 d), which is a member of Beazley's "E" Group (cf. Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-1932, p. 6, no. 23); see also our No. 10, *supra*.

109. (A-P 1948, Well A) Fig. 27

Greatest dimension, 0.033 m.

Fragment from the lip. There is a reserved line just below the lip on the interior.

The head and shoulders of a male figure to the right and the arm of another male figure. Behind the head is a bow (?).

Graef: Group III.

110. (A-P 2084, Well A) Fig. 27

Greatest dimension, 0.034 m.

Fragment from the shoulder. Purple: the chiton of the mounted figure. White: the horse.

The legs of a figure mounted on a horse to left. The subject suggests a connection with the "C" Group, but too little is preserved to be certain. For the "C" Group see No. 106.

111. (A-P 1974, Well A) Fig. 27

Greatest dimension, 0.026 m.

Fragment from the shoulder. Purple: the cheek piece of the helmet, the garment of the warrior, and the centers of the rosettes on the drapery. White: petals of the rosettes and the sword belt of the warrior, traces on the arm of the female figure.

A warrior to left holding his spear in front of him. His right arm is bent to grasp the arm of the female figure on the left who is holding up her cloak by the corner. Under the arm of the warrior are three letters of an inscription written in dilute glaze: IOL .

KYLIXES. Graef: Group V (with a design on the interior only)

112. (A-P 1903 and 1888, Well A) Fig. 28

Greatest dimension, 0.072 m.

Fragment from the floor of a kylix the design of which covered the whole interior. The normally brownish glaze is a purplish red in areas where there was white paint. Purple: on the aegis, drapery, and shield rim. White: the color has disappeared except in the lines incised to indicate the details of the face and neck.

The head and part of the aegis of Athena to right, behind her arm part of her shield. The drawing resembles that of an Athena on a hydria in the Villa Giulia (cf. *C.V.A.*, Villa Giulia, 2, III H e, pl. 53, 4).

113. (A-P 1845 and 1864, Well A) Fig. 28

Greatest dimension, 0.088 m.

Fragment from the floor of a kylix similar in type to the preceding item. Purple: the tail of the satyr and the central stripe of the drapery. White: the foot of the maenad.

On the left are the foot and the lower part of the skirt of a female figure to right. She is probably a maenad, to judge from her company, for on the right are the legs and tail of a satyr. In the background are a tendril and dots. Below in the exergue are the top of a lion's head to right and a loop of its tail. The subject is another variation of the satyr-maenad theme found on several kylikes of this type (cf. Pease, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 261, no. 87).

Graef: Group VII (with a design on the exterior)

114. (A-P 1951 *a*, 1889 *b*, and 1831 *c*; Well A) Fig. 28

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.029 m.; *b*, 0.046 m.; *c*, 0.037 m.

Three fragments from the side. Purple: a stripe along the bottom of the pictorial zone; on *a* the greave and a stripe on the drapery; on *b* the beard. White: on *c* dots on the border of the drapery and traces on the foot.

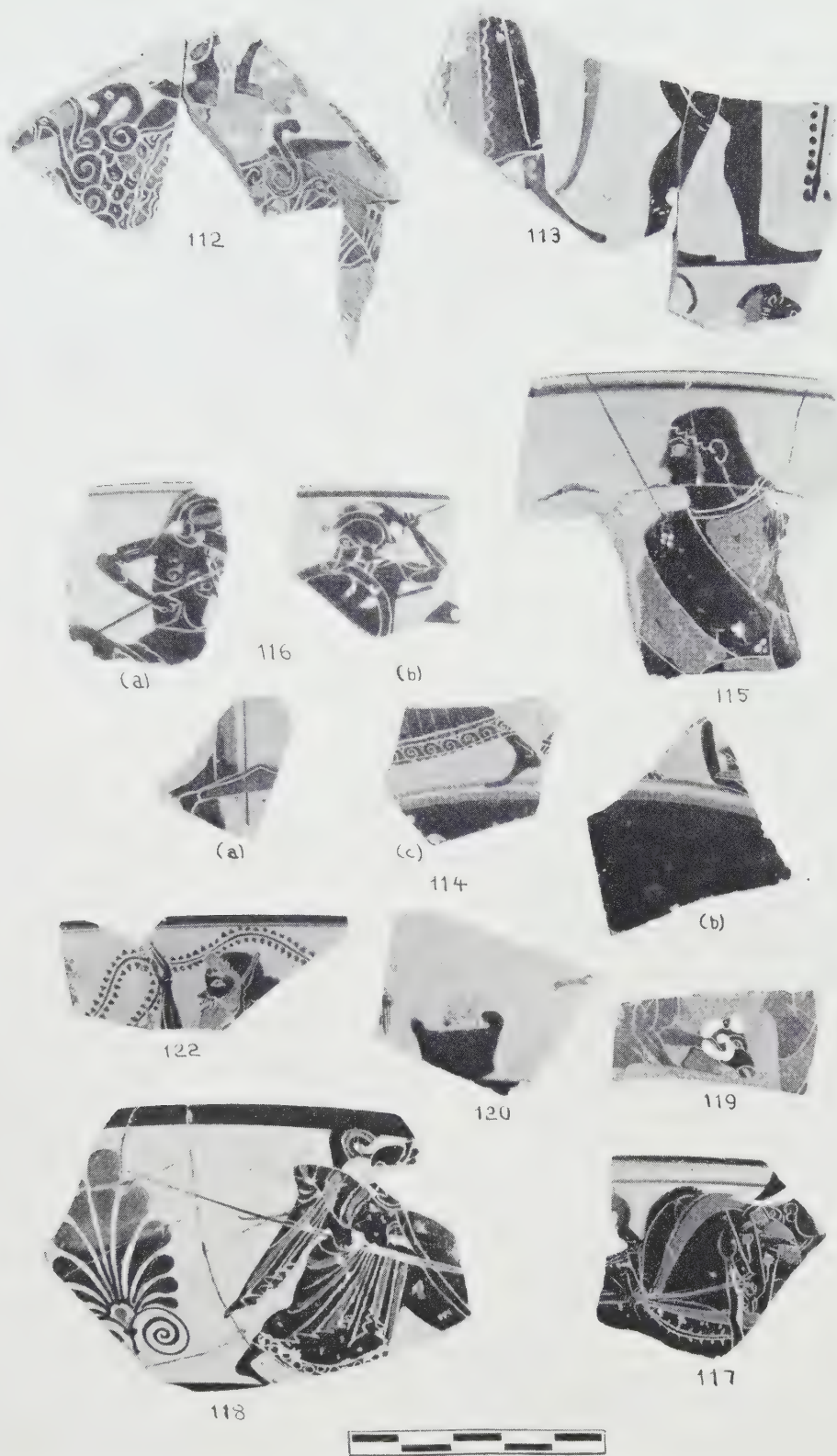


Fig. 28. Black-Figured Kylikes

On *a* the greaved leg of a figure striding to right; on the left is an edge of drapery and part of a staff. On *b* is the nose and beard of a fallen warrior, his arm outstretched in front of him; on the left are the toes of a foot. On *c* are the foot and the edge of the skirt of a female figure to left, behind her some unidentifiable object. Careful workmanship of the middle of the sixth century.

115. (A-P 1556, Well A) Fig. 28

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.24 m.

Fragment from the side. On left and right are the scars left by the handle. Purple: alternate stripes on the drapery. White: dot rosettes on the drapery.

The upper part of a male figure to the left holding his left arm across his body. There are lines of dilute glaze running up behind his shoulder. The figure, its height equal to the width of the zone of design, occupied the space under the handle of the kylix.

116. (A-P 1547 *a* and 1793 *b*, Well A) Fig. 28

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.18 m.

Two fragments from the side. Shiny black glaze. Purple: a stripe across the helmets. White: on *a* the helmet crest; on *b* dots on the helmet and on the rim and emblem of the shield.

Combat scene. On *a* parts of the hindquarters and of the tail of a horse to left, and a warrior, his shield held close against the left side of his body. On *b* a warrior advances to left fighting, his shield on his left arm, his right arm upraised to thrust his spear; in the lower right corner of the fragment parts of a shield and of a spear shaft.

117. (A-P 1667, Well A) Fig. 28

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.20 m.

Fragment from the side of a white-ground kylix. The ground is buff. Purple: the manes, forelocks, and collars of the horses. White: the female flesh surfaces, dots on the drapery, the brim of the petasos worn by the male figure, and the ornament on the collars and bridles.

A quadriga to right with a male figure standing at the heads of the horses. Behind them to the left is a female figure. The figure at the horses' heads is probably Hermes, since he wears a petasos and occupies this position in so many chariot scenes. Good workmanship of the late sixth or early fifth centuries.

118. (A-P 1618, Well A) Fig. 28

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.22 m.

Fragment from the side of white-ground kylix. The ground is pale buff. Purple: stripes on the drapery, dots on the shield, and the heart of the palmette. White: the letters on the shield.

Athena striding to right with her shield before her and her spear couched in her right hand. On her shield the unwarlike greeting XA[I]PE is written. On the left is a palmette. Late sixth or early fifth century.

119. (A-P 1566, Well A) Fig. 28

Greatest dimension, 0.044 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the neck of the ram and stripes on the drapery of the figure on the right. White: the horns of the ram.

The head of a ram being led to right by a nude male figure, whose torso and arms are partly preserved; on the right of the sherd is the back of a draped figure. For the subject compare Acropolis, I, 1582 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 82).

120. (A-P 2475, Well A) Fig. 28

Greatest dimension, 0.044 m.

Fragment from the side. The flames are represented by dilute glaze. White: the sleeve of the figure on the right.

A flaming altar. On the left is the bearded head of a goat being led to sacrifice, and on the right the arm of a figure holding a staff.

121. (A-P 1984, Well A) Fig. 29

Greatest dimension, 0.15 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: dots on the lower stripe of the drapery of the figure on the left.

Three points of a lotus bud flanked by small vertical and large horizontal palmettes. On either side are the lower parts of figures. The lotus bud was doubtless under the handle, and the palmettes on either side of it. Compare a similar kylix from Rhodes (*Clara Rhodos*, III, p. 245, fig. 242).

122. (A-P 1728 and 1991, Well A) Fig. 28

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.24 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the beard and hair of the satyr and the fillet of the female figure. White: the female flesh surfaces.

Satyr and maenad. The head of a satyr to left with the face of a maenad opposite him. There are tendrils and leaves in the background. The workmanship is careful and fine. Leagros Group (cf. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure, A Sketch*, pp. 26-28; hereafter cited Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure*).

Graef: Group VIII (Eye-Kylikes)

123. (A-P 1808 *A* [=a], 1787 and 1626 [=b], 1808 *B* [=c], and 1644 [=d]; Well A) Fig. 29

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.20 m.

Four fragments from the side. Shiny black glaze. Purple: stripes in the drapery, the satyr's beard and hair, and the pupils of the decorative eyes. White: the female flesh surfaces, dots on the drapery, the second circle in the eyes, and a taenia carried by the satyrs on *b*, *c*, and *d* (cf. Graef-Langlotz, I, 1900, pl. 89).

Bacchic scene. Fragments *a* and *b* are from one side, *c* and *d* from the other. A satyr stood at each handle, and Dionysos and a maenad were placed in the center of one side between the eyes. Of the tondo in the interior (not illustrated) only the dot border is preserved on *a*. For a similar scheme of decoration except that a satyr takes the place of Dionysos, compare a kylix from Rhodes (*Clara Rhodos*, IV, p. 246, fig. 266).

124. (A-P 2310, Well E) Fig. 29

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.18 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the hair, the beard, and the central stripe of the drapery. White: drapery and traces on a line around the edge of the eye.

A bearded male figure to right driving. The ends of the reins are in the lower right corner. In the background are a tendril and dots, and on the left is part of an eye.

LITTLE-MASTER CUPS. Graef: Group IX (Lip-Cups)

125. (A-P 1820, Well A) Fig. 30

Greatest dimension, 0.022 m.

Fragment from the lip. There is a reserved line at the top of the lip on the inside. Purple: the hair fillet. The pupil and the iris of the eye are incised, whereas the other details are in dilute glaze.

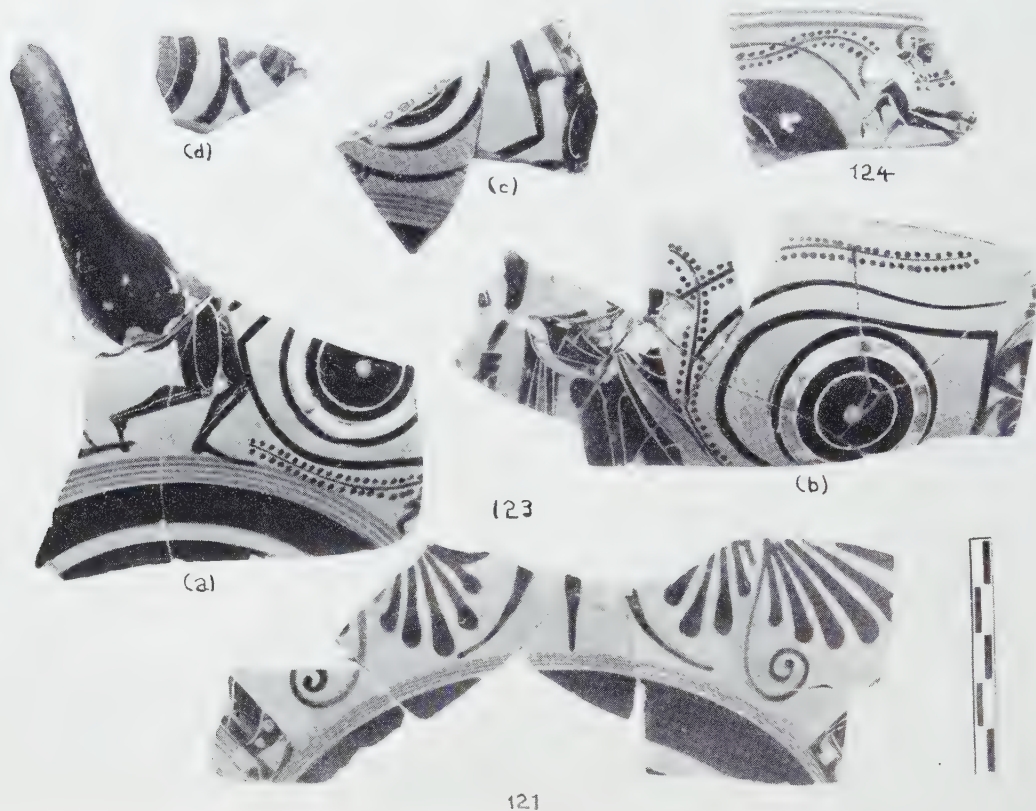


Fig. 29. Black-Figured Kylikes

A female head in outline to the left. The fragment belongs to a class of lip-cups decorated with the head and shoulders of a female figure in outline (cf. Beazley, "Little-Master Cups," *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 174-175, and, for lip-cups in general, pp. 167-184).

126. (A-P 2017, Well A) Fig. 30

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.16 m.

Fragment from the lip. There is a reserved line at the top of the lip on the inside. Purple: the mane of the horse and a stripe on its haunch. White: the hat of the figure.

A nude male figure standing behind a horse, both facing right. The purpose of the horizontal line of glaze running out from the horse's haunch is obscure.



Fig. 30. Fragments from Little-Master Cups

127. (A-P 2075, Well A) Fig. 30

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.12 m.

Fragment from the lip. The spear points are in dilute glaze. Purple: the helmet, shield, and greaves of the warrior on the right; dots on the shield and the cuirass of the other warrior.

Two warriors fighting with spears. For the subject compare a cup fragment in the Collezione Castellani (Mingazzini, *Collezione Castellani*, no. 607, pl. XCV, 6).

128. (A-P 2056, Well A) Fig. 30

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.14 m.

Fragment from the lip. Purple: the hair and beard of the figure. White: his club and the stone (?) in his hand.

A bearded figure striding to left, brandishing a club in his right hand, a stone (?) in his left. Possibly it is a huntsman with a "lagobolon" as on the cup London B 386 (*C.V.A.*, Br. Mus., 3, III H e, pl. 16, 2).

129. (A-P 2418, Well D) Fig. 30

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 13 m.

Fragment from the lip. White: traces on the face of the horse and the drapery of the rider.

A nude male figure is running to right holding out his draped arm toward a mounted figure whose horse rears at the sight.

130. (A-P 1612, Well A) Fig. 30

Greatest dimension, 0.023 m.

Fragment from the lip. Purple: a stripe on the shoulder of the horse. White: the bridle reins.

The neck, shoulder, and part of the forelegs of a horse to left. On the right edge of the fragment is the rider's knee.

131. (A-P 1749, Well A) Fig. 30

Greatest dimension, 0.046 m.

Fragment from the lip and the handle zone.

The tail, haunches, and part of the wing of a sphinx sitting to right.

BAND CUPS. Graef: Group XIV (lip sharply offset)

132. (A-P 1836 *a*, 1760 *b*, and 2154 *c*; Well A) Fig. 30

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.18 m.

Three fragments from the side, one of which, *a*, preserves the rim. There is a reserved line at the base of the lip on the inside. Purple: on *a* the helmet and shield; on *b* the tail of the horse, the helmet, the belt, and dots on the shield; on *c* stripes on the chiton. White: on *a* and *b* the chitons; on *c* the shield.

Combat scene. On *a* is a warrior to right holding his shield before him, his spear at a slight angle. In the lower right corner is the mane of a horse and behind the warrior the topknot of a second horse. On *b* a warrior is running to right. At the right edge of the fragment is a horse's tail. On *c* is preserved the torso and shield rim of a warrior. The reserved line part way down on the inside of the lip is a characteristic feature of Droop Cups (cf. Ure, "Droop Cups," *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, p. 55); thus it is possible that these fragments are from a Droop Cup.

133. (A-P 1981, Well A) Fig. 30

Greatest dimension, 0.044 m.

Fragment from the handle zone. White: traces on the haunch and shoulder of the horse. Near the bottom of the handle zone is a black line.

A mounted nude horseman facing right.

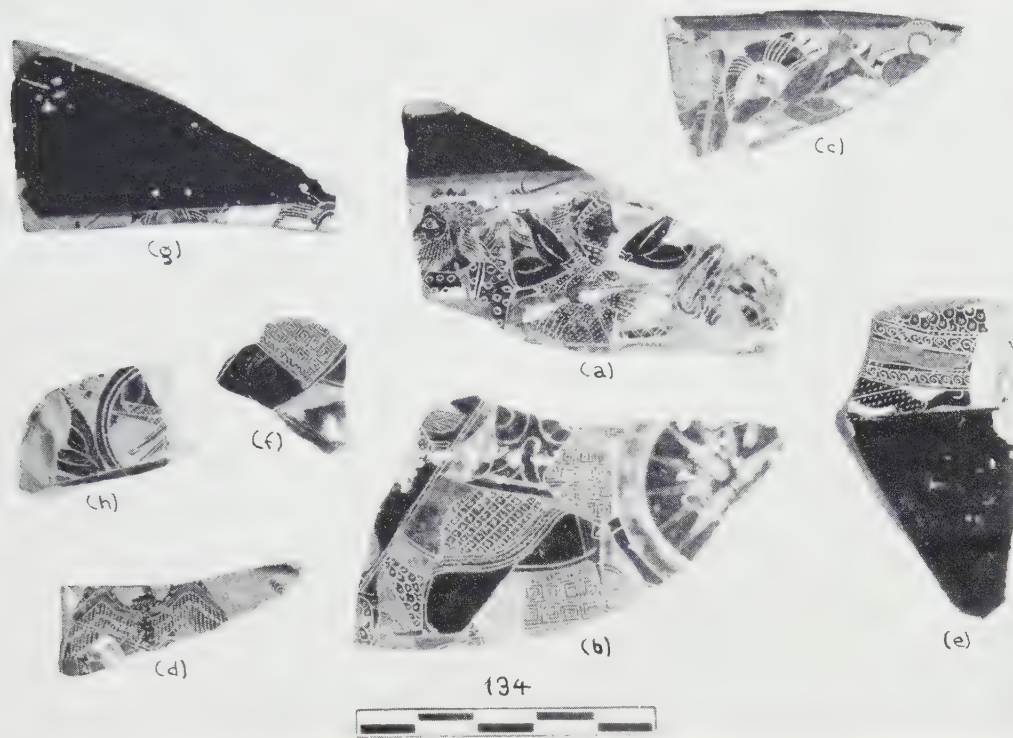


Fig. 31. Fragments from Large Band-Cup

Graef: Group XV (lip less sharply offset)

134. (A-P 1953 *a*, 2040 *b*, 2033 *c*, 1643 *d*, 1635 *e*, 2192 *f*, 1891 *g*, 2119 *h*; Well A)
Fig. 31

Thickness at top of design zone, 0.005 m.; at bottom, 0.007 m.

Eight fragments from a large band-cup found at various depths in Well A. On the exterior the glaze is thin and brownish, and on the interior greenish black. The clay has been fired gray on the lower part of *e*, but elsewhere is pinkish. Color is liberally used, and even yellow is found. The preservation is good, although the white has partly disappeared from the face and arms of Artemis and from the garment of Dionysos on *a*. Purple: on *a* the leaves of Dionysos' garland, Artemis' quiver and belt, and the quiver of the warrior to right; on *b* the greaves of the warriors, the shield rims, and the belt of the female figure in the background; on *c* the helmets of the male figure to left and of the female figure in the center, the lower member of the crest-holder of her helmet, and the crest of the male figure to right; on *d* the sleeve of the female figure on the left

and a stripe on the wing of the bird; on *e* a stripe across the lower border of the garment and dots in alternate rows of the garment's scales; and on *g* the crest-holder of the helmet in the center. White: the female flesh surfaces, small dot borders on the edges of the garments, shields, helmets, and greaves; on *a* dots in the incised circles of Dionysos' panther skin; on *b* a strap on the inside of the shield and the ray pattern on the shield on the right; on *c* the crest-holder of the female figure in the center, the sleeve of the male figure to right, and the stones in the outstretched arms of the figures on the left; on *d* dots on the wings of the bird; on *g* the crest-holder of the helmet on the right and a blur over the right end of the fragment, apparently dislodged from the crest-holder. Yellow: the inset in the neck of Dionysos' panther skin.

The subject appears to be a gigantomachy. None of the fragments can be connected, although all preserve a little of the scene. Only two of the figures can be definitely identified: Dionysos and Artemis on *a*. Dionysos, clad in a panther skin and wearing a garland, is fighting with a spear to left. Next to him, but facing to right is Artemis clad in a lion skin and drawing her bow as on the Lydos dinos from the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, I, 607, pl. 35, t). The male figure to right is probably Apollo, as his long hair and proximity to Artemis suggest. This representation of Dionysos fighting along with the Olympian gods appears to be one of the earliest examples of his full association with them (cf. Kraiker, "Eine Lekythos des Amasis im Kerameikos," *Ath. Mitt.*, LIX, 1934, pp. 23-24). On *b* is more of the battle, with a warrior striding to right against a foe whose shield with a petal design appears on the right edge of the fragment. In the background is part of the skirt of a female figure, and on the left part of a skirt with a scale pattern; across the second skirt are the greaves of a warrior to right. A shield in profile with an incised bird as emblem is on the left edge, and behind that another shield with its interior turned outward. The press of battle is too thick to determine to whom the shields belong. The other fragments preserve even briefer snatches of the scene. On *c* are parts of four combatants, one of whom (the female figure in the center) appears to be falling. The warriors on the left holding stones in their extended arms are probably giants. On *d* in the foreground is a bird, and on the right edge the head of a small snake which may indicate the proximity of Athena. On *e* is the lower part of a figure to left, and the end of the bellows of Herakles (such is the interpretation of the similarly incised object on Acropolis, I, 2134 b [Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 94]; cf. Rhomaios, *ὁ Ἡφαιστος ἐπὶ τῆς Γιγαντομαχίας τοῦ Θησαύρου τῶν Κνιδίων*, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1908, pp. 247 f.). On *f* are the thighs of a male figure striding to right, beneath him a shield; on *g* are parts of two helmet-crests, and on the left a male hand grasping a spear shaft; on *h* are a part of a shield and, on the left, a male arm.

The motive of a gigantomachy was used on another large band-cup from the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, I, 1632, pl. 84), but its style is different from that of this piece, which finds a close parallel in a fragmentary neck-amphora with the same theme (Graef-Langlotz, I, 2211, pl. 94). The stance of Dionysos is the same on each, with the spear shaft cutting across the face at the same point (this is not shown in the reproduction in Graef-Langlotz). Their costumes are identical, a panther skin with a V-shaped opening filled with yellow. Its spots are indicated by incised circles filled with white. The same form is used on each to indicate the elbow and knee joints (compare the elbows on *a* with that on 2211 *g*, and the knee on *b* with those on 2211 *d*). These forms are also used by Phrynos (cf. the figure of Herakles on the cup London B 424 [*J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pl. V]). The details of armor and drapery are rendered with a painstaking attention that recalls the François vase, although No. 134 falls far short of that vase in neatness of execution. The date, as Graef suggests for no. 2211, is shortly before the middle of the sixth century. Thus the painter appears to be an imitator of the Kleitian style.

135. (A-P 2293 *a*, 1869 *b*, and 1834 *c*; *a* from Well E and *b-c* from Well A) Fig. 32

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.075 m.; *b*, 0.046 m.; *c*, 0.044 m.

Three fragments of a very large band-cup similar in size to the preceding item. Fragment *a* preserves the stub of the handle. The streaky glaze on the interior of the fragments and their uniform style indicate that they are from the same cup. Purple: on *b* the border of the garment on the thigh of the figure wearing the animal skin; on *c* the drapery. White: on *b* the rim and emblem of the shield, dots on the border of the garment of the figure on the right, and traces on the skin worn by the other figure.

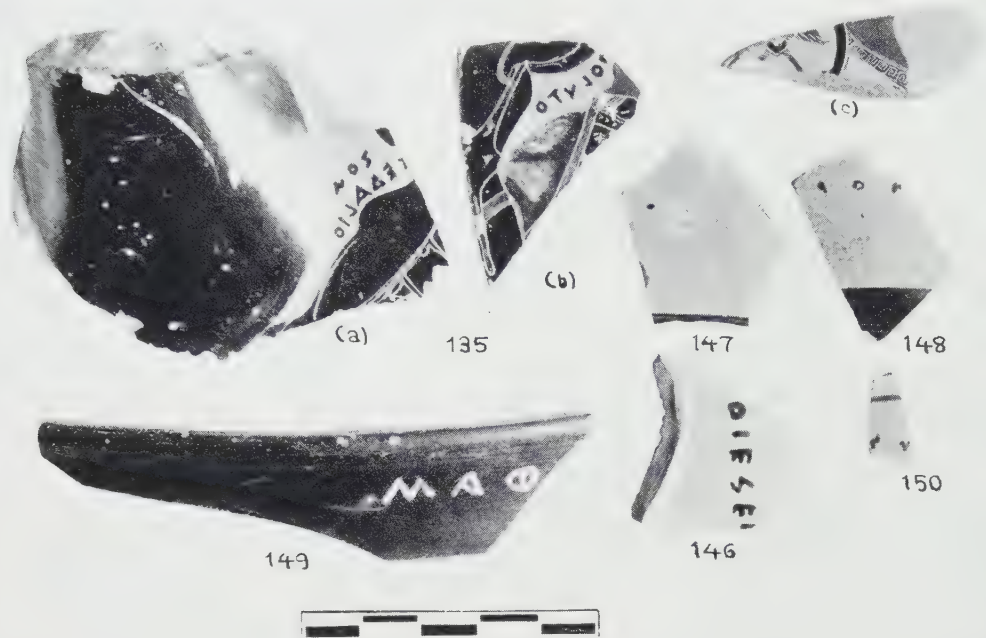


Fig. 32. Fragments from Little-Master Cups

On *a* are the upper parts of the legs and the lower torso of a nude male figure apparently striding to right. Written between the figure and the handle is a name in the genitive case: ΚΕΔΑΛΙΟΝΟΣ. Fragment *b* preserves parts of two figures: on the right a warrior with helmet and shield; on the left a thigh, the torso, and parts of the upraised arms of a figure wearing an animal's skin. Written between the figures is the name [ΗΙ]ΠΟΛΥΤΟ. On *c* is the lower part of a figure climbing into a winged chariot. Kedalion is known as the name of the teacher of Hephaistos (cf. Roscher, *Griechische und Römische Mythologie*, s. v. Kedalion); Hephaistos directed him to help the blinded Orion when Orion applied for aid.

136. (A-P 1605 and 1967 [= *a*], 2158 [= *b*], and 1925 [= *c*]; Well A) Fig. 30

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.041 m.; *b*, 0.019 m.; *c*, 0.021 m.

Three fragments from the handle zone of a small band-cup. Purple: on *a* the hair, beard, and circles around the nipples of the bearded figure and the hair of the other figure; on *b* the hair of the figure on the left and stripes on the drapery; on *c* a patch at the lower edge of the drapery.

Wrestling scene (?). On *a* are the head and shoulders of a bearded figure to right with his arms outstretched toward a youth on the right. On *b* are the upper parts of two spectators to left, each of whom holds a staff. Fragment *c* apparently completes the body of the spectator on the left and preserves the legs of a youth in front. Careful workmanship of the early third quarter of the sixth century.

137. (A-P 2178, Well A) Fig. 30

Greatest dimension, 0.025 m.

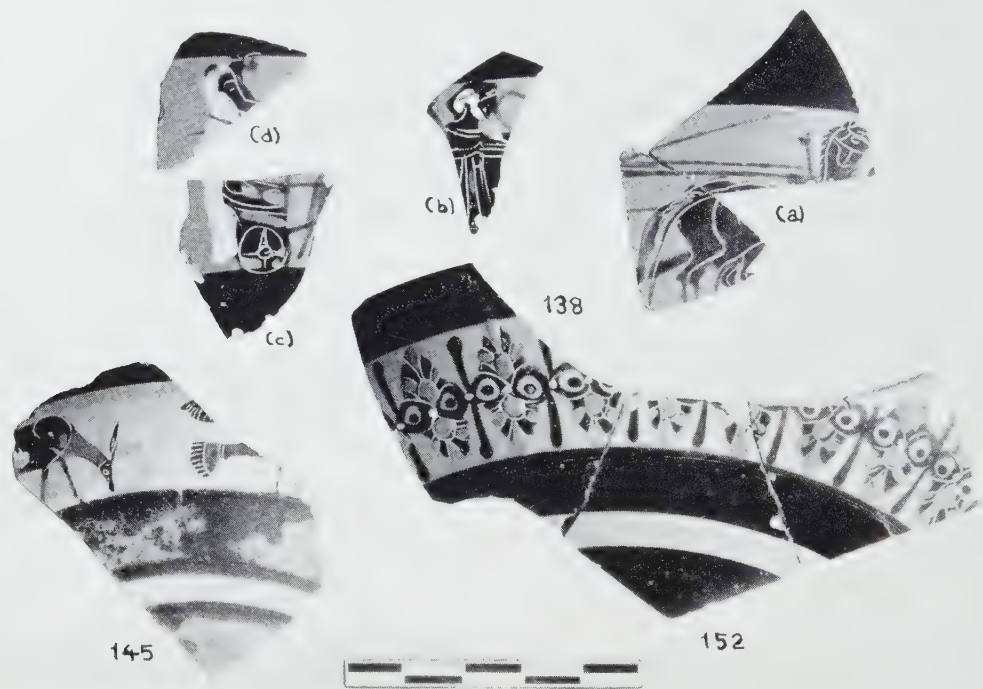


Fig. 33. Fragments from Band-Cups

Fragment from the handle zone. Purple: the hair, beard, and the center of Hermes' cloak, as well as the skirt and dots on the upper garment of the seated figure. White: traces of a dot border on Hermes' cloak.

Hermes, holding a kerykeion in his right hand is approaching a seated figure, probably Zeus. The object above the left shoulder of Hermes appears to be a blot. For the subject compare London B 379 (*C.V.A.*, Br. Mus., 3, III H e, pl. 8, 2 b).

138. (A-P 2108 and 2165 [= *a*], 1700 [= *b*], 2112 [= *c*], and 1668 [= *d*]; Well A) Fig. 33

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.057 m.; *b*, 0.031 m.; *c*, 0.033 m.; *d*, 0.032 m.

Four fragments from the handle zone. The glaze on the exterior is greenish. Purple: on *a* the tail and mane of the outer horse; on *b* a stripe on the drapery and the hair fillet; on *c* the car

of the chariot; on *d* the belt of the charioteer. White: on *b* the dot rosettes on the drapery; on *c* the chiton of the charioteer. Dilute glaze is used for the accessories of the chariots and the tails of the horses.

Chariot procession. On *a* are the heads and the haunches of the horses facing right and on *b* is a charioteer holding the reins. On the left are the nose and eye of a second figure and on the right the rim of the chariot. On *c* are the car of a chariot, the horses' tails, and the lower part of the charioteer. On *d* is the upper part of a charioteer, possibly of that on *c*. The workmanship is careless and the piece is later than the preceding examples.

139. (A-P 880) Fig. 30

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.18 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the neck and a stripe on the haunch of the panther.

A panther to right. Animals are a common motive on hand-cups, usually arranged in groups of three with panthers on the outside.

140. (A-P 2130 and 2152, Well A) Fig. 30

Greatest dimension, 0.044 m.

Fragment from the handle zone. Purple: the hair fillet, beard, and drapery. White: the female flesh surface.

The head of a male figure to right, holding a staff or spear, and facing him on the right, a female figure with one arm held upward.

141. (A-P 2373, Well E) Fig. 30

Greatest dimension, 0.03 m.

Fragment from the handle zone. Purple: the beard and hair of the satyr.

The head, torso, and arms of a satyr to left.

Graef: Group XVII

142. (A-P 1611, Well A) Fig. 30

Greatest dimension, 0.031 m.

Fragment from the handle zone. Purple: the mane, collar, and the chest muscles of the horses.

A quadriga in facing view. Only the chests of two horses and part of the drapery of a figure behind them are preserved. The object between the horses is obscure. The drawing is similar to a cup in the Louvre (F 81; *C.V.A.*, Louvre, 9, III H e, pl. 83, 6).

143. (A-P 2181, Well A) Fig. 30

Greatest dimension, 0.03 m.

Fragment from the handle zone. Purple: the tail of one horse. White: the chiton of the charioteer.

A quadriga to right. Only the edge of the charioteer's chiton, part of the car, and the hind-quarters of the horses are preserved. The style is similar to that of the last example, but, since the fabric is thinner, this fragment is from a different cup.

144. (A-P 2270) Fig. 30

Greatest dimension, 0.036 m.

Fragment from the side. Shiny black glaze. Purple: the hair, beard, and dots on the drapery. Theft of the tripod. Herakles, his head turned to left, grasps the tripod by one leg and wields his club in his left hand. In the background are tendrils and dots.

Graef: Group XVIII

145. (A-P 1812, Well A) Fig. 33

Greatest dimension, 0.054 m.

Fragment from the handle zone. Purple: the neck of the deer and the tail of the bird.

A deer and bird to right. Preserved are the wing, tail, and legs of the bird and the forepart of the deer. Careful workmanship.

Graef: Group XXI (cup fragments with inscriptions)

146. (A-P 1926, Well A) Fig. 32

Greatest dimension, 0.032 m.

Fragment from the side under the handle of a band-cup. The signature, of which [ΕΠ]ΟΙΕΞΕΝ alone remains, is written at the handle as is that on the Glaukytes cup in London (*C.V.A.*, Br. Mus., 2, III H e, pl. 18, 1). The parallel was suggested by Beazley.

147. (A-P 2204, Well A) Fig. 32

Greatest dimension, 0.034 m.

Fragment from the lip of a lip-cup. Two letters of the dedicatory inscription, perhaps from the word [Α]ΘΕ[ΝΑΙΑΙ], are scratched carelessly on the lip (cf. *Acropolis*, I, 1756; Graef-Langlotz, I, text, p. 182).

148. (A-P 1956, Well A) Fig. 32

Greatest dimension, 0.03 m.

Fragment from the handle zone of a band-cup. The letters of the inscription [ΗΙ]ΕΡΟΝ are badly written in glaze on the handle zone (cf. *Acropolis*, I, 1742; Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 86).

149. (A-P 2035, Well A) Fig. 32

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.20 m.

Fragment from the rim with the stub of the handle in the lower left corner. On the lip three letters of an inscription, ΜΑΘ, are written in white paint

150. (A-P 2127, Well A) Fig. 32

Greatest dimension, 0.015 m.

Fragment from the handle zone. Two letters of an inscription, ΝΥ, are written in dilute glaze.

Graef: Group XXIII (cups with an inner design)

151. (A-P 2414, Well D) Fig. 30

Greatest dimension, 0.034 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: alternate tongues of the tongue band, and the feathers in the tail of the cock. White: the feathers of the tail across that of the cock.

In the center is the tail of a cock with the tail of a hen across it. The central design is surrounded by a double row of dots and a tongue band.

Graef: Group XXVI ("floral Band-Cups")

152. (A-P 1771, Well A) Fig. 33

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.16 m.

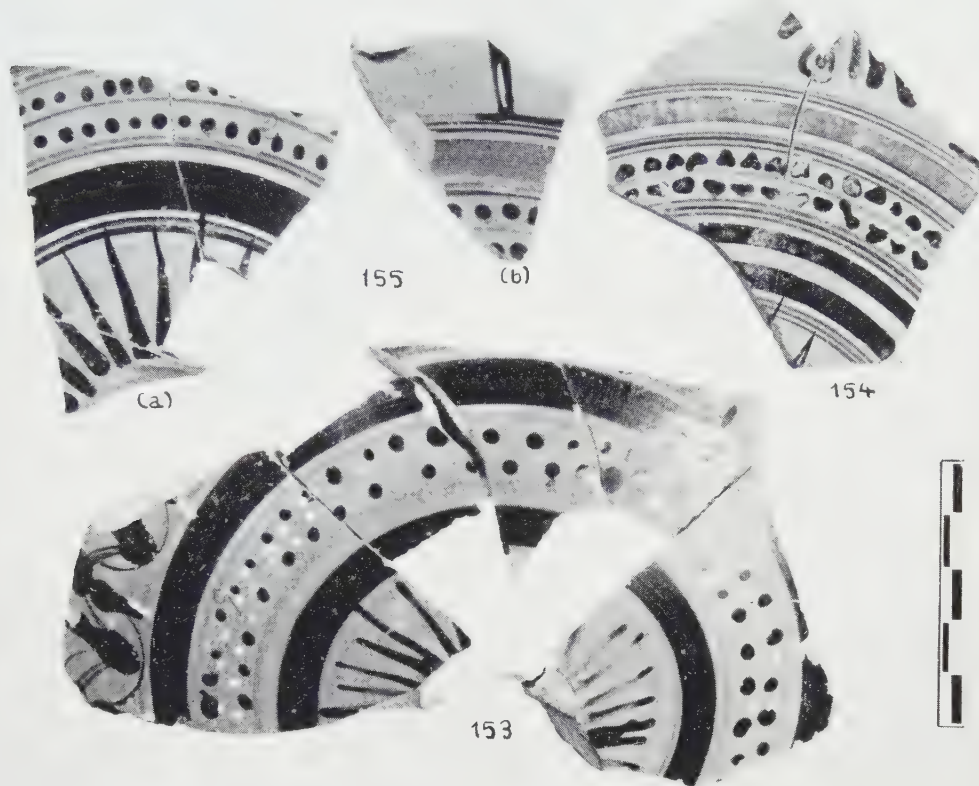


Fig. 34. Fragments from Droop Cups

Fragment from the side. Purple: alternate petals and the hearts of the palmettes. White: dots between the *O*'s of the chain.

A chain of double palmettes linked by dotted *O*'s; between each pair of palmettes a leaf. The fragment belongs to a large group of band-cups decorated on the handle zone with some type of palmette chain (cf. Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, p. 189).

Graef: Group XXVII (Droop Cups)

153. (A-P 1773, Well A) Fig. 34

Greatest dimension, 0.146 m.

Fragment from the side with the beginning of the stem. White: dots on the dot band and the tips of the lotus buds.

At the bottom are rays and a double row of black and white dots. Black lines mark off the dot band. The main zone of the cup was decorated with an alternating lotus and palmette ornament. This fragment and Nos. 154-155 are from Droop Cups (cf. Ure, "Droop Cups," *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 55-71). The conventional ornament around the lower part of the body, dot bands and ivy leaves, puts them all in the "C" class (Ure, *loc. cit.*, p. 56). For the pattern on the main zone of No. 153 compare Rhitsona 31. 191 (*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1915, p. 124, fig. 16; Ure, *loc. cit.*, p. 62, no. 70; and Haspels, p. 108, who has redated grave 31 to about 500 B.C. or later).

154. (A-P 1560, Well A) Fig. 34

Greatest dimension, 0.077 m.

Fragment from the lower part of the side. Purple: a band around the lower part of the body.

At the bottom are rays and a double row of ivy leaves. Between the rays and the leaves are lines of glaze, and enclosing the whole design is a purple band. Part of a palmette is preserved in the main zone. For the pattern on the lower part of the body compare Brussels A 1580 bis (*J.H.S.*, XXX, 1910, p. 26, fig. 12 a; Ure, *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, p. 60, no. 28).

Graef: Group XXIX (Droop Cup with figured ornament)

155. (A-P 1881 A-G, Well A) Fig. 34

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.075 m.; *b*, 0.051 m.

Seven fragments from the lower part of the side (only the two largest fragments are illustrated). Purple: a band around the lower part of the body.

At the bottom are rays and a double row of dots enclosed by a purple band and lines of glaze. On *b* are preserved the front legs of a sphinx from the figured ornament of the main zone. For the type of cup see No. 153.

KYLIKES. Graef: Group XXXI (with a tondo on the interior)

156. (A-P 1876, Well A) Fig. 35

Greatest dimension, 0.057 m.

Fragment from the bottom of a stemless kylix with part of the foot preserved. Purple: the gorgon's tongue. White: its teeth. The hair curls are incised.

A gorgoneion. The motive is very frequently used as a tondo ornament on late black-figured kylikes (cf. Pease, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 270, no. 112).

157. (A-P 1860, Well A) Fig. 35

Greatest dimension, 0.052 m.

Fragment from the bottom of a kylix with a short, broad stem. At the juncture of body and stem there is a fillet with a reserved line on either side. Purple: the tongue, a dot on the nose, pupils of the eye, and alternate locks of hair. White: the teeth. The hair is treated in rolls rather than curls.

A gorgoneion (compare the preceding item).



Fig. 35. Fragments from Kylikes

158. (A-P 1782, Well A) Fig. 35

Greatest dimension, 0.044 m.

Fragment from the bottom with the beginning of the stem. There is a reserved line at the juncture of the stem and body. Purple: dots on the border of the drapery, the central part of the wing feathers, and stripes on the drapery over the breast. On the exterior of the cup are the points of an open ray pattern.

A "phallic demon" with wings. Its head and feet are missing. The motive is used on two other pieces from the Acropolis (cf. Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 90, nos. 1905-1906).

Graef: Group XXXIII (late kylikes with tendrils and dots)

159. (A-P 1784, Well A) Fig. 35

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.22 m.

Fragment from the side with one handle and the beginning of the stem preserved. White: a stripe on the dolphin's belly, dots on the club, rosettes on the drapery over Iolaos' arm, and his sword belt.

Herakles and the lion. Iolaos stands to right holding Herakles' club in his right hand and a cloak wrapped over his left arm. On the lower right is the leg of Herakles. A club and quiver are hanging above the combatants and in the background are tendrils and dots. Under the handle is a dolphin, and to the left of the handle a foot, probably of the figure the butt of whose spear shaft rests against the dolphin's head. Of the interior design (not illustrated) only the forelegs of a horse enclosed by concentric purple lines and a double row of dots are preserved.

160. (A-P 1893, Well A) Fig. 35

Greatest dimension, 0.025 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the hair.

A male head to left. There are tendrils and dots in the background. The drawing of the head is similar to that on No. 195.

161. (A-P 2187 *a-b*, Well A) Fig. 35

Greatest dimensions, *a*, 0.037 m.; *b*, 0.029 m.

Two fragments from the side of a white-ground kylix. The ground is discolored. Purple: the beard, stripes on the drapery of the mounted figure, and the mane of the mule.

On *a* is a mounted figure to right and on *b* the hind legs of the animal. There are tendrils and dots in the background. Possibly it is Dionysos on his mule, a common scene on late black-figured vases.

162. (A-P 1809, Well A) Fig. 35

Greatest dimension, 0.086 m.

Fragment from the side.

The legs and hindquarters of a mule to right; in front of the animal are the legs and the drapery of a figure. In the background are tendrils and dots, and on the left a bunch of grapes. It is probably some type of Bacchic scene.

UNCLASSIFIED CUPS

163. (A-P 1622, Well A) Fig. 35

Greatest dimension, 0.05 m.

Fragment from the lower part of the side. Purple: the mane of the horse, the hair fillet of the rider and a stripe on his drapery. White: the objects to right and left of the rider.

The head and shoulders of a mounted figure facing right and the whisker fringe of a gorgon enclosed by three lines. The fragment is from an unusual type of kylix with zone decoration on the interior (see No. 3, *supra*, and Pease, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 270-271, no. 115).

164. (A-P 2118, Well A) Fig. 35

Greatest dimension, 0.049 m.

Fragment from the side. White: the centers of the lotus buds on the interior.

On the exterior (not illustrated) is a palmette band, the palmettes of which are separated by single leaves. On the interior are lotus buds radiating from the center and linked by lines as on Group III of the Acropolis omphalos cups in Six's technique (cf. Graef-Langlotz, II, pp. 104 f.).

LIDS

165. (A-P 1189 *a* and 2224 *b*, the latter from Well B) Fig. 36

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.049 m.; *b*, 0.052 m.

Two fragments of a lekanis lid. Fragment *a* was found in 1937 in modern fill above the cutting Y-Z (for the cutting cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 170-171), from which it may have come, thus indicating that Y-Z and Well B were filled at about the same time. Purple: the hair fillet and the pupil of the eye on *a*. White: the stripes on the brow and nose of the panther on *b*. The interior is glazed and decorated with two purple lines.

On *a* are part of a female head probably of a sphinx to right and the loop of a tail (?). On *b* are a panther's head facing and part of a tail (?). The decoration apparently consisted of an animal frieze like that on a lid found in the Agora (Inv. No. P 1238; Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 398-399, no. 33, fig. 35).

166. (A-P 2041, Well A) Fig. 36

Greatest dimension, 0.068 m.

Fragment from a lekanis lid. Purple: alternate tongues on the tongue band (except on the left where the painter seems to have miscalculated, as there are two black tongues together), alternate petals of the rosettes, and traces on the wing. White: brow, stripe on the nose and spots on the neck of the panther. The interior is glazed and decorated with two purple lines.

At the top is a band of rays and in the main zone an animal frieze. They are separated by a band of tongue ornament. Preserved are the head, neck, and part of the tail of a panther, two rosette fillers, and, on the left, the top of a wing. A similarly drawn panther is found on another lid fragment which comes from the Acropolis and is attributed to Sakonides (Prov. no. 508; fragment *b* is reproduced in Rumpf, *Sakonides*, pl. 17 c; for the attribution, Rumpf, *op. cit.*, p. 25, no. 40). The rosettes on our fragment are much more carelessly drawn. The head of the panther is preserved on fragment *a* of the Acropolis piece.

167. (A-P 2231, Well B) Fig. 36

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.22 m.

Fragment from the edge of a lekanis lid. Purple: a line on the inner and outer edge of the rim and stripes on the haunch of the sphinx. The interior is glazed and decorated with two purple lines at the curve of the shoulder.

The hindquarters and one front leg of a sphinx sitting to right. Between its legs are three dots as filling-ornament. The treatment of hind legs and tail is similar to that of the sphinxes on the neck-amphora Munich 1446 (Rumpf, *Sakonides*, p. 26, no. 58 and pl. 5, h).



Fig. 36. Fragments from Lids

168. (A-P 1821, Well A) Fig. 36

Estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.11 m.

Fragment from the edge of a lekanis lid. Purple: a stripe along the wing and one across the tail of the bird. The interior of the lid is reserved.

The lid was decorated with an animal frieze. Preserved are part of a bird with outstretched wings and the haunches and tail of a feline. Between them is a spot of glaze which might be interpreted as a badly drawn bird (see No. 194, *infra*).

169. (A-P 1559, Well A) Fig. 36

Greatest dimension, 0.053 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the hair and beards of the figures.

Around the center are rays divided from the figured decoration of the main zone by a band of tongue ornament. Of the figured decoration only two male heads facing in opposite directions remain. Careful workmanship of the middle of the sixth century.

170. (A-P 2065, Well A) Fig. 36

Estimated diameter of rim, *ca.* 0.12 m.

Fragment from the edge of a lekanis lid. Purple: the border and the central stripe of the skirt. White: traces on the foot and a rosette of the drapery.

Along the shoulder is a broad stripe of glaze between two lines. The foot and the edge of the skirt of a female figure to left. Careful workmanship of the third quarter of the sixth century.

171. (A-P 1550, Well A) Fig. 36

Greatest dimension, 0.05 m.

Fragment from the side of a lid (?). Purple: the chiton of the second figure from the left and dots on the fold over the arm of the third figure from the left. White: the flesh of the second figure on the left, the foot on the right edge of the fragment, and dots on the borders of the drapery. The interior is glazed and decorated with two purple lines.

A procession of male and female figures to the left and, below them, the tips of lotus buds. The decoration is unusual for a lid; it is possible that the piece comes from a cup, although it is unusually thick.

172. (A-P 1645, Well A) Fig. 36

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.09 m.

Fragment from the side. There is a line of black glaze around the outer edge of the lid, and near the edge are two triangular holes. The interior is reserved.

A combat scene. A mounted warrior and a hoplite in rapid motion to right. The hoplite holds his shield out behind him for protection and a sword sheath projects beneath his leg. The composition probably ran continuously around the lid as on some band-cups (cf. *C.V.A.*, Louvre, 9, III H e, pl. 81, 7-8).

173. (A-P 2415, Well D) Fig. 36

Diameter, 0.113 m.

A plemochoe lid with the handle and part of the side missing. The lower surface is reserved and smoothly finished. The upper surface is neatly decorated around the handle with a band of tongue ornament, composed of alternately black and purple tongues, enclosed by three dilute glaze

lines. The edge of the lid is bordered with a dot maeander which is also enclosed by three lines of dilute glaze. The ridge at the base of the handle and the lines around the central and outer bands of ornament are purple. A lid in Providence (*C.V.A.*, Providence, 1, III H d, pl. 26, 2) is similar except that it uses no purple lines. For a discussion of the shape and the name plemochoe compare Richter and Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, pp. 21-22.

174. (A-P 1799, Well A) Fig. 36

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.10 m.

Fragment of a high conical lid with a projecting shoulder. The interior is reserved.

The side of the lid is decorated with a chain of lotus buds; above this and separated from it by three lines of glaze is a net pattern. The projecting shoulder has a row of palmettes placed on a chain of *O*'s and divided by single upright purple leaves. The black spots on the palmettes and on the net pattern are blots of glaze.

175. (A-P 2031, Well A) Fig. 36

Estimated diameter *ca.* 0.13 m.

Fragment from the edge of a flat lid. The outer edge is designed to fit over a projecting flange. The lower surface is glazed.

The upper surface is decorated with concentric bands of glaze and on the edge is a maeander.

176. (A-P 1946, Well A) Fig. 36

Greatest dimension, 0.077 m.

Fragment from the side. The clay is red and hard, and is apparently Attic. At the top the arch of the lid is flattened. The interior is reserved and roughly finished.

The upper surface is decorated with broad, alternate purple and white bands; at each edge of the white band is a narrow purple line.

SMALL VASES GLAZED ON THE INTERIOR

177. (A-P 2080, Well A) Fig. 39

Greatest dimension, 0.056 m.

Fragment from the side of a thin-walled, beaker-like vase. The glaze on the interior is greenish. The interior is decorated with two purple lines.

Two very badly drawn horses in facing view. Their chests are elongated and their legs crowded together. The drawing on Acropolis 2580 is somewhat similar (Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 252, pl. 109; its Attic origin is questioned by Langlotz).

178. (A-P 1656 *a-b*, Well A) Fig. 39

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.12 m.

Two fragments from the rim of a kyathos. The glaze is excellent. Purple: the outlines of the inner squares of the maeander pattern. Both fragments have traces of the handle attachment. The rim pattern is on a white ground.

On the rim is a maeander pattern. In alternating keys of the maeander are a star and a square.

179. (A-P 1513 *a-b* and 2501 *c*, Well A) Fig. 39

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.024 m.; *b*, 0.013 m.; *c*, 0.021 m.

Three fragments from the side of a kyathos (only *a* is illustrated). The glaze is excellent. The rim pattern is on a white ground.

On the rim is a double row of ivy leaves set along a single line.

180. (A-P 2098 *a-b*, Well A) Fig. 39

Width, 0.017 m.

Two fragments of a kyathos handle (only one is illustrated). The glaze is excellent.

The upper surface of the handle is slightly concave and is decorated with a plastic palmette. There are a number of kyathoi reproduced in Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 118.

SMALL VASES UNGLAZED ON THE INTERIOR

181. (A-P 1980, Well A) Fig. 37

Greatest dimension, 0.045 m.

Fragment from the side of a thick-walled vase. The curve of the side is pronounced and enough of the bottom is preserved to indicate that it was rounded like that of a Corinthian aryballos. The glaze is discolored. Purple: alternate petals of the rosettes; a stripe along the belly, neck, and chest of the horse. Around the bottom is a band of dot ornament marked off by two lines.

A man is leading a very stocky horse to right. Only his leg and a small part of his body are preserved. The shape resembles that of a round-bodied Corinthian aryballos. Attic potters imitated both the shape of Early Corinthian "C" aryballoi (cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 201; and *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, p. 204 and p. 207, fig. 7) and the rounded shape of Corinthian ware of the middle of the sixth century (cf. Beazley, "Aryballos," *B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927-1928, pp. 200-204; and Richter, *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, pp. 272 f.). Accordingly it is not unlikely that both this fragment and No. 182 are from Attic imitations of the Corinthian shape from the intervening period, as their style suggests.

182. (A-P 2099, Well A) Fig. 37

Greatest dimension, 0.041 m.

Fragment from the side of the same type of vase as the preceding item. Purple: a stripe on the wings of the birds. White: the edge of the wings.

A bird flying to right; on the left is the wing of another bird.

183. (A-P 1958, Well A) Fig. 37

Greatest dimension, 0.051 m.

Fragment from the side of a curving, thick-walled vase which is larger than the two preceding examples. The glaze is dull black. Purple: the border of the cloak of the central figure.

Three elongated draped figures in a row to left. This fragment and Nos. 184-185 appear to belong to vessels of the type of Acropolis nos. 2266-2268 (cf. Graef-Langlotz, I, p. 226 and pl. 96). The Acropolis type has a small offset foot, which is the only essential difference between it and the shape of Nos. 181-182.

184. (A-P 2289, Well E) Fig. 37

Greatest dimension, 0.05 m.

Fragment from the side of a vase of the same type as the preceding item.

The legs of a nude male figure with a staff, and behind him the neck and legs of a horse,

both to right. Between the horse and the man is the name, ΤΕΛΕΤΟΣ, written vertically, the edges of the letters incised. It is apparently the genitive case of the name Teles, which is known both as a personal name and, in mythology, as the name of a son of Herakles by Lysidike (cf.



Fig. 37. Fragments of Small Black-Figured Vases

Roscher, *Griechische und Römische Mythologie*, s.v. Teles). It seems unlikely that an obscure personage from mythology would be represented on such a trifling vase; it might possibly be the name of the owner of the vessel.

185. (A-P 897) Fig. 37

Greatest dimension, 0.044 m.

Fragment from the side of a vase of the same type as the preceding item. Purple: a stripe on the haunch of the deer.

The body of a deer to right and on the shoulder, the glaze around the beginning of the handle.

186. (A-P 2034 and 1905 [=a], 2034 B [=b], 2484 and 1582 [=c], and 2034 C [=d]; Well A) Fig. 38

Estimated diameter of neck, *ca.* 0.07 m.

Three fragments from the shoulder and one from the side of a thin-walled, globular vase. At the base of the neck there is a reserved ridge. Purple: on *a* hair, beard, alternate leaves of the garland, and the hair fillet; on *b* alternate stripes of the turban-like headdress and on the drapery; on *c* stripes on the drapery; and on *d* hair and beard. White: on *c* traces on the feet and arms of the figure at the foot of the couch, the palmette on the leg of the couch, and the bread at the end of the table. The four fragments are from different parts of the vase and together are equal to more than half its circumference. Accordingly, the design must have run almost or completely around the whole body. Possibly it is an oinochoe with a very round body such as that figured by Guarducci (*Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, p. 54, fig. 2).

Symposium. On the shoulder of the vase are two black bands. On *a* is the upper part of a male figure reclining on one elbow, his knees drawn up. On the right is an edge of drapery. On *b* are the head, knee, and hand of a male figure reclining to the left and wearing a turban-like headdress. His hand is outstretched, as if in expostulation, toward a male figure opposite him. Of this figure only the knee covered by a clenched hand is preserved. On *c* are the draped legs of a figure reclining to left on a couch, beneath which is a table bearing bread and meat. At the foot of the couch stands a female figure holding out a wreath, and at the left edge of the fragment is the draped leg of a male figure facing left. On *d* are the head and shoulders of a male figure facing left. In the background on all the fragments are tendrils and dots.

There is a difference in quality between the heads and the drapery. It is so great that it almost appears as if a different hand drew the drapery. The quality and the drawing of the heads are like those on the oinochoe by Kleisophos in Athens (cf. *C.V.A.*, Athens, 1, III H g, pl. 2, 1-3). The use of the turban-like headdress by men on both vases also points to such a connection, and the subject, a symposium, is used frequently on the group of stamnoi associated with Kleisophos (Furtwängler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1893, p. 85, no. 17; but cf. also Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, p. 63, no. 326).

187. (A-P 2149 and 2473 [=a] and 2445 [=b]; *a* from Well A and *b* from Well D) Fig. 37

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.047 m.; *b*, 0.027 m.

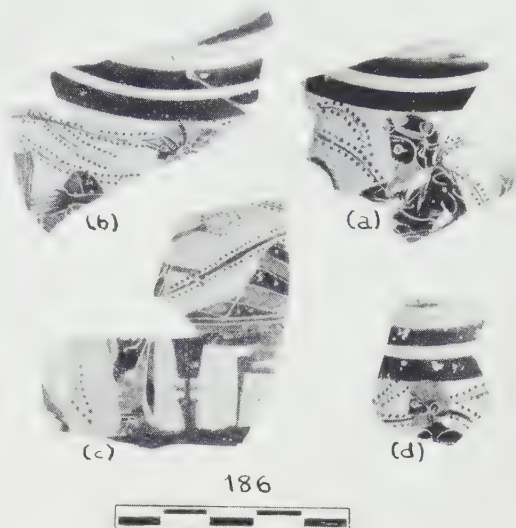


Fig. 38. Fragments of a Small Black-Figured Vase

Two fragments from the side of a thin-walled vase, possibly an oinochoe. Purple: stripe on the drapery. White: traces on the arm.

A female figure stands before a loom. On *a* an arm stretched up to the edge of the cloth on

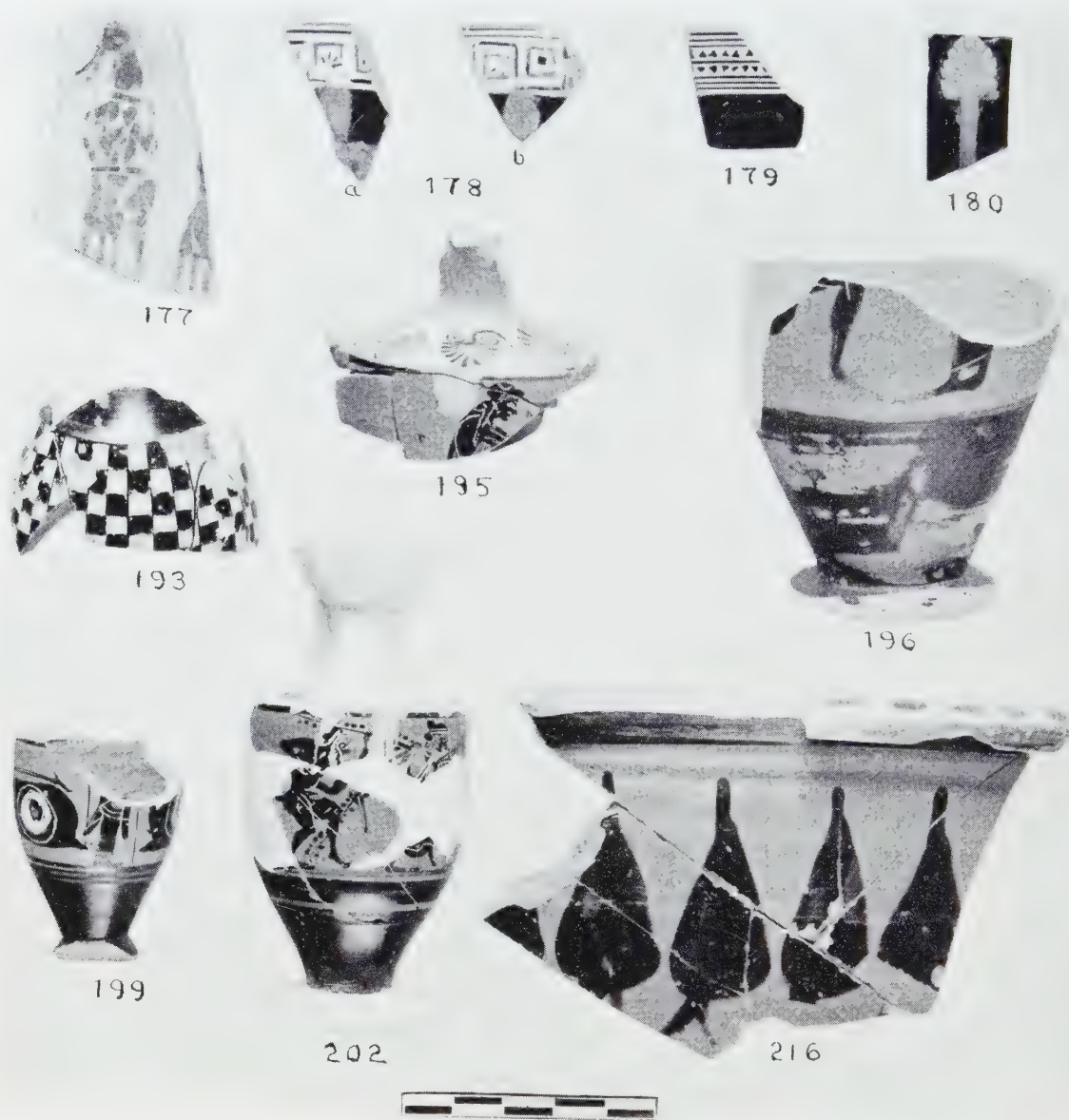


Fig. 39. Fragments of Black-Figured Vases

the loom; on *b* part of the waist of the weaving figure and a cannon of the loom. The weaving is being done from top to bottom, as on other representations of the process. For a discussion of weaving compare *A Guide to Greek and Roman Life*, British Museum, 1929, pp. 135-136.

188. (A-P 1798 and 2164 [=a], 1913 [=b]; Well A) Fig. 37

Greatest dimensions, *a*, 0.075 m.; *b*, 0.03 m.

Two fragments from an oinochoe. The glaze is discolored and the paint worn. Purple: on *b* stripes on the drapery, the hair, and the beard of the figure. White: traces on the face of Athena.

Athena and Dionysos. On *a* Dionysos sits on the left wearing a wreath and holding a drinking horn, while Athena sits opposite holding a shield and spear. On *b* is the upper part of a satyr who probably stood behind Athena. There is a similar scene on an oinochoe found on the North Slope in 1937 (cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 174, fig. 11, A. P. 1047, and p. 175, no. 3).

189. (A-P 2053, Well A) Fig. 37

Greatest dimension, 0.041 m.

Fragment from the side of a thin-walled vase. Purple: chiton of Herakles and stripes on the drapery of the other figure.

The lower part of Herakles seated to right with one paw of his lion skin hanging over his leg. Opposite him is an edge of drapery.

190. (A-P 1593, Well A) Fig. 37

Greatest dimension, 0.026 m.

Fragment from the side of a small vase. Purple: a stripe on the belly of the animal.

The hand of a figure grasping the leg of an animal (?). Possibly it is Herakles throwing the boar into the well.

191. (A-P 1257) Fig. 37

Greatest dimension, 0.037 m.

Fragment from the shoulder. The scar left by the handle is visible on the top edge.

The upper arm of a male figure on the right and part of an inscription on the left. The preserved letters are: ΑΟΛΤ.

ALABASTRA

192. (A-P 1897, Well A) Fig. 40

Diameter at bottom, 0.048 m.

The lower part of a white-ground alabastron. The entire upper part is restored. The surface is very worn.

The body is decorated with a net pattern of which every other vertical row is filled with glaze. Near the bottom are a zone of rays and a wavy line, both zones bounded by three horizontal lines. The bottom is reserved and around the edge the inscription *ἡ παῖς χαί[ρ]ετ* is written. The feminine is used less frequently than the masculine in greetings of this type (cf. Robinson and Fluck, *Greek Love Names*, p. v; for the third person cf. Beazley, "Some Inscriptions on Vases—



Fig. 40. Alabastron

II," *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, pp. 363 f.). The net pattern is common on white-ground alabastra of the Emporion Painter (cf. Haspels, p. 263, nos. 18-20), but the patterns are drawn more carelessly on his pieces, which may be indicative of a later date.

193. (A-P 2193, Well A) Fig. 39

Diameter at shoulder, 0.039 m.

Fragment from the shoulder. The ground is buff. The shoulder is offset, and the neck, so far as it is preserved, is glazed.

The top of the body (at least) was decorated with a chequer pattern. The shape of the shoulder is paralleled by Acropolis, I, 2277 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 96).

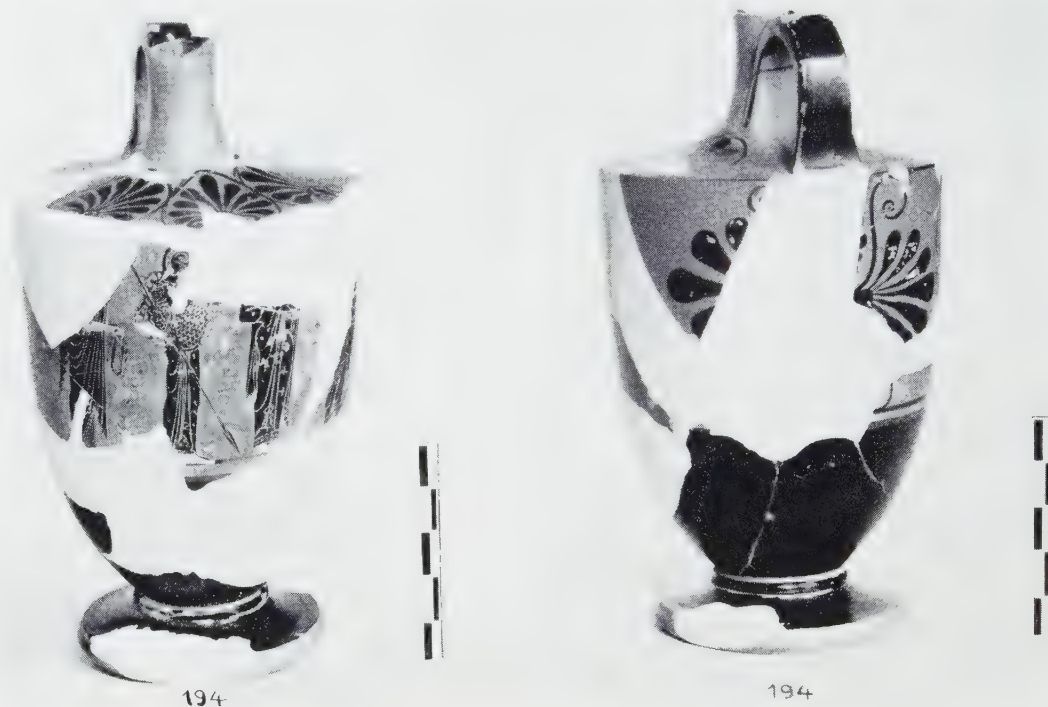


Fig. 41. Black-Figured Lekythos

LEKYTHOI

In this section the approximately chronological arrangement has been abandoned to give precedence to the more important pieces and to those which have connections with the groups established by Miss Haspels in her *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*.

194. (A-P 1665, Well A) Fig. 41

Height, 0.142 m.; diameter at shoulder, 0.08 m.; at foot, 0.057 m.

The mouth, much of the upper and lower portions of the body, and small fragments of the shoulder and foot are missing. The surface is worn and discolored, so that the purple has faded

to a dull, flat hue and the white has partly disappeared. The glaze is thin and in places brownish and chipped. Dilute glaze is used for the inscriptions, the snakes of Athena's aegis, and the ground-line below the design. Purple: the central stripe of Hera's cloak, dots in Athena's skirt, alternate stripes of Aphrodite's cloak, and a narrow band at the top of the lower glazed part of the vase. White: the flesh surfaces of the goddesses and dots in Aphrodite's cloak. The neck and edge of the foot are unglazed. At the top along the shoulder is a line of black glaze.

The body of the lekythos is a short, broad cylinder with a sharp shoulder and sides that fall almost straight to the point where they begin to curve in gently toward the fillet, which separates the body from the torus foot. The slope from neck to shoulder edge is very slight. In shape the lekythos is very close to Delos no. 547 (*Délos*, X², *Les Vases de l'Héraion*, pl. 39; hereafter cited *Délos*, X²), which is placed by Haspels in the early Leagros period (Haspels, p. 43). Our vase is probably to be dated a little later, for its neck is inset and its sides are less straight.

The shoulder decoration consists of five palmettes radially arranged and framed by tendrils running from their volutes. The frames touch each other, but are not joined. In the space between the first and second palmettes from the right there is a badly drawn bird (cf. the alabastron Tübingen E 48 in Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, pl. 21; and Haspels, p. 118, note 1). A similar one probably appeared between the other palmettes, as indicated by a wing preserved between the second and third. This system of shoulder palmettes is unlike those noticed by Haspels (Haspels, p. 80) and indicates, as does the shape, a date before definite groups of lekythoi were formed.

Palmettes were also used to decorate the back of the body. Two are placed horizontally, base to base, with long tendrils running from the volutes up to the shoulder and down to the ground-line of the design. The volutes on the right of the handle are larger than those on the left. Of the central part of the design, directly under the handle, only the tips of four leaves of an upright palmette are preserved. Ornament on the back of a lekythos is rare (Haspels, pp. 18-19), and the resemblance of the preserved parts to the ornament on the back of a lekythos formerly in the Fauvel collection (cf. Stackelberg, *Graeber der Hellenen*, pl. X, 2) suggests that the central part be restored as on that vase.

The picture represents Hermes conducting the three goddesses to the Judgment of Paris. On the front of the lekythos Hermes is leading Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite, presumably to the Judgment of Paris, although Paris does not appear in the scene. It is probable from the preserved edge of his cloak and other representations of the scene (cf. the lekythos, *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, 3, III H g, pl. 110, 1) that Hermes' head was turned back toward the goddesses. Hermes wears a chlamys and carries a kerykeion. The wings on his ankles are turned upward toward his shins, not, as usual, downward. They are treated in the same manner on an amphora in Copenhagen (cf. *C.V.A.*, Copenhagen, 3, III H g, pl. 103, 2a). The three goddesses follow him in a row to right. First is Hera wearing a chiton and himation. Like Athena and Aphrodite she probably carried an attribute of some kind. Next is Athena, wearing helmet and aegis and carrying her spear point down in her right hand. Last of all comes Aphrodite wearing a cloak and holding a sparkling necklace in her hand.

The deities are identified by their names, written in the genitive case very neatly behind each figure (cf. the hydria, *C.V.A.*, Louvre, 5, III H e, pl. 69, 4) [H]EPMO, HEPAS, AΘENAS, [AΦPOΔ]ITEΣ. The greeting [Γ]AIΣ XAIPE is written vertically in front of Hermes, and the [XA]IPE is repeated between the heads of Athena and Aphrodite. For the nominative with XAIPE compare Kretschmer, *Griechische Vaseninschriften*, p. 85, note 4.

The painter has presented his theme in the simple archaic manner, the four deities arranged in a row with only a touch of animation achieved by representing Hermes with his head turned back. Yet the ostentatious display of attributes and the addition of names and greetings lend interest and some degree of animation to the scene.

The lekythos by its shape and style is placed before the formation of standardized types, ca. 500 B.C., and it seems to have little connection with even the small groups of that period. The ornament at the back is a strong tie with the nearly contemporary lekythos once in the Fauvel

collection (Stackelberg, *Graber der Hellenen*, pl. X, 2; cf. Haspels, p. 43); but neither the subject of this lekythos (an arming scene) nor the reproduction published by Stackelberg enables a detailed comparison to be made with No. 194. The unusual features described above and the early shape suggest that the painter is perhaps to be sought outside the circle of usual painters of lekythoi.

195. (A-P 1791, Well A) Fig. 39

Diameter at shoulder, 0.054 m.

The fragmentary neck, shoulder, and part of the side of a small lekythos. Purple: the hair fillet and a stripe on the drapery.

The shoulder decoration consists of a five-palmette system with the three palmettes at the front linked by tendrils. The central palmette faces inward toward the neck, and the handle palmettes face away from the handle. The position of the palmettes by the handle is normal, but the position of the central palmette of the group at the front appears to be unusual (cf. Haspels, p. 80).

The head, shoulders, and the upper arms of a male figure to right are preserved; he leans forward as if driving a chariot. Three letters of an inscription are written in dilute glaze near the figure: at his back A, above which is a trace of a broken letter, and before his face a second A. For the drawing of the head see No. 160.

196. (A-P 2440, Well B) Fig. 39

Height, 0.068 m.; diameter of foot, 0.04 m.

The lower part of the body and the foot of a small lekythos. Purple: the border of the drapery of the figure on the right and a line around the lower glazed part of the vase.

"Fat Runner." Preserved are parts of the nude legs of a man running to right and the lower part of a draped spectator who stands facing left. There are two figures in a similar position on a lekythos in the Villa Giulia (*C.V.A.*, Villa Giulia, 2, III H, pl. 50, 9). This class of vases, which is named from the nude running figure between spectators, persists for several decades in the latter sixth century (cf. Haspels, pp. 16-17).

197. (A-P 2114, Well A) Fig. 42

Greatest dimension, 0.038 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the border of the drapery and the centers of the rosettes on the drapery. White: the dot petals of the rosettes.

"Fat Runner." Part of a spectator facing left and the foot of a runner. For the type see the preceding item.

198. (A-P 2045 *a*, 1911 *b*, 2019 *c*, and 1535 *d*; Well A) Fig. 42

Estimated diameter at shoulder, *ca.* 0.09 m.

Four fragments, of which *a* preserves part of the handle and of the shoulder. Purple: traces on the helmets and the crests.

Combat scene. The shoulder is sloping and slightly rounded at the edge. It was decorated with lotus buds connected by tendrils. On *b* is part of the crest and the eye of a warrior facing left with upraised spear; on *c* parts of the crests, upraised arms, torsos of two warriors back to back, each holding a spear. Possibly the eye on the right edge of *b* belongs to the figure whose head is on the left of *c*. On *d* are the helmet and upraised arm of a warrior facing left, and the shaft of another warrior's spear. The composition appears to have been divided into rigid groups. The shoulder decoration, the slope of the shoulder, and the type of hoplite are the same as on the lekythos Rhitsona 80. 235 (Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, pl. XIV), which is placed by Haspels in the "Arming Group" of lekythoi, a division of the Phanyllis Group (Haspels, pp. 64-65 and p. 201, no. 9).

199. (A-P 2346, Well E) Fig. 39

Height to shoulder, 0.044 m.

The lower part of the body of a small lekythos. Purple: the pupils of the eyes, the central stripe of the drapery and two lines around the top of the lower glazed part of the vase. White: the iris of the eyes.

The decoration consists of a draped male figure standing between two eyes. The motive is found on "cock-lekythoi ---, in imitation of the Phanyllis Painter" (Haspels, p. 68), although on that latter class the central figure is seated.

200. (A-P 1694, Well A) Fig. 42

Estimated diameter at shoulder, *ca.* 0.054 m.

Fragment from the shoulder. Purple: stripes on the body of the dog and on the neck of the hare. White: a stripe on the belly of the dog.

On the shoulder is the body of one animal, presumably a dog, and the head of another, apparently a hare (for the motive cf. Haspels, pp. 118 and 230).

201. (A-P 1589 A, Well A) Fig. 42

Estimated diameter at shoulder, *ca.* 0.05 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the beard of the satyr, the border of the drapery, and dots on the drapery. White: garland on the head of the satyr and dots on the drapery. There is no trace of white on the flesh of the maenad.

Bacchic scene. The upper part of a satyr pursuing a maenad who flees to right. There are tendrils and dots in the background. The practice of leaving the female flesh black is found in the early fifth century, to which period the piece seems to belong (cf. Haspels, pp. 91 and 149).

202. (A-P 1861, Well A) Fig. 39

Diameter at shoulder, 0.043 m.

The foot, neck, mouth, handle, and parts of the body are restored. Purple: the hair and tails of the satyrs, the hair fillet of the maenad and a stripe on her drapery, and three lines around the lower glazed part of the body of the vase. White: the flesh of the maenad.

Bacchic scene. A maenad is dancing between two capering satyrs. In the background are tendrils, dots, and a bunch of grapes. The maenad holds a krotalon in her hand. This and the type of scene suggest that the lekythos is connected with the "krotala group" (cf. Haspels, pp. 119 and 231).

203. (A-P 1719, Well A) Fig. 42

Greatest dimension, 0.041 m.

Fragment from the shoulder with the beginning of the neck. Purple: the hair and drapery of the pygmy, a stripe on the wing of the crane, and a line around the base of the neck of the vase.

Pygmy-Crane battle. In the center stands a crane with its head slightly cocked to right. On the left are the head and the outstretched arm of a pygmy to right, gingerly approaching the crane, and on the right edge of the fragment the hand of another pygmy. The attitudes of the pygmies, with one hand outstretched and the other presumably holding a club, are reminiscent of those on the New York aryballos signed by Nearchos (cf. Richter, "An Aryballos by Nearchos," *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 272, pl. XI a).

204. (A-P 1931, Well A) Fig. 42

Greatest dimension, 0.056 m.



Fig. 42. Black-Figured Lekythoi

Fragment from the side of an ovoid lekythos. Purple: the helmet and shield of the warrior on the left and the greave and dots on the inside of the shield of the other warrior.

Combat scene. A warrior, wearing a short chiton, is running to left and holding out his shield, which bears the head of a he-goat in relief, to protect his back. Of the pursuing warrior only one leg and part of the shield remain. The shape is approximately that of the vase illustrated by Haspels, pl. 9, 3. Shield emblems in high relief are not uncommon, but the favorite motives appear to be snakes or satyr's heads (cf. Chase, "The Shield Devices of the Greeks," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XIII, 1902, p. 120, CCXXVI, and p. 121, CCXXXIV).

205. (A-P 2308, Well E) Fig. 42

Greatest dimension, 0.05 m.

Fragment from the side of an ovoid lekythos similar to the preceding. Purple: stripes on the drapery. White: traces on the arm of the figure on the left. The top of the body of the lekythos is decorated with black and purple lines.

The upper part of a draped male figure to left and, on the left edge of the fragment, an arm and the side of a female figure.

206. (A-P 1596, Well A) Fig. 42

Greatest dimension, 0.029 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the neck feathers of the cock. White: dots on a band across the wing and on the object above the tail. The tendril (?) above the tail is in dilute glaze.

Part of a cock to right with a tendril-like object above his tail.

207. (A-P 2105, Well A) Fig. 42

Greatest dimension, 0.025 m.

Fragment from the shoulder. Purple: hair fillet.

A nude male figure squatting to left.

208. (A-P 2324, Well E) Fig. 42

Greatest dimension, 0.039 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: stripes on the drapery. White: dots on the drapery.

The legs of three figures facing right; those of the central figure are nude. Mannered style of the third quarter of the sixth century.

209. (A-P 1588 *a-b*, Well A) Fig. 42

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.039 m.; *b*, 0.035 m.

Two fragments from the side. Purple: stripes on the drapery and the tail of the near horse.

On *a* are the haunches of two horses to right; behind them is part of a draped standing figure, his arm stretched out over their haunches. On *b* is a piece of drapery. There are tendrils and dots in the background.

210. (A-P 1242) Fig. 42

Greatest dimension, 0.058 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: dots on the drapery. White: smeared traces on the drapery, probably from rosettes.

The legs of three horses facing right and behind them the lower part of a draped figure.

211. (A-P 1929 *a* and 1592 *b*, Well A) Fig. 42

Estimated diameter at shoulder, *ca.* 0.06 m.

Two fragments from the upper part of the side. Purple: the manes of the horses, the hair, and the stripes on the drapery of the figures, and the lower part of the wine skin on *a*.

On *a* is the upper part of a mounted youth to left with a wine skin behind him. On *b* are the head of a mounted youth to right and, on the right edge of the fragment, an arm. The composition probably represented two mounted figures riding up to Dionysos in the center, as on the lekythos Würzburg 374 (Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 107).

212. (A-P 1940 and 1587, Well A) Fig. 42

Greatest dimension, 0.052 m.

Fragment from the upper part of the side. Purple: hair fillet, and the pupil of the eye of the female figure and the hair, beard, and stripes on the drapery of the male figure.

A male and female head to right. There are tendrils and dots in the background; at the top of the body of the vase are dots in a double row.

213. (A-P 1906, Well A) Fig. 42

Greatest dimension, 0.049 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the inside of the shield on the left. White: the shield emblem on the right shield and the straps on the other shield.

Parts of two shields and the arm of a figure. The shield on the right bears a meticulously drawn lion as emblem. The angle of the arm holding the other shield seems to indicate that its owner is falling forward and dragging his shield down on top of him.

214. (A-P 2064, Well A) Fig. 42

Greatest dimension, 0.036 m.

Fragment from the side. Purple: the ridge at the end of the tail. The scales are rendered by small curving incisions.

The tail of a triton.

215. (A-P 861) Fig. 42

Greatest dimension, 0.035 m.

Fragment from the side of a white-ground lekythos. The clay is fired gray. Purple: dots on the drapery and a line around the lower glazed part of the vase.

The lower part of a draped figure standing to right behind a mule one leg of which is preserved. Near the figure are three letters of an inscription in black glaze: ΙΟΠ.

BOWL

216. (A-P 1921, Well A) Fig. 39

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.20 m.

Fragment from the side of a deep, wide bowl. The rim is flat and projecting. On the interior, which is glazed, there are purple and white lines. Purple: the edge of the rim.

The exterior of the bowl is decorated with a row of lotus buds and on the top of the rim, a row of Z's. There was probably a band of tongue ornament around the body, as on other bowls of this type (cf. Graef-Langlotz, I, 2362-2384, pp. 232-233; and for a complete bowl, *C.V.A.*, Bologna, 2, III H e, pl. 44, 2).

PLATES

217. (A-P 1859 *a-b* and 2325 *c*; *a-b* from Well A and *c* from Well E)²³ Fig. 43

Estimated diameter at lower edge, *ca.* 0.20 m.

Three fragments of a plate. On the reverse are two raised moldings close to the outer edge, the outer one heavier than the inner one. The glaze is brownish and thinly applied. It has disappeared from part of the column shaft on *a*. The top of the plate is covered with a reddish wash



Fig. 43. Paideros Plate

applied streakily near the outer edge. The bottom is reserved except for lines, black on the inside, purple on the outside of the larger molding; and a purple line on the smaller molding. The purple paint has remained intact, but the white has disappeared. Purple: on *a* the neck of the bird, the edge of its wing, and dots on the surface of its wing; on *c* the inner side of the shield. White: on *a* traces on Athena's foot and the legs of the animal; on *b* the tail of the animal; on *c* the arm of Athena. The outline of the column is incised.

Athena. On *a* are the foot and the lower part of the skirt of an Athena striding to right;

²³ Preliminary report, *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 446, fig. 3, and p. 447.

behind her on the left are the shaft and part of the capital of a Doric column and across the shaft a horizontal bar or plank on which, beginning at the left, are placed a bird and a quadruped facing right. Between Athena's legs below the edge of her skirt the signature of both potter and painter is written boustrophedon. It is almost completely preserved and reads:

$$\begin{array}{c} \Sigma\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\varsigma \mu' \xi\pi[oi\epsilon] \rightarrow \\ [\epsilon]\sigma\epsilon\gamma, \Pi\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma \leftarrow \\ \xi\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\sigma\epsilon[\nu]. \rightarrow \end{array}$$

That line 1 ended with the iota of $\xi\pi[oi\epsilon]\sigma\epsilon\gamma$ seems probable. Fragment *b* is apparently from the other side of the plate and is to be placed above the cross-bar, for it preserves the tail of some animal and the head of a snake from the aegis. On *c* is part of the inside of Athena's shield with her arm passed through the strap. The strap is elaborately decorated and two small tassels hang down on either side of it.

The representation, then, is Athena striding to right in full panoply before a building represented by a single column on the *pars pro toto* principle. Possibly the painter had a fountain house in mind, for animals are frequently found on top of them (cf. Louvre E 876; *C.V.A.*, Louvre, 4, III H d, pl. 22, 1).

The signatures are those of the potter Sotes and the painter Paideros, both previously unknown. Sotes is a sober and normal Athenian name, known also from a fourth-century catalogue from Eleusis ('Εφ. Ἀρχ., 1896, pp. 26-27, no. 6); but Paideros is remarkable in its formation as a name in the sixth century before Christ. It occurs in literature, however, only about a hundred years later in a fragment of the comedian Telekleides (cf. Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, I, p. 222, no. 49) as an epithet of Zeus apparently equivalent in meaning to *paiderastes*. But as a personal name it does not seem to be found until the third century after Christ, and then in Lydia (cf. *C.I.G.*, II, no. 3440). It is possible that it was a name adopted by the painter himself, or a nickname bestowed upon him which would be somewhat analogous to the case of Paidikos (cf. Haspels, p. 102). Its use by a comic poet, although about a century later, when the more usual *paiderastes* (Liddell and Scott give instances from Aristophanes and Plato) might be expected, hints at a slangy use of the word rather than a seriously bestowed name.

It is possible to get from the fragments some notion of the workmanship both of Sotes and of Paideros, but necessarily a very incomplete one. The plate itself is well and carefully made. The clay is fine textured and hard, and the moldings on the lower surface are cleanly finished. Paideros, on the other hand, is not so careful. Careless workmanship on such secondary objects as the animal at the side, or even Athena's skirt, is found on the work of painters like Exekias, but the interior of the shield, which would occupy a prominent place in the composition, is just as carelessly treated. Yet the rather unusual representation of Athena before a building in front of which walk birds and animals and the pertainess of the bird hint at a painter who was cleverer in the conception than in the execution of his motives. The unusual completeness of the signature, similar in that respect to those of Kleitias and Ergotimos (cf. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases*, p. 148), indicates that the artists were of some importance. The style of the fragments is that of the mid-sixth century. The elaborate patterns of the skirt and the detail of the shield are found in the period of Nearchos and Lydos on whose vases the inscriptions are sometimes written retrograde.

218. (A-P 2087, Well A) Fig. 44

Estimated diameter at lower outside edge, *ca.* 0.18 m.

Fragment from the floor. Around the outside on the bottom is a heavy, flat molding. The glaze is dull black and has flaked off in part. Purple: the chiton of the leaping warrior. The bottom of the plate was decorated with concentric black bands.

The design is enclosed by a line of glaze. On the left are the knee and the edge of the chiton of a fallen warrior and on the right the legs of a leaping warrior who wears a short chiton and a



Fig. 44. Fragments from Plates

cuirass the flap edge of which is preserved. The plate is by the same hand as Acropolis 2424 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 98). Both plates have a black border, almost identical anatomical markings on the knee and foot, and the same heavy, precise incision. The Acropolis piece is attributed to Sakonides by Rumpf (cf. Rumpf, *Sakonides*, p. 25, no. 30).

219. (A-P 1901, Well A) Fig. 44

Estimated diameter at lower outside edge, *ca.* 0.22 m.

Fragment from the floor, the rim partly preserved. At the outer edge on the bottom is a heavy molding of three rounded members. The glaze is thin and brownish. Purple: lines around the edge of the molding on the bottom and the axle-box of the chariot.

The rim was decorated with two bands of pattern, a lotus-bud chain at the top and a reserved ribbon pattern below; the latter is partly obscured by the tail of the horse (for the ribbon pattern cf. Pease, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 230, no. 18). A fragmentary plate in Bonn also has a double-pattern band on the rim (cf. *Arch. Anz.*, L, 1935, p. 482, fig. 56). The central design was probably a quadriga to right. Only part of the horses' haunches and a wheel of the chariot are preserved. The tails of the horses are carried over on to the rim. Fairly careful work of the mid-sixth century.

220. (A-P 1919, Well A) Fig. 44

Estimated diameter at lower edge, *ca.* 0.20 m.

Fragment from the floor. At the outer edge on the bottom is a heavy rounded molding. Purple: the two stripes of the drapery. White: rows of small dots along the narrow embroidered stripes and dot petals on the broad stripes of the drapery. On the bottom are concentric bands of glaze.

The design on the top was enclosed by two lines. Part of the drapery of a standing figure and at the top right edge of the fragment the knuckles of a hand. Fairly careful work of the mid-sixth century.

221. (A-P 1902 *a*, 2055 *b*, and 1474 *c*; Well A) Fig. 44

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.18 m.

Three fragments with the rim preserved on *a*. The rim is steep and has three incised lines around the outer edge. On the bottom is a heavy, flat base rim. Purple: hair fillets and stripes on the drapery. White: dots on the drapery and traces on the faces. The surface on fragment *c* only is well preserved. The bottom is entirely glazed.

On the rim are two rows of ivy leaves separated by rows of dots. The plate was decorated with a row of figures set with their heads along the rim. On *a* are the upper parts of two female figures facing right, the first of whom is resting her arms on the back of a third figure preserved on the edge of the fragment. Fragments *b* and *c*, from the other side of the plate, preserve the head and shoulders of figures facing left. Two short lines of glaze separate the figures as on *loutrophoroi*, (see No. 72). The fragments give little clue to the significance of the scene. Possibly, like the rows of women on *loutrophoroi*, the scene is an echo of some religious ceremony. The decoration of the plate and the drawing are similar to Delos 636 (*Délos*, X², pl. LII). Both have large ivy leaves on the rim and carelessly drawn, draped figures forming a scene of little or no significance. Careless workmanship of the third quarter of the sixth century.

222. (A-P 1725, Well A) Fig. 44

Estimated diameter at lower outside edge, *ca.* 0.16 m.

Fragment from the floor. Purple: the heart of the palmette and the dots on the border of the

drapery of the figure on the left. White: traces on the feet and dots on the drapery. There is no molding at the outer edge on the bottom. The bottom is glazed.

The decoration consisted of rows of female figures set above an exergue and enclosed by a border of ivy leaves separated by dots. In the exergue is a spreading palmette. Only the lower parts of two figures facing left are preserved. The decoration is similar to Delos 634 (*Délos*, X², pl. LI). The scene like that of the preceding item has little significance.

223. (A-P 1986, Well A) Fig. 44

Greatest dimension, 0.059 m.

Fragment from the floor. Purple: the shoulder plate and alternate stripes on the edge of the flap of the cuirass. The bottom of the plate has a black band.

Part of the helmet and torso of a warrior to right holding a sword (?).

224. (A-P 1695 *a* and 1715 *b*, Well A) Fig. 44

Estimated diameter at upper edge, *ca.* 0.11 m.

Two fragments from the floor. Purple: on *a* dots on the drapery; on *b* the hair of the figure and the border of the drapery. White: dot petals on the drapery of both figures. On the bottom is a black circle in the center and two incised lines around the outer edge.

The central design of the plate is enclosed by two snakes, one twisting upward on each side. Between the coils of each snake are dots. On both *a* and *b* are the upper parts of two standing male figures. Enough of the design is preserved to indicate that the scene was probably similar to that on two plates in the Musée Scheurleer (*C.V.A.*, Scheurleer, 2, III H e, pl. 5, nos. 5, 7; in the center of the design is a female figure). The Scheurleer plates are said (*op. cit.*, text, p. 9) to be non-Attic, but the suggestion seems doubtful.

225. (A-P 2220, Well B) Fig. 44

Greatest dimension, 0.072 m.

Fragment from the floor. Purple: the hair and beard. The berries along the tendril are buff. The bottom is glazed.

The upper part of a satyr to right holding a lyre. A tendril with dots curls up along his back. Late sixth or early fifth century.

226. (A-P 1652, Well A) Fig. 44

Greatest dimension, 0.06 m.

Fragment from the floor. Purple: stripes along the back of the greaves and the tail of the drapery. The bottom is glazed.

Two greaved legs to left with a long and a short tail of drapery hanging down behind them. The dots at the edge apparently belonged to a border pattern.

227. (A-P 1662, Well A) Fig. 44

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.17 m.

Fragment from the floor with the rim preserved. The bottom is decorated with black bands.

The rim is glazed. The central design consists of four rows of lotus buds arranged concentrically. At the base of each bud in the three interior rows is a dot. Around the edge of the plate are a wide and a narrow line of glaze.

228. (A-P 2378, Well E) Fig. 44

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.32 m.

Fragment from the rim. Along the top edge are two shallow grooves. Purple: the top of the rim and the hearts both of the lotus flowers and of the palmettes.

The rim is decorated with a double chain composed of alternating lotus flowers and palmettes.

229. (A-P 1712 *a* and 2498 *b*, Well A) Fig. 44

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.021 m.; *b*, 0.022 m.

Two fragments from a miniature plate. On the bottom at the outside is a small molding.

The central design is a star with rays painted red, black, and white. It is enclosed by a row of white dots between two incised lines.

230. (A-P 1973, Well A) Fig. 44

Greatest dimension, 0.033 m.

Fragment from a miniature plate. There is a small rounded molding around the outside on the bottom. A similar molding on the top serves as a rim.

A capering satyr. Only the arm, side, and part of the leg are preserved. The space apparently was filled by this single figure.

PINAKES (with Representations on Two Sides)

231. (A-P 2389, Well D) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.011 m.; greatest dimension, 0.037 m.

Fragment from the edge. Both front and back are covered with a light brownish wash. Purple: the drapery and the edge of the pinax.

On one side a section of drapery. The fragment is broken at the edge of a stripe. On the other side (not illustrated) is an animal's tail.

232. (A-P 2382, Well E) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.003 m.; greatest dimension, 0.031 m.

Fragment from the lower part. Purple: a stripe on the haunch of the horse, petals and hearts of the lotus, and alternate petals of the palmette.

The design is figured on one side, ornamental on the other. The legs of a horse to left, its rider's leg, and the end of a spear shaft or whip are preserved on one side. On the other (not illustrated) are fragments of a palmette and a lotus which seem to have formed part of a quadrangular design.

PINAKES (with Representations on One Side Only)

233. (A-P 2086, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness at edge, 0.004 m.; at center, 0.008 m.; width, 0.08-0.084 m.

The lower part of a roughly made pinax. The back is flat and the front convex, so that the center is twice as thick as the edges. Purple: the heart of the palmette on the shield and dots near the edge of the shield. White: petals on the palmette of the shield, two long stripes on the skirt, and dots on its lower border. There are traces of white on the feet.

Athena stands to right holding her shield on her left arm. Only the lower part of the body and about half of the shield remain. The shield strap terminates in a clumsily drawn palmette. The drawing of the skirt is in the Amasian style, and the roughly incised "asterisks" recall the Heidelberg group (cf. Beazley, "Amasea," *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pp. 275-282).



Fig. 45. Fragments from Pinakes

234. (A-P 1783, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.007 m.; greatest dimension, 0.055 m.

Fragment from the top with the hole for suspension near the edge. The clay is fired to a dark gray. Both back and front are finished smoothly. Purple: the edge of the pinax, traces on the helmet and the rim of the shield.

Athena. Only part of her head facing left and the rim of her shield are preserved.

235. (A-P 2171, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.003 m.; greatest dimension, 0.058 m.

Fragment of a thin pinax. Purple: traces on the shield rim.

Athena. Part of the skirt and the shield rim of an Athena who, as the swirl of drapery at the back shows, is facing left. The pinax is similar in technique to Acropolis 2503 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 103). Both are very thin, and the skirts are elaborately but carelessly treated.

236. (A-P 2186, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.009 m.; greatest dimension, 0.056 m.

Fragment from the center. Purple: the shield rim and dots on the aegis between the snakes. White: the base of Athena's neck and the tentacle of the polyp design on the shield.

Athena. The base of her neck and the end of one lock of hair are preserved at the upper edge of the fragment. The drawing of the aegis, particularly the way in which the snakes curl out from it, is similar to Acropolis 2517 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 103).

237. (A-P 1277) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.008 m.; greatest dimension, 0.045 m.

Fragment from the center. The back is smoothly finished. Purple: the belt and stripes on the drapery of Artemis, the belt and dots on the drapery of Apollo, and the maeander pattern on the mouth of the quiver. White: the flesh of Artemis.

Apollo and Artemis. Apollo stands to left wearing a short chiton and carrying a quiver. The ends of four arrows are sticking out of the quiver. Behind him Artemis stands to left holding a bow. For the scene compare Acropolis 2133 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 93). In the profuse use of purple dots No. 237 is like Acropolis 2494 (Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 101).

238. (A-P 2217, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.003 m.; greatest dimension, 0.035 m.

Fragment from the center. The back is finished smoothly. Purple: the axe head.

Birth of Athena. Hephaistos, holding an axe, stands in attendance on Zeus. Of Hephaistos the back of the head and the torso are preserved, but of Zeus only the upper part of one arm and the hand of the other arm. Zeus apparently was seated as on the representation on the cup of Phrynos in London (cf. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure*, pl. I, 2).

239. (A-P 2095, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.006 m.; greatest dimension, 0.053 m.

Fragment from the lower left corner. Both back and front are smoothly finished. The glaze is worn and there do not seem to be any traces of color.

On the bottom edge is a maeander pattern, and on the side a row of ivy leaves. In the lower left corner is the lower part of a female figure to right on tiptoe; facing her was another figure, one foot of which is preserved. The action may represent Athena rising on tiptoe to give the *coup de grâce* to a giant.

240. (A-P 2074 *a* and 1523 *b*, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.003 m.; greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.05 m.; *b*, 0.026 m.

Two fragments from the center. Across the front are narrow shallow grooves. The pinax is slightly curved. Purple: stripes on the drapery. White: the flesh surfaces.

On *a* are the head and shoulders of a female figure to left wearing her cloak pulled up over the back of her head. On the left edge of the fragment the back of a similarly clad figure is preserved. On *b* is a scrap of drapery. The decoration may have consisted simply of a row of women.

241. (A-P 1814, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.007 m.; greatest dimension, 0.044 m.

Fragment from the lower right corner. The edges are slightly raised on the front to form a rim. Purple: the helmet.

The upper part of a warrior advancing to left. He holds a shield on his left arm. His legs must have been very short in proportion to the length of his torso.

242. (A-P 1616, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.004 m.; width, 0.028 m.

The top of a small pinax with the hole for suspension pierced in the center at the top. The glaze is thin.

The upper part of a sphinx sitting to right.

243. (A-P 1904 *a* and 1997 *b*, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.006-0.008 m.; greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.034 m.; *b*, 0.033 m.

Two fragments from the lower edge. Both front and back are covered with a brownish wash (see No. 231). The surface is worn.

On *a* are the wheel and part of the car of a chariot, and on *b* the hooves of the horses.

244. (A-P 1746, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.008 m.; greatest dimension, 0.048 m.

Fragment from the upper part with a hole for suspension pierced near the left edge. Purple: the comb, wattles, and neck of the cock. White: traces on the tail-feather.

A band of glaze borders the top edge. The head of a cock to left with one tail feather preserved on the right edge of the fragment.

245. (A-P 1985, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.007 m.; greatest dimension, 0.061 m.

Fragment from the lower left corner. The front is covered with a brownish wash (see No. 243), and the glaze is dull black.

A single band of glaze serves as border. There is a nude male foot and calf to right with the heel of the other foot slightly in advance on the right.

246. (A-P 1952, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.005 m.; greatest dimension, 0.038 m.

Fragment from the lower right corner. The back surface is very rough. There is a small hole from which a chip has broken on the lower edge. The chipping occurred before the painting

was completed, as the foot is painted over the break. Purple: drapery and sandal. White: traces on the foot.

The foot and the edge of the skirt of a figure striding to right. There is an elaborate spiral pattern on the border of the skirt.

247. (A-P 1766, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.011 m.; greatest dimension, 0.025 m.

Fragment from the center. The glaze is dull. White: the spots.

The shoulder of an animal to left with rows of white spots.

248. (A-P 2050, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.008 m.; greatest dimension, 0.053 m.

Fragment from the center. Both back and front are covered with a brown wash (see No. 243). Purple: traces on the borders of the drapery. White: traces of dots on the drapery.

Parts of two draped figures to right, one of whom holds a staff.

249. (A-P 2037, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.005 m.; greatest dimension, 0.04 m.

Fragment from the edge. White: the drapery.

Part of a skirt with an incised curving line as decoration. A black-glaze band is used as border

250. (A-P 2367, Well E) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.005 m.; greatest dimension, 0.049 m.

Fragment from the left edge. Purple: stripes on the drapery and the edge of the pinax.

Part of a skirt. A black-glaze band is used as border.

251. (A-P 2188, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.008 m.; greatest dimension, 0.045 m.

Fragment from the edge. Purple: the edge of the pinax. Two letters of an inscription (NI) in black glaze and, in the lower right corner, a snake's head.

252. (A-P 1653, Well A) Fig. 45

Thickness, 0.009 m.; greatest dimension, 0.021 m.

Fragment from the upper edge. On the left is the edge of the hole for suspension. Purple: the hair. The back of the pinax is destroyed.

The border consisted of two black lines. The back of a head is preserved. Above it, written horizontally near the hole, as on a pinax signed by Skythes (Acropolis 2556; Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 106), are three letters of the word [AΘE]NAI[AI].

WHITE-GROUND PINAX

253. (A-P 2073 *a-c* and 1774 *d*, Well A) Fig. 46

Thickness, 0.004-0.005 m.; greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.058 m.; *b*, 0.043 m.; *c*, 0.04 m.; *d*, 0.019 m.

Four fragments of a white-ground pinax. Both back and front are finished smoothly, and the front is covered with a pale buff ground-color, which is hard and smooth. Its surface is marred

by charred spots on *a*, and on *c* by an incrustation of black dots, which may be the glaze which has flaked off the edge of the drapery. The colors and the glaze are, however, fairly well preserved for the most part. Purple: on *a* a stripe along the edge of the owl's wing; on *b* the sprig and the ribbon on the hair of the attendant and her earring; on *c* the central stripe on the drapery, the

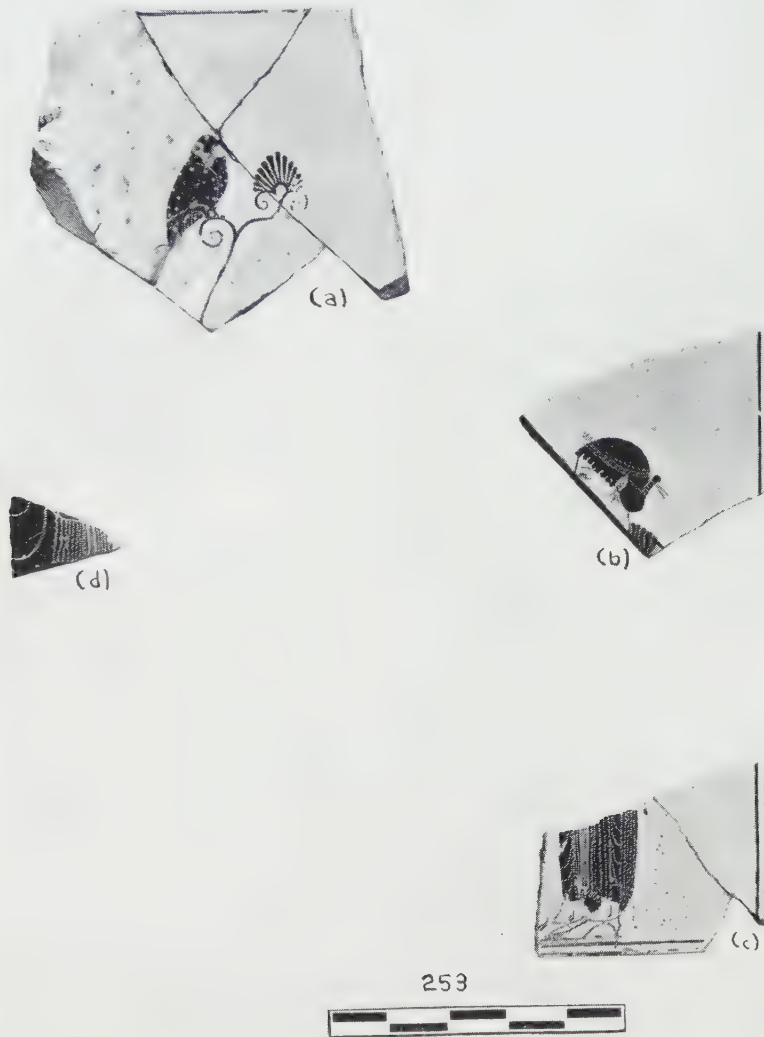


Fig. 46. White-Ground Pinax

sandals, and the bars at the ends of the drapery folds; on *d* the girdle, the central stripe of the drapery, and the crosses on its folds. White: on *a* the flesh of Athena and traces around the line of glaze on the left edge of the fragment. Buff is also used on *a* for the raised dots of the curls along Athena's brow and for the beak, for the irises of the eyes, and for the dots on the feathers of the owl. The edge of the pinax is glazed, and the central design is framed by two black lines.

Athena and an attendant. Athena, the owl, and the palmette are in black-figure technique, but the attendant's head and feet are drawn in outline. Both techniques are found together on other black-figured vases. The Amasis Painter used them both on the Berlin amphora (cf. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure*, p. 22, note 2, pl. 9, 1, and pl. 10, 1). The rendering of the eye of Athena, however, is unusual. Its outline is drawn on the white of her face with two fine black lines, and the paint between them incised to the ground. The pupil is treated in the same manner. The eye of Athena on another white-ground pinax from the Acropolis is treated in much the same manner, except that the white paint between the black lines is not removed (Acropolis, I, 2591; Graef-Langlotz, I, pl. 110). The eye lashes, which are thick, are indicated with fine reddish brown lines as on two other pinakes from the Acropolis (Graef-Langlotz, I, 2584-2585, pl. 109).²⁴ The lower edge of Athena's nose is defined by a black line.

The preliminary design for a tendril and palmette, differing in conception from the one finally drawn, appears as a very light line made on the ground while it was still soft. It called for at least three volutes, one above the present palmette, another at the base of the palmette, and a third under the tail of the owl. A similar line appears around the owl.

Fragment *a* is from the top, *b* from the right edge, *c* from the lower right corner, and *d* from the center of the pinax. On *a* are the nose and eye of Athena to right. She grasps in one hand a palmette tendril, on a volute of which sits a small owl. Balancing the owl on the other stalk of the tendril is a palmette. On the left edge of the pinax between the head and the hand of Athena is a short glaze line surrounded by remains of white paint; the line may have represented her spear point. On *b* are the upper part of the head and the shoulder of a female figure to left. The broken left edge is probably a continuation of the diagonal break across *a*; if this is true, the stature of the attendant is diminutive in comparison with that of the Athena towering above her. The attendant's hair is very neatly dressed in a krobylos with the ends of the ribbon sticking out (cf. Haspels, p. 72, note 2). On *c* the lower part of the attendant is preserved. She wears a very neatly tied pair of sandals and stands with one foot slightly in advance of the other. On *d* is a scrap of drapery from the figure of Athena. Its folds are rendered by long, carefully incised lines next to a central pleat as on the attendant's drapery, but it is on a larger scale. It is possible, but unlikely, that there was another figure on the left of Athena.

The composition was simple: Athena and an attendant, accompanied by the owl frequently found in the company of Athena, but usually perched more securely on her arm or the rim of her shield. (Owls are found perched on palmettes on the somewhat later lekythoi of the Athena Painter [cf. Haspels, p. 149].) There is an interesting contemporary parallel of an owl sitting on a tendril on some Athenian coins dated by Seltman to the period of Cleisthenes (Seltman, *Athens*, p. 199, and pl. XXII T; Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. VII, 16-19, and pl. III, 48).

The fragments have been attributed to the Cerberus Painter by Beazley (for the Cerberus Painter cf. Beazley, *Att. V.*, pp. 29-30; Caskey and Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, pp. 1-3; Beazley, *Campana Fragments in Florence*, p. 7, nos. 8-9, etc.). Athena's eye is characteristic for the white-ground work of the Cerberus Painter (cf. Acropolis 2584; Caskey and Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 2), and the drapery of the attendant's skirt is closely paralleled on Acropolis 2591 (see note 24). The composition is like that on a plate in Yale (Yale 170; Baur, *The Stoddard Collection*, pl. XV; Beazley, *Att. V.*, p. 30, no. 3), where Dionysos towers over a tiny capering satyr as Athena towers over her attendant. The exquisite precision of the workmanship and the delightful conception of the little owl make this piece one of the painter's best works.

²⁴ The relationship of A-P 2073, Acropolis, I, 2584-2585, 2587, and 2591 among themselves, and their connections with the red-figured work of the Cerberus Painter are discussed in an article "The White-Ground Plaques by the Cerberus Painter," *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 467-473. Preliminary report of No. 253; *A.J.A.*, XLII, 1938, p. 447, and p. 446, fig. 2.

MISCELLANEOUS

254. (A-P 1962, Well A) Fig. 47

Greatest dimension, 0.096 m.

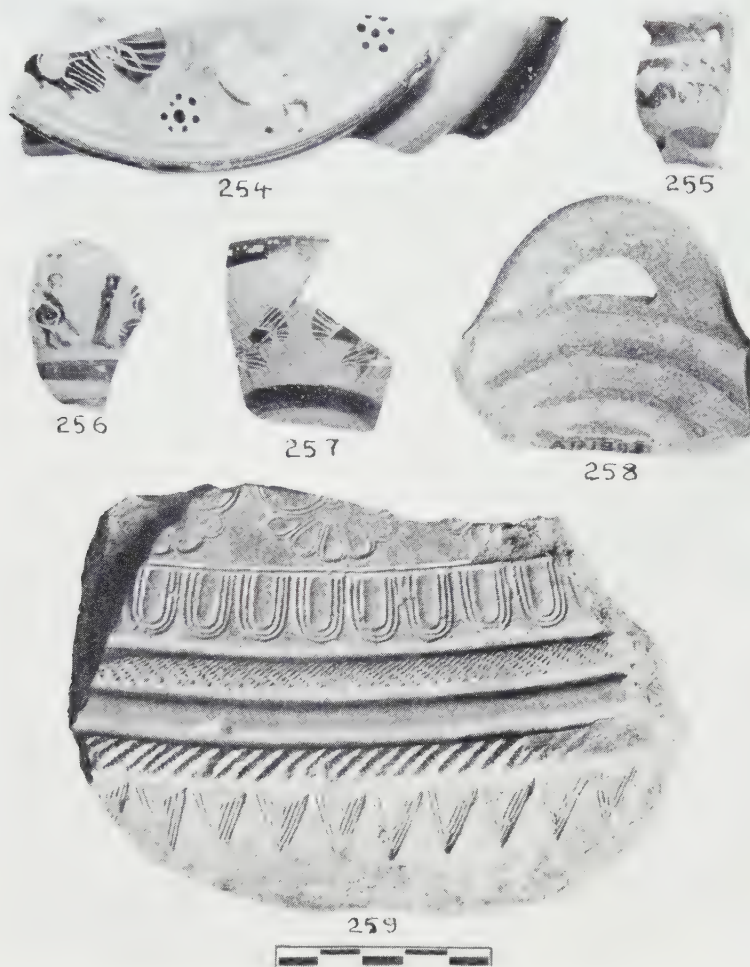


Fig. 47. Miscellaneous Fragments

Fragment from a large foot in three degrees. The lower side is concave. The upper member of the foot is decorated, the middle one reserved, and the lower glazed. The glaze is good. Purple: the wing and alternate tail feathers of the cock. White: the short tail feathers of the cock and the body of the hen.

Probably the decoration consisted of a row of birds with dot-rosette filling-ornament.

255. (A-P 1790, Well A) Fig. 47

Height, 0.03 m.

A miniature pitcher decorated with stripes of glaze. It was probably used as a handle, for the lower surface is broken.

256. (A-P 1538, Well A) Fig. 47

Height, 0.032 m.

Fragment from the side of a miniature closed vase. There are two lines of glaze around the lower part of the vase. On the shoulder are the leg of some animal and a band of tongue ornament. On the side are a warrior to right and, on the right edge of the fragment, the rump and wing of a sphinx seated to right. Between the warrior and the sphinx is what seems to be a standing figure to right.

257. (A-P 1777, Well A) Fig. 47

Height, 0.029 m.; estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.05 m.

Fragment from the side of a miniature cup with the beginning of the handle preserved. Purple: the neck of the cock on the left and a band across the body of the cock on the right. White: a stripe at the base of the long tail feathers and another on the wings of the cocks.

Of the decoration only two cocks placed back to back remain.

258. (A-P 1843, Well A) Fig. 47

Estimated diameter at bottom, *ca.* 0.06 m.

The handle and part of the body of a small dish. The clay is covered with a white slip over which red bands are painted. Both the red and the white are matt colors of the type used on terracottas.

259. (A-P 2402, Well D) Fig. 47

Estimated diameter at shoulder, *ca.* 0.054 m.

Fragment from the shoulder of a large jar with a stamped design. The clay is light green and very gritty, apparently Corinthian. The outer surface is finished very smoothly with a slip of the same color as the clay. The design is clearly and sharply stamped with no blurring at the edges.

On the side at the edge of the shoulder is a row of inset triangles placed point downward. On the top of the shoulder around the outside are three raised bands. The central one is plain, but the outer and inner have transverse grooves cut across them like the strands of a rope. Their edges are fretted with incised lines. A similar pattern appears on the shoulder of a relief pithos found in Sparta (cf. *Artemis Orthia*, pl. XV). Within the three relief bands is a band of tongue ornament, and above this comes a row of palmettes, parts of three of which are preserved. The tongue motive and the fineness of the work are reminiscent of metal work.

ATTIC RED-FIGURE

KYLIKES

260. (A-P 1687 A [= *a*], 1882 [= *b*], 1689 [= *c*], 1796 [= *d*], 1924 [= *e*], 1687 B [= *f*], 2104 [= *g*]; Well A) Fig. 48

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.077 m.; *b*, 0.046 m.; *c*, 0.04 m.; *d*, 0.03 m.; *e*, 0.037 m.; *f*, 0.043 m.; *g*, 0.03 m.

Seven fragments from the side, *a* and *b* preserving handle stubs (*b* is not illustrated). The glaze is a lustrous black. Relief contour. The upper edge of the leaf on *g* is incised.

On *a* is a handle stub and to the right tendrils and a leaf. There are scraps of ornament on *c*, *f*, and *g*. On *d* is the torso of a warrior to left; he wears helmet and cuirass, and on his left arm, partially extended behind him, carries a shield, a section of which is visible on his left shoulder. Below his left arm is what appears to be the segment of a second shield. Fragment *e* preserves the helmeted head of an Athena facing left. The style of the fragments and their handle ornament indicate that they belong to the early red-figure period. The head of Athena is somewhat like that of the helmeted figure on the cup Munich 2618 attributed to Oltos (*Furtwängler-Reichhold*, pl. 83; Beazley, *Att. V.*, p. 14, no. 40).

261. (A-P 1800 *a* and 1920 *b*, Well A) Fig. 48

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.038 m.; *b*, 0.017 m.

Two fragments from the side of a kylix with a tondo design. The glaze is lustrous. Relief contour everywhere except the notch of the arrow on *a* and the sole of the shoe on *b*. The lock of hair on the forehead is incised.

On *a* the head of an archer to right testing an arrow (cf. Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, p. 121, note 2, for the motive). On *b* are an ankle and foot to right. The foot is clad in a soft shoe turned down at the top. Fragment *a* has been attributed to Epiktetos by Beazley. A related cup in the British Museum uses the same motive (London E 33; Murray, *Greek Vases in the British Museum*, no. 19; Beazley, *Att. V.*, p. 29, no. 6).

262. (A-P 1255) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.034 m.

Fragment from the center. Relief contour everywhere except on the outside of the shield. The inscription is in dilute glaze.

A shield on which a helmet rests and the shaft of a spear. Over the edge of the shield is a greaved leg to right; on the outer edge of the greave the thumb of a hand is preserved. Possibly an arming scene is represented. On the shield is written [K]ΑΛΟΣ. For the inscription on a shield compare Acropolis, II, 218 (Graef-Langlotz, II, pl. 12).

263. (A-P 879) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.042 m.

Fragment from the center. Relief contour everywhere.

The legs of a male figure to right. The wide, heavy relief contour is paralleled on Acropolis 227 (Graef-Langlotz, II, pl. 12).

264. (A-P 1603, Well A) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.024 m.

Fragment from the center. Relief contour everywhere except on top of the wine skin and on the knuckles.

A hand holding the top of a wine skin to left. For the motive compare London E 24 (Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, III, fig. 327; hereafter cited, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*)

265. (A-P 1260) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.022 m.

Fragment from the side. Relief contour everywhere.

The thigh of a nude male figure to right, probably a satyr.



Fig. 48. Red-Figured Fragments

266. (A-P 2276, Well E) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.023 m.

Fragment from the side below the handle. Relief contour.

Two spiral tendrils rolled up from the top. The design served as the base of the palmette under the handle (cf. Delos 652, *Délos*, X², pl. LIII).

267. (A-P 2312, Well E) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.03 m.

Fragment from the center with the beginning of the stem. Relief contour.

Feathers, possibly from an owl, as on the cups Acropolis 415-417 (cf. Graef-Langlotz, II, p. 37, pl. 31). Langlotz dates the Acropolis examples around 500 B.C.

268. (A-P 2286, Well E) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.025 m.

Fragment from the side. Relief contour. The dots are brown.

Such dots are used to indicate feathers, so that the object may be the top of a wing (cf. Von Lücken, *Greek Vase-Paintings*, pl. 8).

269. (A-P 2446, Well E) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.025 m.

Fragment from the side.

The drapery or the mattress of a reclining banqueter (for the type of scene compare Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen*, pl. IX, 34). The motive appears to have been common in the ripe archaic period.

270. (A-P 2262) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.022 m.

Fragment from the rim. Relief contour. White: the flowers on the garland.

The upper part of the head of a female figure facing left, the folds of her cloak rising above her head.

271. (A-P 1686 B, Well A) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.057 m.

Fragment from the side. Relief contour. Dilute glaze is used for the markings of the arm.

The arms of a youth stretched out to the right toward a draped figure who has one arm partly extended to him.

272. (A-P 1551 *a-b*, Well A) Fig. 48

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.054 m.; *b*, 0.039 m.

Two fragments from the side. Relief contour except on the drapery of *b*. The fragments are doubtfully attributed to the same cup.

On *a* are the back of the helmeted head and the shoulder of an Athena bending to left. On the left edge of the fragment is the edge of her aegis and on the right is part of the reserved space of the handle. On *b* is part of the body of an Athena facing left; she wears the aegis over her chiton and carries her spear in her left hand. The drapery is in the style of Makron.

273. (A-P 1687 C [= *a*], and 1687 D [= *b*], Well A) Fig. 48

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.06 m.; *b*, 0.036 m.

Two fragments from the side. No relief contour.

In the center of fragment *a* is a palmette; to the left of the palmette is a foot, above which is a section of drapery. On the lower right edge of the fragment there seems to be a section of drapery. Fragment *b* shows part of a palmette and the spiral of a tendril and in the lower right corner some drapery. On the interior (not illustrated) is a maeander with alternate crosses and dots.

274. (A-P 893) Fig. 49

Greatest dimension, 0.098 m.



Fig. 49. Red-Figured Fragment

Fragment from the side. The glaze is discolored. Relief contour: on the figure on the left, the lower side of the upper arm, on the thigh of the left leg, and the inner side of the thigh of the right leg; on the figure on the right, the lower side of the forearm, the torso, and the left leg. Dilute glaze is used for most of the anatomical markings.

Athletes. Two nude male figures facing each other. The one on the left holds a staff and rests his right arm on his hip. The one on the right holds a pair of *halteres* in his left hand and extends his right arm toward his companion. On the extreme left is the knee of another figure to right. The fragment has been attributed to the Euaion Painter by Miss Talcott.

275. (A-P 875 and 1241) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.087 m.

Fragment from the side. Relief contour. Dilute glaze is used to emphasize the zigzag folds. A draped figure standing to right and holding a staff in the extended left hand.

276. (A-P 1686 A, Well A) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.034 m.

Fragment from the side. Shiny glaze. No relief contour. The rib markings of the figure on the right are in black glaze, and the hip markings in dilute glaze.

On the left, part of a male figure with arm akimbo; on the right, the nude back of a second male figure, a piece of drapery hanging from his shoulder. The fragment has been attributed to the Fauvel Painter by Beazley, but the figures can scarcely form part of a farewell scene as on the cup from the Fauvel Collection (cf. Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. XXXVII, 1, 3). Possibly the figures were conversing, as on Brussels A 74 (cf. *C.V.A.*, Brussels, 2, III I d, pl. 6, 3).

277. (A-P 867) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.029 m.

Fragment from the center. No relief contour.

A head to left and on the lower edge of the fragment a piece of drapery.

SKYPHOS

278. (A-P 2348, Well E) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.05 m.

Fragment from the side. Relief contour except at the end of the palmette leaves.

The fragment is from the palmette zone on the lower part of a skyphos. The palmettes are set horizontally and enclosed by tendrils with a single leaf growing from their fork. The close-set leaves indicate a date in the early red-figure period.

CLOSED VASE

279. (A-P 1262) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.054 m.

Fragment from the shoulder. The clay has fired to a gray color. No relief contour. Purple is used for the inscription.

The shoulder of a draped figure to right holding a staff. Below the left arm is one letter of an inscription: O.

OPEN VASES

280. (A-P 2260) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.038 m.

Fragment from the side. The glaze is dull.

A draped figure to left holding a staff. For the drapery compare Schaal, *Griechische Vasen*, pl. 44.

281. (A-P 2269) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.031 m.

Fragment from the side. Excellent glaze. No relief contour.

Preserved are part of the right arm (bent at the elbow) and the torso of a figure to right wearing a chiton and a cloak; the folds of the cloak hang down over the shoulder and are almost

exactly duplicated on a vase in the Metropolitan Museum (cf. Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, pl. 102, no. 101, and p. 133). The piece in the Metropolitan Museum is attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter.

282. (A-P 2249) Fig. 48

Greatest dimension, 0.058 m.

Fragment from the side. No relief contour.

A forearm extended to left grasping a staff.

PYXIDES

283. (A-P 2517) Lid. (Fig. 48)

Estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.055 m.

Fragment of a lid. The surface is worn. Relief contour. There is a rounded molding on the outer edge at the top.

The upper part of the body of a satyr to right, head reverted and arm akimbo (cf. Graef-Langlotz, II, 1073, pl. 83).

284. (A-P 2272) Fig. 48

Height, 0.061 m.

Fragment from the side. The glaze on the outside is dull, and on the inside cracked. No relief contour.

A female figure seated to right, her arm resting on the back of her chair. Another female figure is moving off to left. Both shape and style indicate the date 430-420 B.C. for the piece. The development of pyxis shapes is discussed by Curtius, "Pentheus," 88 *Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1929, p. 5. The motive of seated and walking women is common.

SIX'S TECHNIQUE

The fragments in Six's Technique (cf. Six, *Gaz. Arch.*, XIII, 1888, pp. 193 f.; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, I, pp. 333-335; Dragendorff, *Jahrbuch*, XLIII, 1928, pp. 337 f.) are mostly from omphalos cups. They fit into the classification made by Langlotz for the Acropolis examples (Graef-Langlotz, II, pp. 101 f.), but with the exception of No. 291 are from smaller and less important pieces. No. 291 appears to date from the ripe archaic period, and its dancing maenads belong to a motive much better exemplified by a cup of Makron (Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 438).

OMPHALOS CUPS. Langlotz: Group II (ivy-leaf decoration)

285. (A-P 2463, Well A) Fig. 50

Greatest dimension, 0.033 m.

Fragment from the side. On the interior are a white tongue band marked off by purple lines, and in the main zone two rows of alternately red and white ivy leaves set along a purple line. For the type compare Graef-Langlotz, II, 1136, p. 103.

Langlotz: Group III (lotus buds radiating from the omphalos)

286. (A-P 1709, Well A) Fig. 50

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.08 m.

Fragment from the side. The top of the rim, a line around the missing omphalos, and another line half way up the side are purple. The decoration consists of a row of large lotus buds which radiate from the center and have small buds set between them. The outline of the buds is white, their hearts red, and the dots between them buff.



Fig. 50. Fragments in Six's Technique

Langlotz: Group VI (animal decoration)

287. (A-P 2439 *a-b* and 2233 *c-d*, Well B) Fig. 50

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.20 m.

Two fragments from the rim (only one illustrated), and two from the side. On the rim was a herring-bone pattern in white which has almost disappeared. In the main zone are two rows of white dolphins which are divided by purple dots. The motive was common (cf. Delos 641, *Délos*, X², pl. LII). The fragment belongs to class C of Group VI, distinguished by its decoration of sea animals.

288. (A-P 1659 [= *a-b*], 2139 *A* and *B* [= *c-d*], 2139 *C* and 2527 [= *e*]; Well A) Fig. 50

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.18 m.

Two fragments from the rim (only one illustrated), and three from the side (only two illustrated). On the rim is a row of white ivy leaves. The main zone is divided into two parts by a double row of *O*'s with white centers. Above them are palmettes encircled by tendrils, and below are dolphins. White is the only color used. Class C (see the preceding item).

289. (A-P 2291, Well E) Fig. 50

Greatest dimension, 0.025 m.

Fragment from the side. The hindquarters of a dog to left painted with white over red (for the technique of painting compare Six, *Gaz. Arch.*, XIII, 1888, p. 282, note 2).

Langlotz: Group VII (decoration consisting of human and semi-human figures)

290. (A-P 1658 *G-H*, Well A) Fig. 50

Greatest dimension, 0.042 m.

Fragment from the side. Two sphinxes opposite each other. They are painted buff. The piece belongs to class B of Group VII characterized by its decoration of sphinxes.

291. (A-P 1658 *A*, Well A) Fig. 50

Greatest dimension, *ca.* 0.095 m.

Fragment from the side with the omphalos preserved. Around the omphalos are two purple lines. There is no tongue band. The flesh, drapery, and hair of the figures are buff; across the front of their garments are four vertical reddish lines and they wear hair fillets of the same color. The eyes of the maenads are indicated by a red dot. The stalks of the vines are red and the leaves buff.

Maenads dancing. Five are partly preserved and there is space for three more. The fragment belongs to class D of Group VII decorated with Bacchic scenes.

KYLIX

292. (A-P 1977 *B*, Well A) Fig. 50

Greatest dimension, 0.053 m.

Fragment from the side of a kylix with a design on the interior. The exterior is decorated with black-glazed bands. The tondo of the interior is marked off by an incised line. There is a purple dot on the side.

A tripod painted buff with incised details. The use of incision suggests a date earlier than that of the preceding examples (cf. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, I, p. 335).

CLOSED VASE

293. (A-P 2470, Well A) Fig. 50

Greatest dimension, 0.021 m.

Fragment from the side of a small closed vase. The feathers of the tail are indicated by incision.

The rump of a bird to left. It is painted pink with scattered red dots. For a somewhat similar variegation on a bird compare Graef-Langlotz, II, 1087, p. 100 and pl. 84.

PAINTED INSCRIPTIONS

294. (A-P 2247) Fig. 51

Estimated diameter at bottom, *ca.* 0.07 m.

Fragment from the bottom of an open beaker-like vessel. The glaze is excellent. The bottom is reserved and slightly concave. The signature is written around its edge in dilute glaze.

The vase is signed "Amasis". The name is complete except for the initial alpha which is only partly preserved. Eight other signatures of Amasis are known (cf. Hoppin, *A Handbook of Greek*

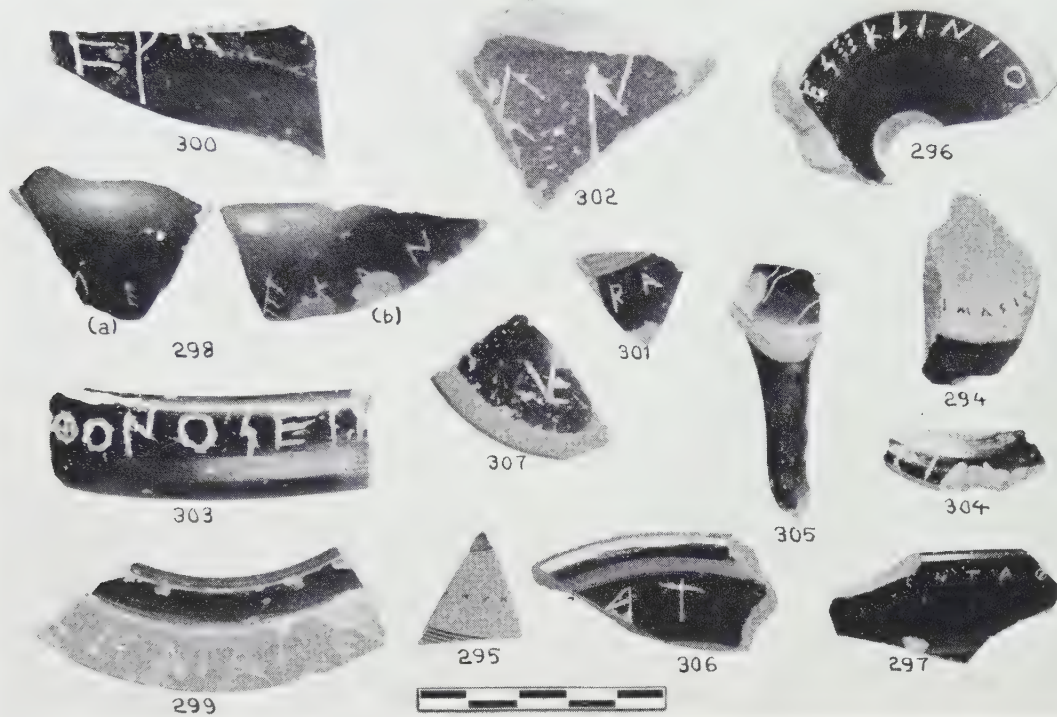


Fig. 51. Inscriptions

Black-Figured Vases, p. 27; and Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure*, p. 21). He signs the other vases as potter. The fragment No. 294 does not seem to be the bottom of the "unusual bowl-like vessel" from the Acropolis attributed to Amasis by Beazley (*B.S.A.*, XXXII, 1931-1932, p. 19).

295. (A-P 1815, Well A) Fig. 51

Greatest dimension, 0.023 m.

Fragment from the center of a cup. The object at the top is purple. Four letters of an inscription written in dilute glaze: 'TVK.

GRAFFITI

296. (A-O 194) Ostrakon. Fig. 51

Diameter of foot, 0.06 m.

Foot of a kylix. The outer edge is reserved and grooved. The letters of the inscription are scratched around the edge on the bottom.

The ballot seems to have been cast for the expulsion of Alkibiades the Elder, as it uses a three-bar sigma. The inscription reads: [Ἀλκιβιάδ]ες : : Κλινίο Σ[καμβονίδες]. The only other known ostrakon of Alkibiades the Elder was found recently in the Agora (cf. Shear, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 361, and p. 359, fig. 50). Like our fragment it uses the three-bar sigma.

297. (A-P 2481, Well A) Fig. 51

Estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.14 m.

Fragment of a cup rim. The letters are neatly incised around the swelling lip of the rim [ἀνέθεκ]εν τὰθ[εναίαι].

298. (A-P 1839 *a* and 1947 *b*, Well A) Fig. 51

Greatest dimensions: *a*, 0.039 m.; *b*, 0.05 m.

Two fragments of a widely flaring lip. The letters are carelessly scratched around the edge of the upper side of the lip. The inscription is probably to be restored thus:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & a & b \\ \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} & \text{Λ} \text{Ε} & \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \\ & \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} & \end{array}$$

299. (A-P 2478, Well A) Fig. 51

Estimated diameter of foot, *ca.* 0.12 m.

A fragmentary foot in two degrees. There are two purple lines around the upper member. A dedicatory inscription is roughly scratched on the reserved resting surface of the foot: --- ΕΝΑΙΑΙ Ε ---.

300. (A-P 1554, Well A) Fig. 51

Greatest dimension, 0.059 m.

Fragment from the side of a black-glazed cup. The extant letters are either ἸΕΡΑ or ΕΡΑ.²⁵

301. (A-P 1942, Well A) Fig. 51

Greatest dimension, 0.022 m.

Fragment from the center of a cup with purple lines around the central design. Outside the purple lines are incised two letters, ΠΑ. Perhaps they conclude the word [ἡε]ρά.

302. (A-P 2215, Well A) Fig. 51

Greatest dimension, 0.053 m.

Fragment from the shoulder of a large closed vessel with the start of the neck in the upper left corner. Two letters of a dedicatory inscription remain: [ἀνέθεκ]εν.

303. (A-P 1896, Well A) Fig. 51

Diameter, 0.022 m.

Fragment of a black-glazed amphora handle. Probably the ownership of the vase was recorded by the inscription --- θονος εἰμ[ί] (cf. Graef-Langlotz, II, 1505-1516, pp. 126-127).

²⁵ Possible restorations in Nos. 299 and 300 are [Ἀθ]εναίαι Ἐ[ργάνει] (299) and [Ἀθ]εναίαι Ἐ[ργάνει] (300); equally possible in No. 300 is [Ἀθ]εναίαι ἡ[ε]ρά.

304. (A-P 1504, Well A) Fig. 51

Estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.05 m.

Fragment of a small foot with two letters EI roughly scratched on the upper surface.

305. (A-P 1970, Well A) Fig. 51

Greatest dimension, 0.052 m.

Fragmentary cup handle. On the inside of the cup are some incised lines resembling letters, but they may be part of the decoration.

306. (A-P 1673, Well A) Fig. 51

Estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.12 m.

Fragment of a lid. There are two purple lines around the outside. In the space between them two letters (retrograde?) from $\tau\acute{\alpha}[\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota\alpha\iota]$.

307. (A-P 896) Fig. 51

Estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.07 m.

Fragment of a kylix foot. The monogram scratched on the lower surface of the foot may be read either Σ or Λ . It can be interpreted as a merchant's mark, as initials scratched in an idle moment, or as initials indicating ownership (cf. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 352-354).

308. (A-P 2221, Well B) Fig. 52

Greatest dimension, 0.11 m.

Fragment from a very large unglazed vase. The clay is dark gray, ribbed on the interior, but smooth on the outer face. Eight letters are fully preserved and an incomplete one at each end. The letters are lightly and crudely scratched: N(or H)EIOP(or Δ)AI \leq O. The letter forms are ambiguous and the meaning is not apparent.

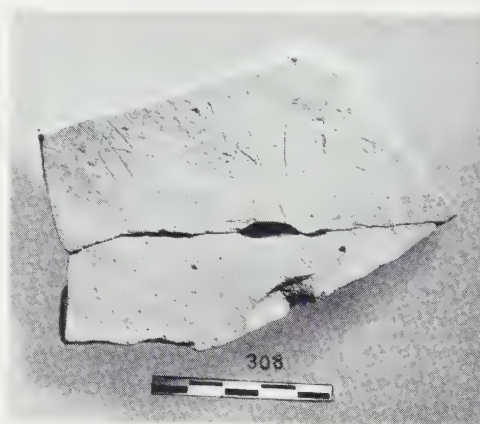


Fig. 52. A Graffito

BLACK-GLAZED AND UNGLAZED WARE

The household pottery was found, with a few exceptions noticed as they occur, in the well deposits at the bottom of the five wells dug during the 1938 campaign. Since the pottery is homogeneous in type, it is here classified by shapes rather than by well-groups. The pottery dates from the period when the wells were in use; and this we may take to be the late sixth and early fifth centuries, inasmuch as four of the wells seem to have been filled during the period of reorganization which followed the destruction of the Acropolis shrines in 480 B.C., while the fifth, Well B, though it can hardly be later than these, may have been filled as early as the end of the sixth century. Much of the pottery is similar to that obtained in the wells dug on the North Slope in 1937; these wells went into disuse in the late sixth century ²⁶ (cf.

²⁶ Well M may have gone into disuse slightly later (cf. Broneer, *loc. cit.*, p. 212).

Broneer, "Excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis, 1937," *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 170-224). Comparisons are here made not only with this pottery previously discovered on the North Slope but also with the somewhat earlier types obtained from the rectangular rock-cut shaft in the Agora (cf. Vanderpool, "The Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft," *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 363-411), as well as the fifth century examples found in Agora Wells (cf. Talcott, "Attic Black-Glazed Stamped Ware and Other Pottery from a Fifth Century Well," *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 476-523; and "Vases and Kalos-Names from an Agora Well," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 333-354).



Fig. 53. Black-Glazed Ware

BLACK-GLAZED POTTERY

309. (A-P 2213, Well A) Pelike. (Fig. 53)

Height, 0.289 m.; diameter of foot, 0.142 m.; greatest diameter, 0.226 m.

Complete except for small pieces from the side. The body is broad with a short neck and a heavy rounded lip; it is entirely glazed except for the edge of the foot. The foot is low and in shape resembles an inverted echinus. There is a somewhat similarly shaped black-glazed pelike from Rhodes (cf. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, p. 280, fig. 309).

A pelike, A-P 2244,²⁷ from Well B is of the same shape, but its body is reserved and decorated with black bands both under the handles and on the lower part.

310. (A-P 2423, Well A) Jug. (Fig. 54)

Height, 0.278 m.; diameter of foot, 0.145 m.; greatest diameter, 0.244 m.

Complete except for pieces from the side. Buff, crumbly clay. The shape is bulging with a short neck and a cup-like mouth, the rim of which is slightly offset. The glaze with which the whole vase once was covered has now flaked off almost completely. Its shape is not unlike that of No. 330, and possibly it is akin to the round-bodied lekythos from the Agora, Inv. No. P 1252, (cf. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 392, fig. 29, and p. 400, no. 35).

²⁷ Duplicate examples of household pottery are mentioned by their inventory numbers and are not catalogued.

311. (A-P 2238, Well B) Oinochoe. (Fig. 53)

Height, 0.172 m.; diameter of foot, 0.09 m.; greatest diameter, 0.15 m.

Oinochoe with a trefoil mouth. Complete except for pieces from the side. There are two lines of purple around the widest part of the body. A similar oinochoe was found on the North Slope in 1937 (cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 215, no. 16, fig. 48, A. P. 1132).

312. (A-P 2207, Well A) Olpe. (Fig. 53)

Height, 0.119 m.; diameter of foot, 0.042 m.; greatest diameter, 0.075 m.

Small olpe with a flat foot. Complete except for pieces from the side. There are two purple lines around the widest part of the body, and one around the mouth. It is a very common type (cf. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 388, no. 19, and p. 392, fig. 29).



Fig. 54. Household Ware

313. (A-P 2243, Well B) Skyphos. (Fig. 53)

Height, 0.118 m.; diameter of foot, 0.093 m.; greatest diameter, 0.158 m.

A Corinthian-type skyphos, complete except for pieces from the side. The point of greatest width is near the rim, which is slightly incurving. The decoration consists of a band of single-line rays at the bottom and two purple lines around the body at the point of greatest width. The underside of the foot is reserved, and two lines of glaze are drawn around it. For the type compare Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 340, fig. 8, P 5141.

314. (A-P 2212, Well A) Skyphos. (Fig. 55)

Height, 0.058 m.; diameter of foot, 0.04 m.; greatest diameter, 0.097 m.

A skyphos with a flat foot and slightly projecting, flat rim. Complete except for pieces from the side and one handle. The glaze is reddish and there is a reserved band at the level of the handle. Skyphoi of a similar shape were found on the North Slope in 1937 (cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 181, no. 27, fig. 18, A. P. 968). A skyphos, A-P 1487, from Well C is identical.

315. (A-P 2209, Well A) Stemmed Bowl. (Fig. 55)

Restored diameter at rim, 0.18 m.

The stem, foot, and pieces from the side are missing. The bowl is deep with a slightly incurving lip separated from the wall by a shallow groove. An example from the Agora, dated in the second quarter of the fifth century, is shallower, has a more incurving lip, and lacks the groove (cf. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 341, fig. 9, P 5134).



Fig. 55. Black-Glazed and Semi-Glazed Ware

316. (A-P 1543, Well A) Salt Cellar. (Fig. 55)

Height, 0.037 m.; diameter at bottom, 0.062 m.; diameter at top, 0.058 m.

Part of the side is restored. The profile is slightly concave with a projecting bottom and thickened top. There are some fifth-century examples from the Agora (cf. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 341, fig. 9, P 5148-5149).

317. (A-P 1542, Well A) Plate. (Fig. 55)

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.125 m.

Fragment from a shallow plate with a widely flaring rim which has two grooves along its upper edge. There is a narrow molding along the bottom, and in the center a reserved circle.

318. (A-P 2032, Well A) Miniature Amphora. (Fig. 55)

Diameter at shoulder, 0.057 m.

The neck, mouth, and shoulder of a small amphora. The scars left by the handles are on the neck. The neck is short and the shoulder rounded. There is a reserved band around the base of the neck. A similar band on the shoulder is filled with two purple lines. The vase belongs to a series of small amphorae whose development covers the last half of the sixth century (Beazley).

319. (A-P 1481, Well C) Handleless Cup. (Fig. 55)

Height, 0.04 m.; diameter at top, 0.07 m.; diameter at bottom, 0.047 m.

A small cup with a wide, offset, glazed rim. The body is reserved and covered with a brownish wash. The sides taper inward. A second cup, A-P 1482, from the same well is very similar.

320. (A-P 891) Votive Cup. (Fig. 55)

Height, 0.039 m.; diameter of rim, 0.049 m.

A small glazed skyphos-like cup with a high foot and incurving sides. The handles are merely strips of clay pinched onto the side. This cup and five similar, but unglazed, examples were found in undisturbed pockets of classical fill. The others are inventoried as A-P 890, 892, 898, 1166, 1167. Fourth century.

321. (A-P 2417, Well D) Miniature Cup. (Fig. 55)

Height, 0.025 m.; diameter, 0.04 m.

A complete miniature cup of unglazed gray clay. It has vertical handles crudely pinched on by hand, and a slightly offset foot.

322. (A-P 1573, Well A) Miniature Cup. (Fig. 55)

Height, 0.036 m.; diameter, 0.053 m.

A complete cup with horizontal, uptilted handles and an offset foot. There is a small palmette by the handle. The handles and the foot are glazed. Similar cups were found in a sanctuary deposit on the North Slope (Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 345 f., fig. 17).

323. (A-P 895) Corinthian Votive Cup. (Fig. 55)

Height, 0.028 m.; diameter, 0.04 m.

A skyphos-like cup with handles and part of the side missing. There is a purple stripe around the side (cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 212, no. 3, and p. 213, fig. 47, A. P. 1098).

UNGLAZED AND SEMIGLAZED HOUSEHOLD WARE

324. (A-P 2536, Well A) Pithos (Fig. 56)

Height, 1.37 m.; diameter of foot, 0.24 m.; diameter of mouth, 0.43 m.; greatest diameter, 0.94 m.

Complete except for a few pieces from the side and neck. The clay is reddish buff, soft, and gritty. The body tapers from its point of



Fig. 56. Pithos

greatest width, set fairly high, to a small solid foot. The shoulder curves in to the base of the neck, which is very high and has a flat, projecting rim. There are two small ridges, one at the base of the neck, and the other at the top of the foot. There are three bands of pattern on the body, averaging 0.045 m. in width, decorated with stamped designs: on the topmost band just below the ridge at the base of the neck a lotus ornament; on the second, high on the shoulder, stamped circles and incised lines; and on the third, just below the point of greatest diameter, a pattern similar to that of the second band. The decoration was made on the pithos while the clay was leather-hard. A large pithos from the Kerameikos, now in the National Museum, is very similar to No. 324 in shape (*Ath. Mitt.*, XVIII, 1893, p. 134). It had been regarded as Geometric until 1937, when a smaller pithos with identical decoration was discovered in a late sixth-century well on the North Slope (cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 221, no. 43, fig. 56, A. P. 1127). The neck and shoulder of another pithos, A-P 2532, similar to No. 324 were also found in Well A.

Great pithoi of this type are frequently represented on late black-figured vases. When they were no longer useful as storage-jars, they were not infrequently employed as well curbs (cf. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, III, fig. 276).

325. (A-P 2424, Well A) Krater. (Fig. 54)

Height, 0.198 m.; diameter of foot, 0.283 m.; diameter of rim, 0.388 m.

Complete except for pieces from the side and foot. Buff clay. The vessel is wide and low with a flat, projecting rim against which its horizontal handles are bent. The foot is glazed; there is a black band around the body under the handles, and a dab of glaze at the top of each handle. For the type compare Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 181, no. 30, fig. 19, A. P. 993.

326. (A-P 2239, Well B) Krater. (Fig. 57)

Height, 0.175 m.; diameter of foot, 0.123 m.; greatest diameter, 0.247 m.

Complete except for pieces from the side. Buff clay. The body tapers inward to the foot and has a rounded, projecting rim and horizontal, uptilted handles. The upper surfaces of rim and foot are glazed, and there is a black band around the body under the handles. Three other kraters of a similar type were found, A-P 1492 and 1493 in Well C and A-P 2386 in Well E. On A-P 1492 is an incised line around the body at the level of the handles as on No. 331. Possibly the line served as a guide to attach the handles. For the type compare Talcott, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 493, and p. 512, fig. 25, no. 93 (with description on p. 517).

327. (A-P 2240, Well B) Oinochoe. (Fig. 57)

Height, 0.18 m.; diameter of foot, 0.116 m.; greatest diameter, 0.20 m.

328. (A-P 1486, Well C) Oinochoe. (Fig. 57)

Height, 0.162 m.; diameter of foot, 0.08 m.; greatest diameter, 0.17 m.

The two items are similar in type, but No. 327 has a small offset foot and is broader in the shoulder. Four similar oinochoai were found: A-P 1484 and 1488 in Well C, 2533 in Well A, and 2538 in a small deposit of classical fill on the slope. The clay is buff or pink. The bodies are rounded with a collar-like neck and a projecting lip. The neck is glazed, and there is a band of glaze around the body under the handles. For the type compare Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 219, no. 30, and p. 218, fig. 51, A. P. 1128. Both the type with a foot and without a foot have been found together in the Agora (cf. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 386, no. 18).

329. (A-P 1489, Well C) Jar. (Fig. 58)

Height, 0.12 m.; diameter of foot, 0.086 m.; greatest diameter, 0.21 m.

A squat, wide-shouldered jar with no handles. The foot is flat and the neck short. The clay is buff with a pocked surface which shows the vertical strokes of the paring knife.



Fig. 57. Semiglazed Ware



Fig. 58. Unglazed Ware



Fig. 59. Household Ware

330. (A-P 1485, Well C) Jug. (Fig. 59)

Restored height, 0.16 m.; greatest diameter, 0.14 m.

The lower part of the body is restored. It is globular with a narrow, short neck opening into a cup-like mouth. The handle and the mouth are glazed. There are bands of glaze around the lower part of the body and under the handle. On the shoulder is a wavy line. For the type compare No. 310.

331. (A-P 2241, Well B) Hydria. (Fig. 60)

Height, 0.43 m.; diameter of foot, 0.12 m.; greatest diameter, 0.27 m.

Part of the vertical handle and pieces from the side are missing. The body is tall with a high, rounded shoulder. The clay is buff and the glaze brown. The lip and foot are glazed, and around the body are bands of glaze, one at the base of the neck, two on the shoulder above the handles, and two well below the handles. In the space between the two latter and on the neck are wavy lines. For the type of decoration compare Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 181-183, no. 31, and p. 182, fig. 20, A. P. 947 (see also the preceding item). For the incised line around the body at the level of the handles see No. 326.

332. (A-P 1574, Well A) Casserole. (Fig. 59)

Restored diameter, 0.208 m.

One handle and part of the side are restored. The vessel is deep and bowl-like with a rounded bottom and a rim grooved to hold a lid. Two holes, one partially broken, pierce the rim near the preserved handle; their presence may imply the practice of suspending the casserole over the fire. The clay is grayish brown and micaceous. The outer surface is blackened by fire.

333. (A-P 2245, Well B) Cooking Pot. (Fig. 58)

Height, 0.20 m.; greatest diameter, 0.21 m.

Complete except for pieces from the side.

The body is globular with a rather high neck and a flat, slightly projecting lip. The clay is grayish brown and micaceous. The exterior is blackened by fire. For the type compare Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 220, no. 39, fig. 54, A. P. 1130.

334. (A-P 2537, Well A) Amphora. (Fig. 58)

Height, 0.266 m.; diameter of foot, 0.094 m.; greatest diameter, 0.234 m.

Complete except for a hole in the side and small chips from the foot. The amphora is globular with a high neck and low foot. The clay is buff and micaceous. For the type compare Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 220, no. 36, fig. 53 (on p. 219), A. P. 1136.



Fig. 60. Semiglazed Hydria

335. (A-P 1491, Well C) Wine Amphora. (Fig. 61)

Height, 0.446 m.; greatest diameter, 0.31 m.

Parts of the side are restored. The clay is reddish and soft. The body is plump. At the lower end, which lacks the usual ring foot, is a small hole. An amphora, A-P 1494, found in Well C is of a similar shape, but has a ring foot and lacks the hole.

336. (A-P 2422, Well A) Wine Amphora. (Fig. 61)

Height, 0.073 m.; greatest diameter, 0.36 m.

Complete except for fragments from the side. The body is tall, but has a plump shoulder. The lip is glazed, and there is a line down the middle of each handle. Around the shoulder and the lower part of the body are two lines of glaze. On one side of the neck is a dipinto gamma, and on the other an incised monogram Π . For the type compare Campbell, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 608, no. 214 (illustrated in fig. 29 on p. 607), which was found in a well at Corinth.

337. (A-P 2420, Well D) Amphora. (Fig. 61)

Height, 0.58 m.; greatest diameter, 0.36 m.

Complete except for pieces from the side. The body is very wide in the shoulder and tapers to a small ring-foot. The clay is buff and crumbly and the glaze brownish red. The body is decorated with horizontal lines. Two other amphorae of a similar type were found: A-P 2419 (from Well D) and A-P 2274 (from Well B). Similar amphorae have been found on the North Slope, in the Agora, and in Corinth (cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 184, no. 32, and p. 183, fig. 21, A. P. 1048; Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 378, no. 9, with fig. 14 on p. 379; Campbell, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 606, nos. 207-209, fig. 29 on p. 607).

338. (A-P 2535, Well A) Amphora. (Fig. 61)

Height, 0.577 m.; greatest diameter, 0.39 m.

Complete except for a few pieces from the side. The body is wide in the shoulder and tapers to a small offset foot. An amphora, A-P 2534, from Well A is identical. The clay is gray and micaceous. The amphora is completely unglazed.

339. (A-P 1495, Well C) Rim. (Fig. 62)

Estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.62 m.

Fragment from the rim of a very wide-mouthed vessel with a strongly curving shoulder. The rim projects and is grooved on the side and on the top. The clay is pink and micaceous.

INCISED WARE

Nos. 340-343 are from small vases uniform both in style of decoration and in fabric. They are crudely made by hand from micaceous clay which is gray at the core and varying shades of purplish red on the surface. The decoration consists of roughly incised designs: triangles, short lines, and (most frequently) pairs of wavy lines. The designs are scratched on the leather-hard clay. The fragments are all from small vases. Nos. 340-342 are from a type of cup with a stand-foot and loop-handle, and No. 343 is from a small shallow plate. A number of lamp fragments of similar



Fig. 61. Amphorae

fabric, and in some cases of similar decoration also, were found in the wells with the potsherds. They are from lamps of early type with a bridgeless nozzle. Vases with similar decoration have been found at Anavasso (cf. *Πρακτικά*, 1911, p. 124, fig. 28) and in the Agora. They probably date from the seventh century.²⁸

340. (A-P 2493, Well A) Cup. (Fig. 63)

Estimated diameter at top of foot, *ca.* 0.08 m.

Fragment from the foot with the edge of the bottom preserved. The bottom shows traces of burning. At the top of the foot is a wavy line, and at the bottom are triangles. The side is decorated with a pair of horizontal wavy lines and a single vertical wavy line.

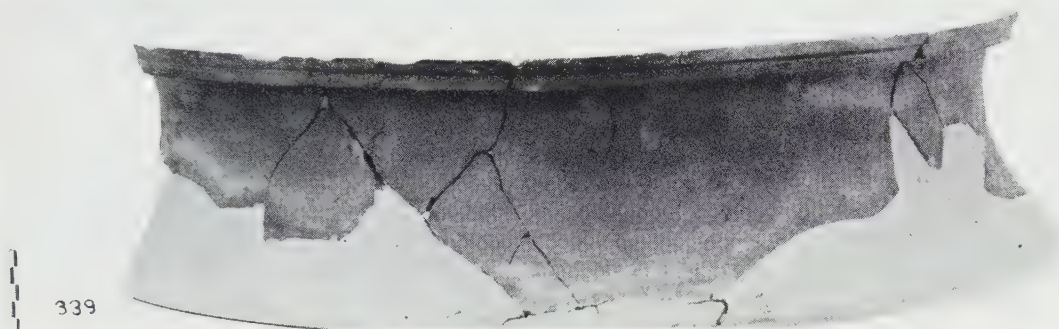


Fig. 62. Rim

341. (A-P 1853, Well A) Cup. (Fig. 63)

Greatest dimension, 0.045 m.

The fragment appears to be from the foot of a cup, as the original edge is preserved on each side. At the top and bottom are short lines, and on the side triangles. It may be one leg of a cup with a tripod foot like a cup from Rhitsona (cf. *J.H.S.*, XXX, 1910, p. 347, fig. 9).

342. (A-P 2438, Well B) Cup. (Fig. 63)

Greatest dimension, 0.05 m.

Fragment from a foot of the same type as the preceding item. At the bottom are X's and above is a diamond pattern.

343. (A-P 1711, Well A) Plate. (Fig. 63)

Diameter, 0.072 m.

Fragment from the bottom with the beginning of the side. The side of a hole is preserved, pierced in the rim, possibly for suspending the vessel. The bottom is decorated with pairs of wavy lines, and between them are irregularly placed dots.

²⁸ I am indebted to Mr. Rodney Young for this information and for the identification of the shape of Nos. 340-342 and No. 345.

344. (A-P 2371, Well E) Lid. (Fig. 63)

Estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.12 m.

Fragment from the side of a conical lid. The edge projects. The top is decorated with concentric bands of herring-bones and of short diagonal lines. The fabric is similar to that of the preceding item.



Fig. 63. Coarse Incised Ware

345. (A-P 2483, Well A) Cup. (Fig. 63)

Estimated diameter at rim, *ca.* 0.08 m.

Fragment from the side of a cup with a bulging body, short neck, and flaring mouth. The rim is thickened, and there is a scar left by the handle. The vessel is hand made with no decoration. The fabric is similar to that of the preceding item.

346. (A-P 2436, Well B) Large Vase. (Fig. 63)

Greatest dimension, 0.053 m.

Fragment from the shoulder. The decoration consists of wavy lines and rough marks which somewhat resemble letters. The fabric is similar to that of the preceding item.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1939

The excavation of the Athenian Agora, conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, was continued in 1939 for the ninth season and covered a period of eighteen weeks from February 20 to June 24. The progress of the work was reported as usual in a series of Weekly Reports, and brief accounts of the season's results have been published by me in the *Illustrated London News* (July 22, 1939) and in *A.J.A.* (XLIII, 1939, pp. 577-588). A climax in the history of the project was achieved by the completion of the purchase of the modern houses situated on the area. These purchases have been made annually by blocks in order to disturb as little as possible the daily life of the district, in view of the large number of parcels of land involved, totaling three hundred and sixty-five. The successful conclusion of the expropriation of this large area in the heart of the city is a triumph for the tactful and energetic Business Manager of the Agora, A. Adossides. But, although all modern houses in the American Zone have now been purchased, not all have been demolished, since it has been necessary to retain a group of houses for the use of the staff as offices, workrooms, and a temporary museum. These buildings cannot be removed until the construction of the new Agora Museum which, according to present plans, will be erected in the immediate future in the southwestern corner of the Zone.

Most of the work of the season was concentrated on the southern border of the Zone which lies on the lower slopes of the Areopagus. The deposit of earth above bedrock was shallow in that area and some cellars of modern houses were found to have been cut in the rock, but in contrast to the small amount of earth remaining there the accumulation was deep in the block in the southwest corner designated for the site of the new museum, so that the total amount of earth removed, 56,000 tons, was greater than in any previous season. Some of this earth was kept in the area, being heaped up on the rocky summit of the Kolonos Agoraios south of the "Theseum," so that it would be available for refilling pits and trenches in connection with the final landscaping of the excavated district. Chiefly because of the great extent of the museum site and of its deep deposit of earth it was necessary to employ a large corps of workmen, averaging 215, throughout the season. The trained and experienced foremen of previous campaigns continued with the work, and the head foreman was the able and efficient veteran, Sophokles Lekkas.

This great project of expropriation and excavation in the heart of a flourishing modern capital, involving delicate business and legal transactions as well as an elaborate scientific organization, is being brought to a successful conclusion in spite of obstacles which, from time to time during the past ten years, seemed unsurmountable.

As has been emphasized in my past Reports this happy state of affairs could not have been achieved without the coöperation and constant support of all branches of the Greek Government which have been concerned with the Agora project. The head of the Government, His Excellency General Metaxas, President of the Council and Minister of Education, took occasion to visit and inspect the site, and the chief of the Archaeological Section of the Ministry of Education during the season, Pro-



Fig. 1. Northern Part of the Excavated Area

fessor S. Marinatos, continued to show the deep interest in the work and the readiness to be of service to it which were characteristic of his predecessor, Professor G. P. Oikonomos.

During the past nine seasons of excavation (1931-1939) 246,000 tons of earth have been removed from the American Zone. The level which has thus been exposed is in general that of the classical Graeco-Roman age, which lies about fifteen feet below the level of the modern streets, but in many places investigation has been carried some ten feet deeper down to bedrock, and at that level remains of prehistoric habitation are almost invariably revealed. The present appearance of the Zone is shown

by the two photographs reproduced in Figs. 1 and 2 which give a panoramic view of the excavated area and of the part of the city situated beyond it to the north and the east, as seen from the roof of the modern observatory. It will be noted that the area is bisected by a street (Asteroskopeiou) which has not yet been removed because on it border the houses used as a temporary museum and as workrooms for the members of the excavating staff. The main topographical landmarks are easily distinguishable



Fig. 2. Southern Part of Excavated Area

in the photographs: on the extreme left of Fig. 1 the temple of Hephaistos, on the right of Fig. 2 the Acropolis and the Areopagus, in the background Mts. Lycabettus and Hymettus.

For the continuation of the excavations on the large scale on which they were conducted throughout the season it was possible to retain with but few changes the trained and experienced members of the staff. One of the excavators, R. H. Howland, felt obliged to return to America at the conclusion of his three-year term on January first in order to get started in an academic career at home. But before he left Athens he was able to complete the catalogue and study of the large collection of Greek lamps from the excavations, and during the Spring prepared a selection of this material

for use as a doctoral dissertation at Harvard University. Howland's departure left a vacancy on the list of excavators, which was filled by the appointment of Henry Robinson, a Fellow in the American School, who successfully satisfied the requirements of the high standards set by the Agora staff, and was reappointed for the season of 1940.

Miss Talcott has continued the maintenance of the Records Department on the highest plane of efficiency in spite of having been deprived of one of her assistants, Mrs. Louise C. Scranton, who withdrew from the staff in order to return to America with her husband. Although the vacancy thus created was not filled because of economic stringency the lack was partially compensated by the overworking of Miss Talcott and by the efficiency of her assistant, Mrs. Suzanne H. Young. Because of domestic obligations Mrs. Shear was unable to give any time to the Coin Department this season and that onerous branch of the work was entirely managed with skill and competence by Miss Margaret Thompson, assisted by Miss Elisabeth Washburn, who joined the Coin Department in the latter part of the season of 1938, returned this year, and has been reappointed for the next campaign.

It was possible to maintain for another season the valuable research laboratory of the Chemical Department, and the services of Miss Farnsworth were again secured with the help of a grant from the American Philosophical Society which covered half of her expenses. The importance of the services of a chemist to the staff of an archaeological excavation may be best illustrated by giving a brief summary of Miss Farnsworth's report for the year. Her research was concerned mainly with three categories of investigation: cleaning of excavated objects; analysis and identification of materials; technological study of Greek pottery from the Agora. The metal objects which were cleaned include about five hundred lead seals and weights, which were freed from grease due to handling, and from any other surface deposit which might cause slow disintegration. The bronzes brought to the laboratory were mostly those which were too fragile to be submitted to electrolytic treatment, and they were, therefore, gently cleaned in a solution of sodium hexametaphosphate. In several cases where the bronze was well preserved the same treatment insured the retention of a handsome blue patina. Iron objects found in the Agora are in bad condition and have usually changed to iron oxide, but occasionally removal of the outer coat of oxide permits recovery of at least the original shape, and thus makes possible the identification of the object.

Some fifty unrecognized or doubtful materials were investigated in the laboratory during the season. In some cases identification was made by a few qualitative tests, in others complete qualitative or quantitative analysis was necessary. The many samples of pigment analyzed include red and yellow ochre, green malachite, white chalk, blue frit, and carbon black. The examination of the bright colors preserved on marble coffered ceiling blocks of a temple of the mid-fifth century B.C. revealed

the interesting fact that beeswax had been used as a medium for the application of the color. Other materials studied in the laboratory were ashes, rocks, samples of earth, and various metals. Quite unusual is one of the metal objects, a thin plaque from a deposit of the fourth century B.C. This was at first assumed to be lead, but it proved on investigation to be practically pure zinc, with traces only of lead, copper, and silver. The significance of this discovery is in the fact that hitherto it has been the generally accepted view that zinc was unknown to the ancient Greeks. Now it will be necessary to reconsider the instances where ancient objects of zinc have been reported in the past.

Progress has been made with the technological study of Greek pottery in spite of the lack of adequate facilities and equipment for such research at the Agora. The investigation this season has been largely concentrated on a study of the glazes used on the vases, especially the Attic black glaze. This glaze is a rich velvety black which is so durable that vases of the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ are frequently taken from the ground with the surface in as perfect condition as when the glaze was first applied; it has never been imitated with entire success in ancient or modern times. The difficulty experienced by modern chemists in analyzing the glaze and thus imitating it is due to the fact that they have not been able to separate it in a pure state from the clay to which it was applied. Miss Farnsworth, however, discovered that the glaze is magnetic and thus a satisfactory method of separation is available. She also thus disproves the commonly accepted statement that the black color is caused by ferrous oxide, since that compound is not magnetic. This important and interesting problem will be further investigated with the laboratory facilities available in America.

The Photographic Department of the Agora has been gradually expanding so as to meet ever growing needs, and Miss Frantz has become increasingly expert in the technical requirements of archaeological photography. With modest equipment, which includes only the most indispensable apparatus, and with two Greek boys to assist, she has done all the immense amount of photographic work of the year. This readjustment was necessary for two reasons, of which one was financial, and the other was the difficulty of securing the services of H. Wagner, the photographer of the German Institute, who in past years has done a considerable share of Agora photography; during the present season he was so constantly occupied by his duties at the Institute as not to be available for work elsewhere. The results, however, produced by the Agora studio are in no way inferior to those of previous years.

Other departments of the Agora work proceeded as usual; Piet de Jong continued to produce for the record paintings of Greek vases which rival in beauty the original objects they copy, and John Travlos, the staff architect, was occupied with studying, interpreting, and drawing the plans of the ancient buildings. In particular he completed a series of handsome drawings for Thompson's study of the Tholos, to be published this year as Supplement IV of *Hesperia*, and entered all newly dis-

covered foundations on the General Ground Plan of the excavated area. But the actual excavators on the staff bore, as always, the heaviest burden of the work, and the results achieved are a constant testimonial to their care, patience, and skill.

TOPOGRAPHY

The topographical discoveries of the year were few, as was to be expected, since most of the area had already been excavated, but it must be emphasized that those which were made confirm the interpretation of the topography of the Agora proposed by the excavators in earlier reports. As the topography in general becomes more

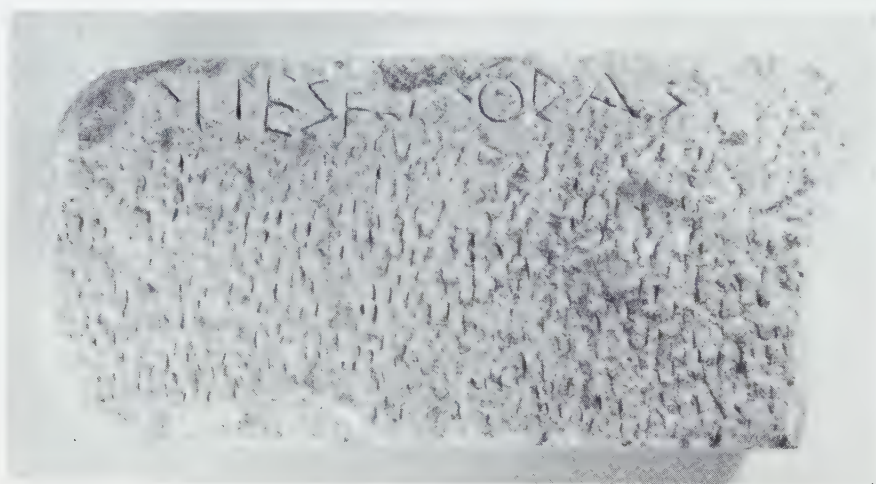


Fig. 3. Boundary Stone of the Agora

clarified by the identification of additional buildings the plan of the area agrees admirably with the description of his route given by Pausanias. All the topographical and architectural remains, including those most recently uncovered, are shown on the Plan, Plate I (facing p. 308).

An interesting discovery, although it has little importance for the topography of the area, is a second boundary stone of the Agora (Fig. 3). Only the upper part is preserved and that was found built into a Turkish tomb beneath the modern floor of the Hephaisteion. It closely resembles the stone found last year standing in its original position east of the Tholos (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 205 f., fig. 4). Like that stone it is made of white marble, has the surface roughened by chisel marks except for a smoothed band across the top and along the right side, on which was carved in fine archaic letters the inscription: *λόρος εἰμὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς*, but only the letters on the side border are now legible. Although not found in place this stone probably came from the nearby north end of the Agora, for the Agora was certainly delimited by a number of markers on its various sides, just as was the area of the Kerameikos.

The uncovering of another boundary stone of the Kerameikos in its original position is of considerable topographical significance. The shaft, 1.47 m. high, is made of Hymettian marble, with the upper part of the front surface smoothed to receive the inscription (Fig. 4). Below that the surface is decoratively chipped, and still lower the end of the shaft which was buried in the ground was left in a roughly hewn state. The inscription, written with carefully carved letters of the early part of the fourth century, reads: *ῥόρος Κεραμεικῷ*. The stone was found standing in the extreme northwestern corner of the excavations north of the electric railway (Section Mu Mu); its exact position is indicated on the Plan. It faced north on a contemporaneous street which was the main thoroughfare between the Agora and the Dipylon, and had its outer end at the Dipylon marked by similar stones. The importance of the new discovery is due to the fact that it gives the exact course of the street at a point near its inner end.

Two other matters of general topographical interest should be noted. One is the uncovering of the great drain or water-channel which underlay the road leading from the Agora in a southwest direction. This was traced throughout the entire extent of Sections Nu Nu and Xi Xi, the area in the southwest corner designated for the site of the Museum, and will be described in the report on that area. The second topographical item relates to the hypothetical site of the Eleusinion. In this connection the results of the year have been negative since no traces of a public building appeared in Section Beta Beta where it was suggested in last year's Report that the Eleusinion might be expected to be found (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 211). This does not vitiate the evidence secured previously for the identification of the site of the sanctuary, but rather supports the theory that no temple existed in the precinct.

The main areas of excavation of the past campaign were in the following Sections, for the localization of which the reader is again referred to the city plan of the American Zone published in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 335, fig. 2: Beta Beta (BB) in the southeast corner; Delta Delta (ΔΔ), Epsilon Epsilon (ΕΕ), and Zeta Zeta

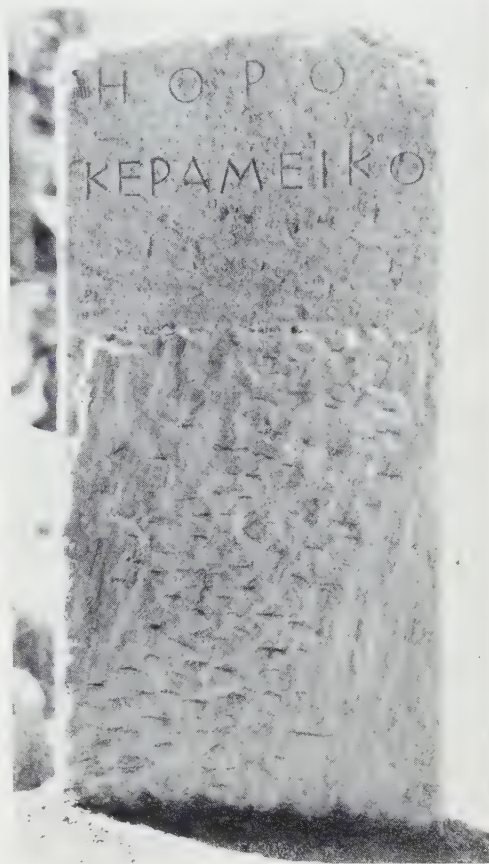


Fig. 4. Boundary Stone of the Kerameikos

(ZZ), narrow blocks bordering the south side; Gamma Gamma (ΓΓ) in the southwest part; and farther west the Museum site, Nu Nu (ΝΝ) and Xi Xi (ΞΞ). Besides these new fields of work investigation was also conducted in several areas where earlier excavation had not been completed. In Section Iota the frescoes of the seventeenth century on the walls of the church of Saint Spyridon had been removed during the Autumn under the supervision of Miss Frantz, and are now preserved in the Museum. It was necessary to demolish the church in order to uncover the ancient building beneath it. The interior of the Hephaisteion was thoroughly explored in Section Kappa Kappa, and in Section Mu Mu further investigation was made before the area was refilled with earth and returned to the city to be used as a garden. Exploration was also continued on a small scale on the site of the Odeion, and at the Klepsydra and on the slope of the Acropolis adjoining it. The more important results of the campaign will be presented under the captions of the various Sections and departments of work, and as in past years the reports of the excavators furnish the basis for the accounts here given.

SECTION BETA BETA

This block, excavated under the supervision of Miss Margaret Crosby, is situated in the southeastern part of the Zone, just west of the great Dromos and of the Valerian Wall. It is divided into two main levels by a cutting in bedrock running diagonally across the area in a southwesterly direction; on the lower level at the northwest ancient filling was preserved, but on the higher level at the northeast modern houses rested generally on bedrock. Digging in the area has not been completed, but foundations of large buildings have not so far been revealed, and the region seems to have been a residential district beginning as early as the sixth century before Christ.

Remains of the Eleusinion were, thus, not uncovered in this block although it lies on the opposite side of the Dromos from the spot where the many objects connected with the Eleusinion were discovered in 1938. Other such objects found in the area this year are nineteen more pieces of the stelae containing the auction lists of the confiscated property of the Profaners of the Mysteries, which were erected in the Eleusinion; part of the base of a statue of a priestess of Demeter; and a fragmentary decree mentioning the Eleusinian goddesses. It is possible that no temple existed in the precinct; none is mentioned by ancient writers, and the only building in it which is actually named in inscriptions is a "forecourt." But it is also possible that foundations may be later revealed when this block and its neighbor across the street, in both of which destruction of ancient remains has been thorough, shall have been completely cleared and investigated in minute detail. The mass of evidence bearing on the Eleusinion derived from these two blocks points irrefutably to the immediate proximity of the sanctuary.

The use of this area for a residential district, at least from the beginning of the sixth century B.C., is proved by the presence of streets, water-channels, drains, wells, and scattered remains of house walls. The wells have produced, as usual, some significant objects. From one with a deposit dated in the first half of the sixth cen-

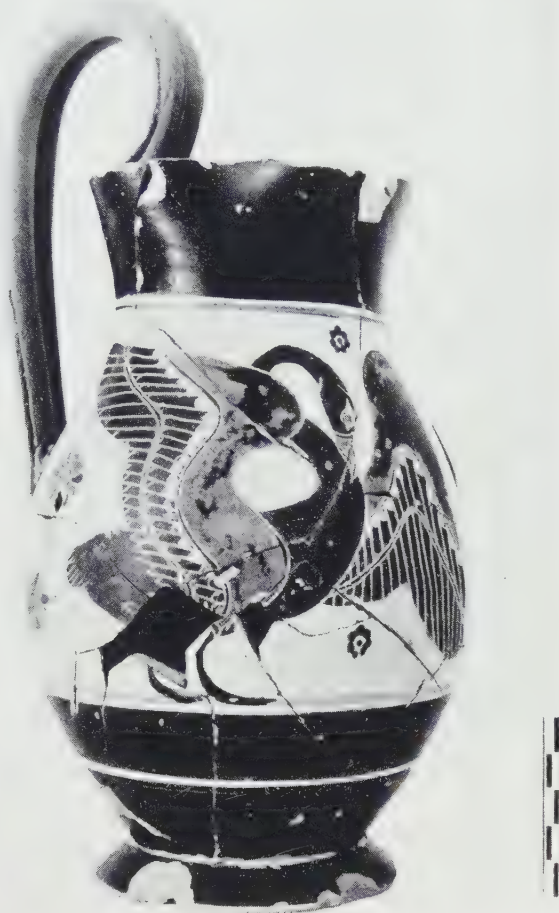


Fig. 5. Black-figured Oenochoe

tury came a handsome oenochoe with a high curved handle (Fig. 5). This vase of the Attic black-figured style is entirely covered with a black glaze except for a large reserved panel on one side, which is occupied by a swan standing with its wings spread. The feathers of the wings are marked by incisions, and purple and white are freely used as accessory colors.

Another well, with contents dating from the latter part of the sixth century, produced some objects of unusual interest. These are the wooden posts of a couch

which are preserved in extraordinarily good condition (Fig. 6). Wood rarely survives from antiquity in Greece because of the climatic conditions, but this season several well-preserved specimens were secured from wells where they had been continuously immersed. The bedposts are carefully made and at the top of one of them part of its carved tongue pattern still remains. There has not yet been opportunity

to study these posts and to base on them a reconstruction of the entire bed, but since heretofore our knowledge of the Greek couch of the sixth century has been derived almost wholly from vase-paintings, it is obvious that these parts of an actual couch provide important new information.

This area was occupied through Hellenistic and Roman times, as is proved by the presence of cisterns and wells of those periods, of which one of the latest produced interesting pottery of post-Roman type, with which was a coin of the Emperor Heraclius (610-641 A.D.). No evidence appeared of occupation of the site between the seventh and fourteenth centuries of our era, although a casual discovery was made of one object dated at the end of the eleventh century. This is a lead seal of a known type of Leon Pamphylos, with the head of Saint Theodore on the obverse, and on the reverse the official formula of the Bishop's name written as an iambic trimeter.

SECTION GAMMA GAMMA

This Section, which lies at the west end of the north slope of the Areopagus, was excavated under the supervision of Henry Robinson. The north and west slopes of the Areopagus seem always to have been used for residential purposes, and no remains of public buildings appeared in

this area. There were, however, several early graves, walls of houses of various periods, and numerous wells. The earliest remains noted in the area are dated in the Middle Helladic period (about 1800 B.C.); they consist of fragmentary pottery including sherds of a matt-painted pithos, of a gray Minyan kantharos, and of several amphoras, which had been thrown into a refuse pit. Nothing else, however, came to light belonging to this period or to the subsequent centuries down to the Geometric age.



Fig. 6. Wooden Bedposts

Many remains in the area suggested the general occupation of the site in the late Geometric period, end of the eighth century. Besides scattered sherds and undisturbed deposits three graves of the period were uncovered. One of these contained the skeleton of a young girl, with whom had been buried a two-handled cup, her two bronze bracelets, and a large glass bead, which lay over the middle of the body, having evidently been suspended from the neck by a string. In an unripped adult's grave



Fig. 7. Contents of a Late Geometric Grave

near by two two-handled bowls of characteristic late Geometric type were found lying by the feet of the skeleton. The third grave, however, contained more numerous and important offerings with its well-preserved skeleton. The objects, which are all shown grouped together in Fig. 7, are two large kantharoi, two oenochoes, two two-handled bowls, an iron blade of a dagger, and a scarab of blue faïence. The scarab is interesting as an imported object in a Geometric grave, but since its face is marked with only a decorative motive, a horned animal resembling an ibex, it is of no assistance in providing external evidence for the date of the burial. The vases are good specimens of late Geometric ware. The finest of them is a large oenochoe, which is covered by a black glaze, turned by firing to a reddish tone; about the shoulder are four narrow reserved bands and on the high neck is a panel framed by simple decora-

tive borders, which is occupied by a grazing deer. The graceful shape of this vase, the technical excellence of its highly polished surface, and the sureness of the draughtsmanship of the decorative design are characteristic of the skilled craftsmen of the period. Not less successful are the bowls and kantharoi from the grave, for they too are graceful in shape and pleasing in decoration although they represent simpler and cheaper types of ware.

Remains of the archaic period, sixth century B.C., prove that this area was a residential district at that time. The evidence consists of streets, of wells, and of traces of house walls. Two wells produced many objects characteristic of the period such as fragmentary black-figured and early red-figured vases, terracotta lamps, and numerous terracotta figurines. The predominant type of figurine was that of the archaic seated woman, but included in the group was also a fine plastic head of a negress. Among the other more interesting objects from the deposit are a black-glazed skyphos which contained seventeen bone counters, an ostrakon of Megakles son of Hippokrates, and a well-preserved blade of an iron mattock which had probably been used by the ancient diggers of the well, near the bottom of which it was found.

The site continued to be occupied by private houses throughout the subsequent Greek and Roman periods, and ample evidence for this continuity of settlement was provided by the contents of a series of wells and cisterns. One well with a deposit dated in the latter part of the fifth century produced a great quantity of pottery, which included black-glazed lamps, three squat red-figured askoi, a large oenochoe, the stand for a lebes gamikos, black-glazed vases, and one ribbed jug. One askos is decorated with two flying Erotes, and on another are the crudely painted figures of two school-boys wrapped in cloaks, each seated on a bench. The most interesting vase from the deposit is the red-figured oenochoe, which is decorated with a curious scene painted on a panel in front. On the extreme right of the scene is a high furnace, seen from the side, which is topped by a cauldron with a stepped lid. In front of the furnace stand two men of whom the larger figure on the right has an ugly head, with projecting jaw and straggling hair and beard. He faces a smaller figure on the left who offers him a ceremonial tray. Because of the presence of the furnace and of the clumsy figure and ungainly attitude of the larger man, it is possible that this scene should be interpreted as a representation of Hephaistos engaged in some sacrificial rite. But since the hideous faces of the characters suggest that masks are worn, it is also possible that a scene from comedy is here portrayed. The entire contents of this well will be presently published in full detail by Miss Talcott.

Abundant evidence attests the continued occupation of the area through Hellenistic and Roman times, but the best preserved house in it must be assigned to the early Roman period. This house, which seems to have been placed on the site of an earlier building, consists of six rooms and a peristyle covering an area of three hundred square metres. The peristyle, constructed with eight columns, surrounded a

central fountain of apsidal shape. Painted stucco is preserved on the walls of several of the rooms, and one of them has a low bench along its wall, partly built of re-used marbles, one of which is a small marble statue of a seated boy. The filling deposit in the house indicates that it had been destroyed in the latter part of the third century after Christ, probably by the Herulians in 267, but the evidence also reveals a partial reconstruction in the early part of the fourth century.

Remains of other houses of the late Roman period were also uncovered, and two wells contemporaneous with them were cleared. One of the wells showed stratified deposits of the third and fourth centuries, producing pottery and datable lamps, with which were a complete bronze pail with an iron handle, a terracotta coin bank in the shape of a narrow-necked vase closed at the top, and a small marble head of a silenos (Fig. 8: Inv. No. S 1180).

SECTION EPSILON EPSILON

The south side of the American Zone is bordered by three narrow Sections, Delta Delta, Epsilon Epsilon, and Zeta Zeta, which were partially excavated this season under the supervision of Eugene Vanderpool, and will be investigated further during the next campaign. The blocks lie on the sloping hillside of the Areopagus, where walls and cellars of modern houses have been cut through ancient deposits and frequently into the bedrock itself. Since nothing of importance has so far been brought to light in Sections Delta Delta and Zeta Zeta, this report will be limited to the results of the work in Epsilon Epsilon.

When it became clear that no ancient foundations existed in the area a systematic investigation of bedrock was undertaken in order to reveal any unsuspected packed shafts of wells or any small surviving pockets of ancient deposit. This search was sufficiently fruitful. One shallow pit cut in the bedrock still held a deposit about two metres deep dating from the end of the sixth century before Christ, from which

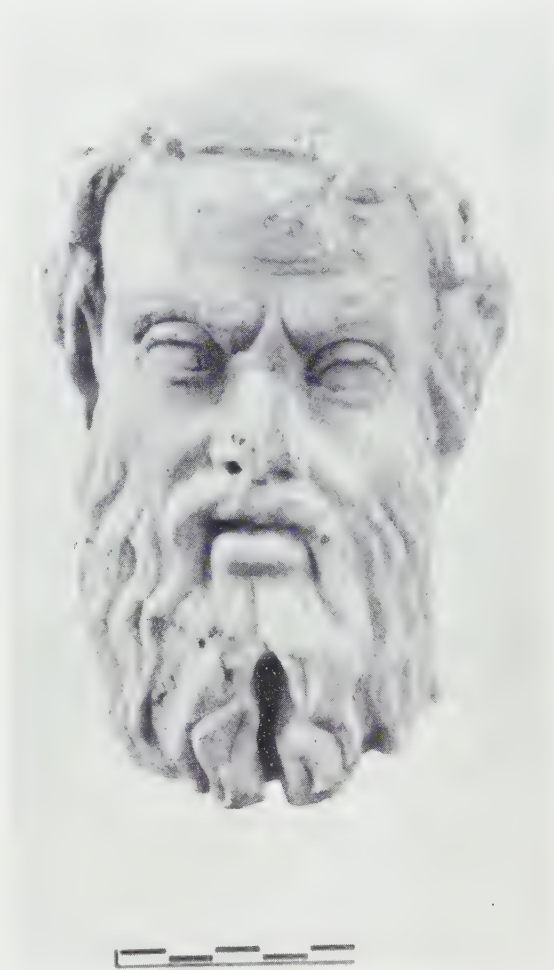


Fig. 8. Marble Head of a Silenos

came a few sherds and two handsome vases (Fig. 9). One of these is a one-handled cup of highly polished black-glazed ware; its shape is graceful and practical, with a low base and a slightly out-flaring rim. The second vase is a shallow bowl of polished red ware set on a fairly high stem. Among the other ancient remains in the area were a deposit with objects of the late fifth century and two cisterns with contents of the fourth and third centuries respectively. Among the objects secured from the later cistern were much pottery, many terracotta figurines, of which a specimen is the bearded man shown in Fig. 10, stamped handles of Rhodian and Thasian am-



Fig. 9. Vases of the Late Sixth Century

phoras, and numerous lamps, of which one, of third century type, is distinguished by a special ornamental feature, a small relief bust of Pan placed at the base of the nozzle (Fig. 11).

THE MYCENAEAN TOMB

But in addition to these sundry objects of minor importance this barren hillside produced the most surprising and spectacular discovery of the season, a phenomenon which is not uncommon in the experience of field workers. A large cutting in the rock, approximately square in shape, filled with a deposit of earth and stone, proved to be the chamber of a tomb of the Mycenaean age of which the roof had collapsed. Entry into the chamber was thus made through the roof and simultaneously the entrance corridor was cleared. The tomb is situated on the lower slope of the Areopagus where the bedrock is a soft shale which can be readily cut, in contrast to the hard limestone of the upper part of the ridge comprising the Acropolis and the Areopagus. The position of the tomb is indicated by an arrow on the photograph (Fig.

12) showing the southern part of the excavated area, taken from the roof of the Hephaisteion; its site in relation to the summit of the Areopagus is shown in Fig. 13, in which also the cutting in bedrock for the back wall of the chamber is discernible above and beyond the doorway of the tomb. The chamber was filled with earth and with large and small pieces of bedrock splintered from the collapsed roof, and the difficulty of handling this mass of débris was no doubt the main reason for the survival of the contents of the tomb. The clearance of the wreckage was slow and difficult, and the task was unusually disagreeable because of the presence of the cesspool of a modern house which had been placed just above the centre of the chamber. The depth of the cesspool was not sufficient to disturb the ancient remains, but seepage from it had penetrated all parts of the filling deposit.



Fig. 10. Hellenistic Figurine



Fig. 11. Hellenistic Lamp

The tomb is of normal type with access to the chamber provided by a long dromos which is preserved for a length of eleven metres. The slope of the hill shows that the dromos had originally been somewhat longer but it had been cut at its north end by a retaining wall in the late Roman period. This wall is seen in the foreground of Fig. 13, part of it passing in front of the dromos which leads to the blocked doorway of the chamber; in the farthest background is the rocky summit of the Areopagus. The sides of the dromos, which are neatly cut in the bedrock, taper slightly, with the result that the average width at the bottom of the passage is two metres while at the top it is about one and a half metres. The dromos contained a filling of earth which was found to be in undisturbed condition except at the north end where two pits had been dug in the

Turkish period (Fig. 14). At the south end the corridor terminates at a doorway cut in the rock which was blocked with a wall of carefully packed field stones. It was evident that this doorway, like the passage leading to it, had not been entered since its original use.

After the tomb had been cleared and the dedicated objects in it had been cleaned,



Fig. 12. View of Southern End of Area Showing Site of Mycenaean Tomb

mended, and replaced, the ground plan and section were drawn by Piet de Jong (Fig. 15). These plans show the long dromos, with the Roman wall cutting its north end, and the narrow passage leading from the dromos to the chamber, which is blocked by the heavy wall (1.40 m. thick and 1.20 m. wide) filling the doorway. The sectional plan gives a clue to the cause of the collapse of the roof of the chamber, for it shows that the stone workers came dangerously close to the upper limit of the rock on the front half of the large chamber. The approximate line of the cutting of the rock above the chamber is derived from the cuttings on each side.

The chamber lies at a slight angle to the dromos; its walls, which measure approximately 5.90 by 4.30 metres, are not so carefully cut as those of the dromos, and

their height is not perfectly uniform, the highest point being 2.75 metres. Although the roof had entirely collapsed except for a small bit in the northwest corner the line of the original cutting can be traced and by it the original height of the walls can be determined. The chamber was largely filled with pieces of bedrock broken from the roof, but on the west side some heavy chunks of limestone had been placed near the



Fig. 13. Entrance of the Mycenaean Tomb; the Areopagus in the Background

top of a crude wall built along that side of the room. This extraneous material must have been introduced after the roof had collapsed and the time of the introduction is fixed by a few Mycenaean sherds found in the mixed filling. Nothing later came from the west side of the chamber, and neither sherds nor other objects appeared in the filling of the east side.

When the chamber had been cleared a rock-cut bench, 75 cm. wide and 60 cm. high, was found to extend along each side wall. Beside the west bench, in the southwest corner of the room, was a deep cist grave cut in the bedrock, measuring 1.80 m. long, 0.60 m. wide, and 1.20 m. deep. This had been covered by a slate slab which was lying in a diagonal position beside the grave, and had evidently been lifted at the foot

of the grave and shoved to one side (Fig. 16). The depth of the cist and the care with which it had been covered suggest the burial of an important person, but the grave contained neither bones nor offerings of any kind, though one small gold disc had filtered into its filling of earth and stones. A clue to the sex of the occupant of the grave was provided by a group of small objects, evidently from the grave, found lying beside the cover; these include a bronze mirror, a small ivory pyxis, and ivory hairpins. These objects, the grave, and the west bench lay beneath the rough wall built along that side.



Fig. 14. The Dromos of the Tomb

The bench along the east side of the room was covered by masses of fallen bedrock and earth, in which no sherds or other objects were found. On the north end of this bench six vases and a cylindrical ivory box were uncovered; the vases had been shattered when the roof of the chamber collapsed but the pyxis was still intact although it was evidently in fragile condition. The filling deposit of the chamber was heavy and soggy, so that great care was necessary in clearing the objects preparatory to their removal, but eventually it was possible to determine the exact spot where each vase had stood and to collect the broken pieces. After the tomb had been cleared and the vases had been cleaned and mended they were replaced on the bench so that they could be photographed in their original positions (Fig. 17). It will be noticed that a few fragments were missing when the vases were first mended. These are pieces

which were not salvaged from the wet earth at the time of excavation, but some of them were later recovered when the earth had dried sufficiently to be put through a sieve.

The vases from the east bench are fine examples of Mycenaean pottery of characteristic shape and decoration. The largest vase in the group is an amphora (48 cm. high), which is decorated with a graceful design (Fig. 18). It has a small mouth, three vertical strap handles on the shoulder, and on the upper part of the bulbous body a nautilus with four long tentacles, painted with a sureness of touch, and with

a mastery of curve and line so as to fill most agreeably the space between each pair of handles. Above each nautilus are two ornaments in the shape of rosettes enclosed by circular bands, while about the handles are neatly painted violin-shaped designs. The vase tapers sharply toward the base, and the lower part is decorated only by a series of reserved bands. A second amphora in this group is slightly smaller in size but has a similar shape with vertical strap handles and with a body tapering to the

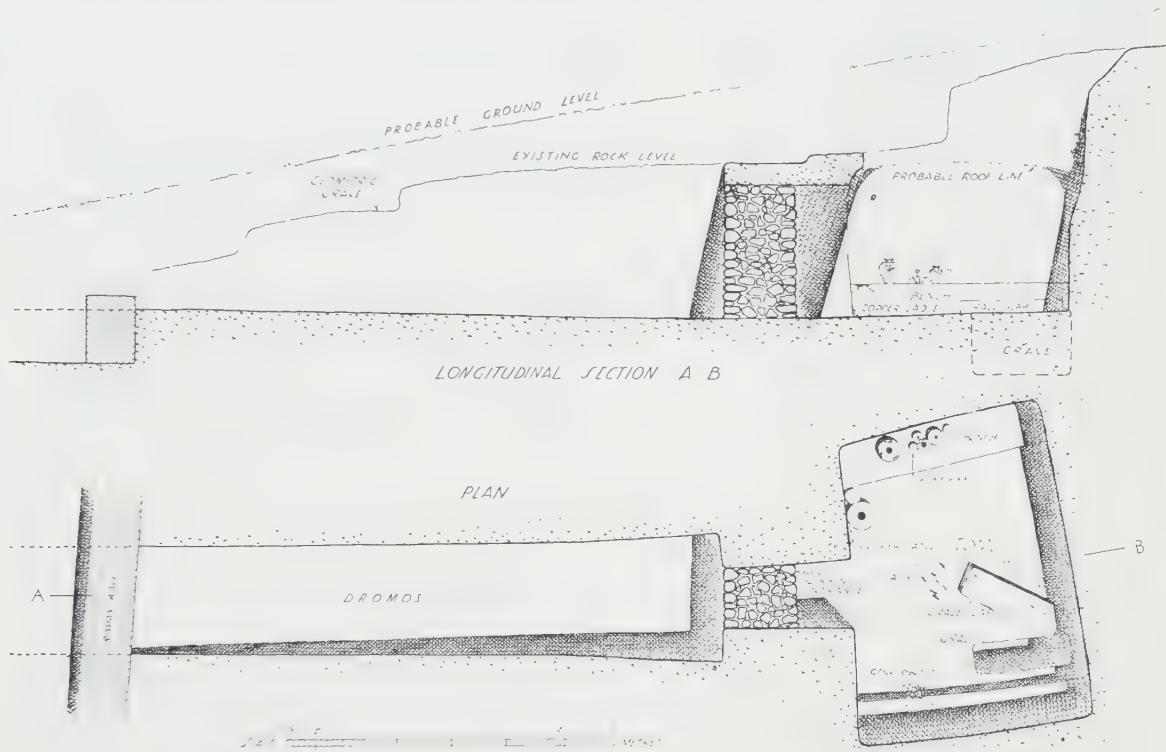


Fig. 15. The Plan of the Tomb. Drawing by Piet de Jong

base (Fig. 19). It is decorated with a scale pattern on the upper part of the body, and on the lower half has two series of reserved bands. Still another amphora, smaller in size but equally graceful in shape, has spirals painted in panels on the shoulder between the pairs of handles, and has broad and narrow bands encircling the lower part of the body (Fig. 20).

A vase of a different shape is a tall pitcher with two lateral handles set on vertically from rim to shoulder, and with a long slender spout (Fig. 21). It is covered with a lustrous red glaze but is otherwise undecorated. This fact, taken in connection with its shape and with the raised rim about the base of the neck, indicates that the shape is derived from a metal prototype. The two remaining vases,



Fig. 16. The Cist Grave in the Floor of the Chamber



Fig. 17. The East Bench with the Offerings in Their Original Positions



Fig. 18. Large Mycenaean Amphora



Fig. 19. Mycenaean Amphora with Scale Pattern



Fig. 20. Small Mycenaean Amphora



Fig. 21. Mycenaean Spouted Jug

found one on top of the other, are of a shape called alabastron and have an almost identical decorative scheme (Fig. 22: Inv. No. P 15236). They are flat in section

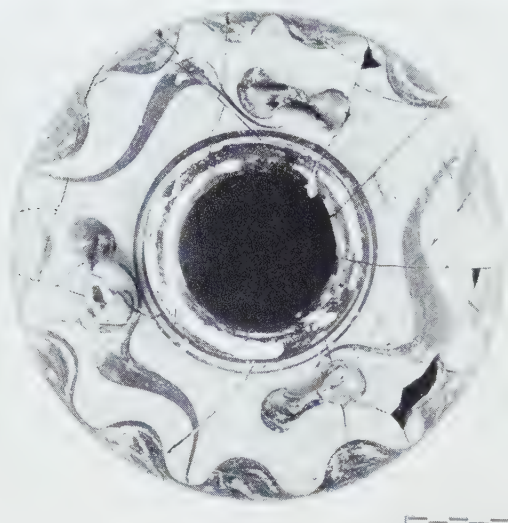


Fig. 22. Mycenaean Alabastron

and have three small handles set horizontally on the upper surface, which is decorated with wavy bands between pairs of handles, and with a series of painted mounds around the outer circumference. Concentric circles are painted on the bottoms of these two vases (Fig. 23), and this type of decoration on the under surface has been accepted as a criterion of chronological significance (see C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, p. 420). Vases of this class with wave-line decoration on the bottom have been assigned on sound evidence to the Late Helladic II period, those with concentric circles to Late Helladic III.

These vases from the east bench are

products of a single epoch and exact parallels for their shape and decoration occur among the discoveries made in Mycenaean tombs at the Argive Heraeum and elsewhere, which are dated in the early part of the third Late Helladic period, that is, in the first part of the fourteenth century before Christ. No obstacle to this dating is provided by two other large vases which stood against the north wall of the chamber, although they are less characteristic in type (Fig. 24). One of these is an undecorated amphora of coarse ware shaped to a point at the bottom so that it could not stand upright on the stone floor and was leaned in the corner formed by the north wall and the east bench. The other vase from beside the north wall is a large rotund amphora (height: 60 cm.) with three horizontal handles on the shoulder, between each pair of which the graceful body of the vase is covered by a series of bracket-like ornaments diminishing in size from top to base (Fig. 25). By the side of these two vases a ladle was lying on the floor of the



Fig. 23. Bottom of Alabastron

chamber. Since it is made of almost pure copper it was well preserved and required no chemical cleaning, but was merely washed for a few days in distilled water. It has a total length of 41 cm., and the diameter of the bowl is 16 cm.; on the side of the rim opposite the handle a shallow spout has been made to facilitate pouring (Fig. 26). The position of the ladle beside the large amphoras suggests that these vases may have contained wine for the ceremonial libation.



Fig. 24. Vases Standing in the Northeast Corner of the Chamber

THE IVORY PYXIS

The ivory pyxis which stood on the bench with the vases is a masterpiece of artistic design and of technical execution (Fig. 27). It was made from a large tusk and has a height of 12.1 cm. on the inside, and a diameter of 11.2 cm. measured on the lid. With allowance made for the projection of the relief figures on the sides the original diameter of the tusk must have been at least a centimetre greater. The exterior height is 16 cm. measured with the inclusion of the lid and of a circular plaque at the bottom, corresponding to the lid, which was attached to the floor of the box by three ivory dowels. This false bottom was evidently added for purely decorative

purposes in order to balance the cover, and the same ornamental chevron-like design is carved on each, though the pattern runs in opposite directions.

A clever solution of the problem of placing the handles so as not to disturb the general decorative effect was devised by the artist. Two projecting knobs were left on each side in positions which would interfere least with the main scene. On the surface of one of these a fawn is lying with twisted body, and the other is carved in the shape of a crouching prostrate lion. These animals, which are arranged chiastically

on opposite sides, have their under bodies perforated with holes for the passage of cord or wire by which the box could be carried. The interior of the pyxis was lined with thin strips of tin, evidently introduced to prevent ointment or oily liquid from oozing into the ivory and discoloring it.

The top of the lid and the sides of the box are closely covered with decorative scenes carved in relief representing an attack made by griffins on a herd of deer. The group on the lid consists of a griffin and two deer which have been thrown down by the force of the griffin's attack (Fig. 28). The arrangement of the figures has been skillfully adjusted to the circular area. The powerful attacking monster is shown by the position of his wings to be alighting on his victims, which by the turn of their heads and the contortions of their bodies reveal their terror and their impotence. The griffin is similar in type to other Mycenaean representations, having a multi-



Fig. 25. The Large Amphora from the Floor.
Restored Painting by Piet de Jong

ple-feathered crest, and spirals at the base of the neck and along the edge of the wings.

On the side of the box two griffins are represented as attacking four deer in a scene of action and violence which can be best appreciated in a developed drawing made by Piet de Jong (Fig. 29). The griffins are approaching their prey from opposite sides. The one on the left of the scene is flying down with a great spread of wing and with his leonine hindquarters still high in the air. He has thrust the claws of his powerful forepaws into the flanks of a large stag which, thus hurled to the ground, has turned back its head toward its assailant in agonized gesture with mouth open

and tongue lolling. The griffin on the right is swooping over the ground to the attack with his long lithe body extended, and with his hindlegs and tail stretched out behind. The wind produced by the rush of the great wings has blown over the small tree or shrub seen below the animal. The griffin has seized with his left paw a struggling deer which he holds straight up before him in vertical position, while with his right paw he grasps a large running stag at the base of the neck. This bold and original artistic conception is executed with superb technical skill; especially in the case of the large stag, where the surface of the ivory is particularly well preserved, the masterly technique of the artist is revealed in the faithful and accurate modelling of the straining muscles, and in the delineation of the bony structure beneath the skin.

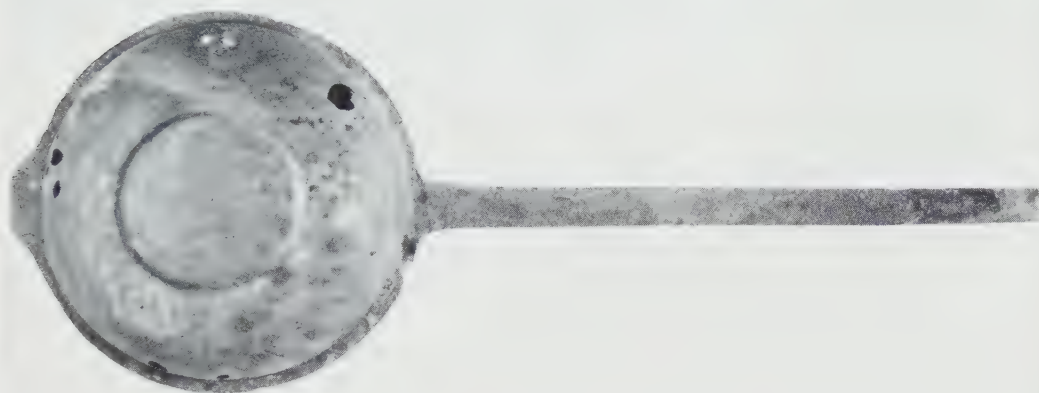


Fig. 26. Copper Ladle

Another remarkable feature of this composition is the conception of perspective in the treatment of the fourth deer which is making good its escape from the slaughter. The animal is shown in the midzone between the two main combats leaping over some stones or shrubs. Landscape is also indicated by the large bush beneath the griffin on the right and by several other small shrubs and stones. The ornate projecting handles, made in the form of animals which might be considered as belonging to the hunt, do not disturb the general design. Thus every detail of this composition has been carefully and skillfully planned, and the technical execution has been wrought by a master hand. This Report is not an appropriate place for a discussion of the stylistic affiliations of this ivory, but it may be pointed out that in spite of the eastern character of the scene and of the resemblance of the griffins to those from Megiddo



Fig. 27. The Ivory Pyxis

(G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, pl. 9, 32a and 32b), the possibility of an Attic origin cannot be eliminated in view of the evidence for the existence of a local school provided by the many carved ivories found in the tombs of Menidi and Spata.

Other ivories were included in a group of small objects found on the floor of the chamber beside the cover of the grave, which had presumably been removed from the grave and had been overlooked when the body was carried out (Fig. 30). These



Fig. 28. Carved Group on the Lid of the Pyxis

objects, which are all feminine appurtenances and prove that the burial was that of a woman, are ivory pins, two large ivory bars with hinged clasps for use in the hair, a bronze mirror (diameter: 11.5 cm.), and a small ivory toilet box which, though only five centimetres high, is made and decorated with as much care and skill and artistic feeling as were noted in the case of the large pyxis (Fig. 31). The lid and the bottom were made as separate discs, and the small loop handles were also made separately and inserted into slits. The surface of the pyxis is closely covered by a repeated nautilus design with the exquisitely carved shells arranged in three horizontal rows, so as to produce a rich decorative effect.

Still more objects from the floor of the chamber are ornaments made of thin



Fig. 29. Development of the Combat Scene on the Sides of the Pyxis.
Drawing by Piet de Jong

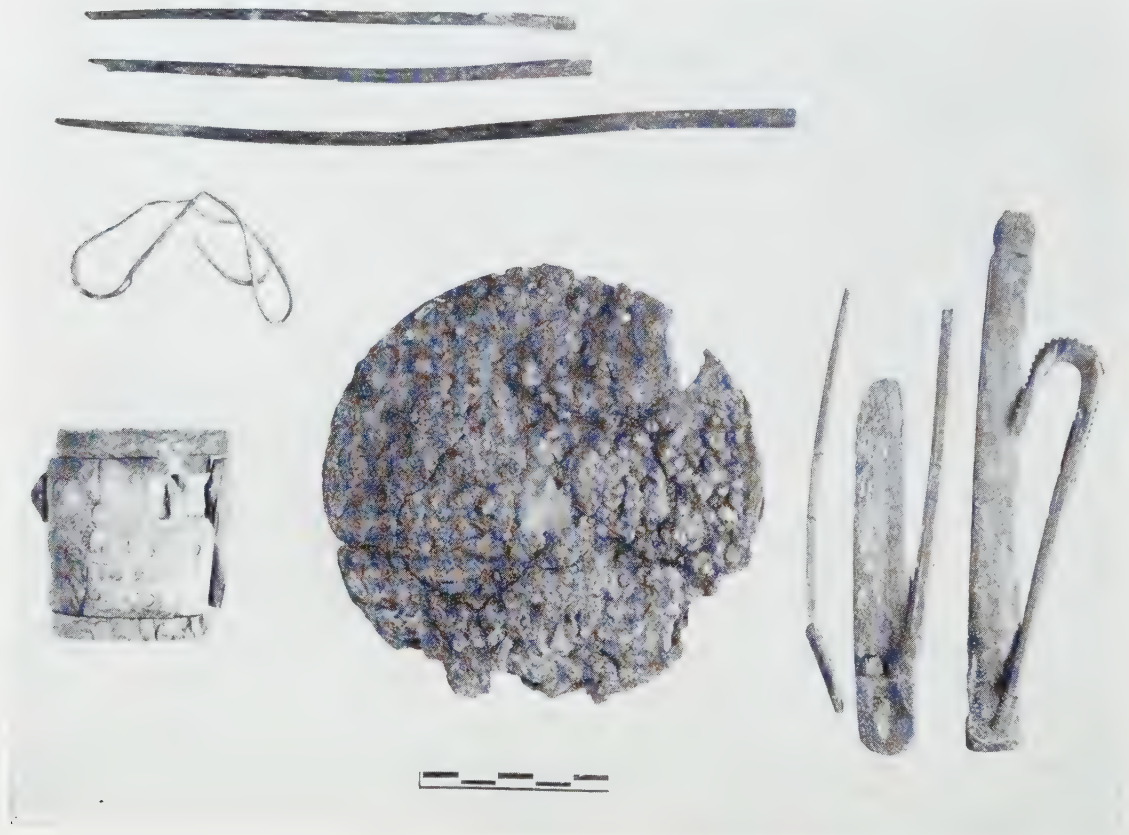


Fig. 30. Small Objects from the Floor of the Chamber

sheets of gold, which were found mainly in three groups heaped together near the north end of the grave, though a few pieces were secured from other parts of the filling. They are of several different types: large pear-shaped leaves with spiral designs (5 cm. high), rosettes of two sizes, and small plain discs (Fig. 32). Most of them have small holes perforated along the edges for convenience in attaching them to some background, but some of all types are unpierced. Ninety-seven of these ornaments were secured besides eighteen other fragmentary pieces of gold. They had apparently been gathered for removal from the tomb, but for some unknown reason had been left on the floor, like the toilet articles abandoned beside the cover.

An interpretation of the state in which this tomb was found may be suggested. The size of the structure and the elaborateness of the burial indicate that it was a "royal" tomb, and since the dedicated offerings have been shown to date from the early part of the fourteenth century when Erechtheus was Lord of Athens it may be assumed to be the burial of a member of his family, perhaps his wife Praxithea or his daughter Chthonia. After the interment and the deposit of the offerings some kind of a sacrificial ceremony was performed in the centre of the chamber where much carbonized matter was found scattered over the floor. The door was then blocked with a stone wall, and the dromos was filled with earth; they were never again entered, for before another burial could be made the roof of the chamber collapsed. It is impossible to determine the cause of this accident, but it may have been due to an earthquake, or merely to the seepage of water through the porous rock at the time of heavy storms.

It is comprehensible that such an elaborate tomb would not have been left in a ruined state, which would have brought reproach on the family which owned it and would have furnished a constant temptation to robbers to delve in the ruins in search of treasure. So we find that a trench had been dug exactly over the site of the cist grave and that the body and the offerings had been removed from it. This trench was then filled by a mass of earth, split bedrock, and heavy chunks of limestone which had never subsequently been disturbed. The abandonment of small objects, such as



Fig. 31. Small Pyxis with Nautilus Decoration

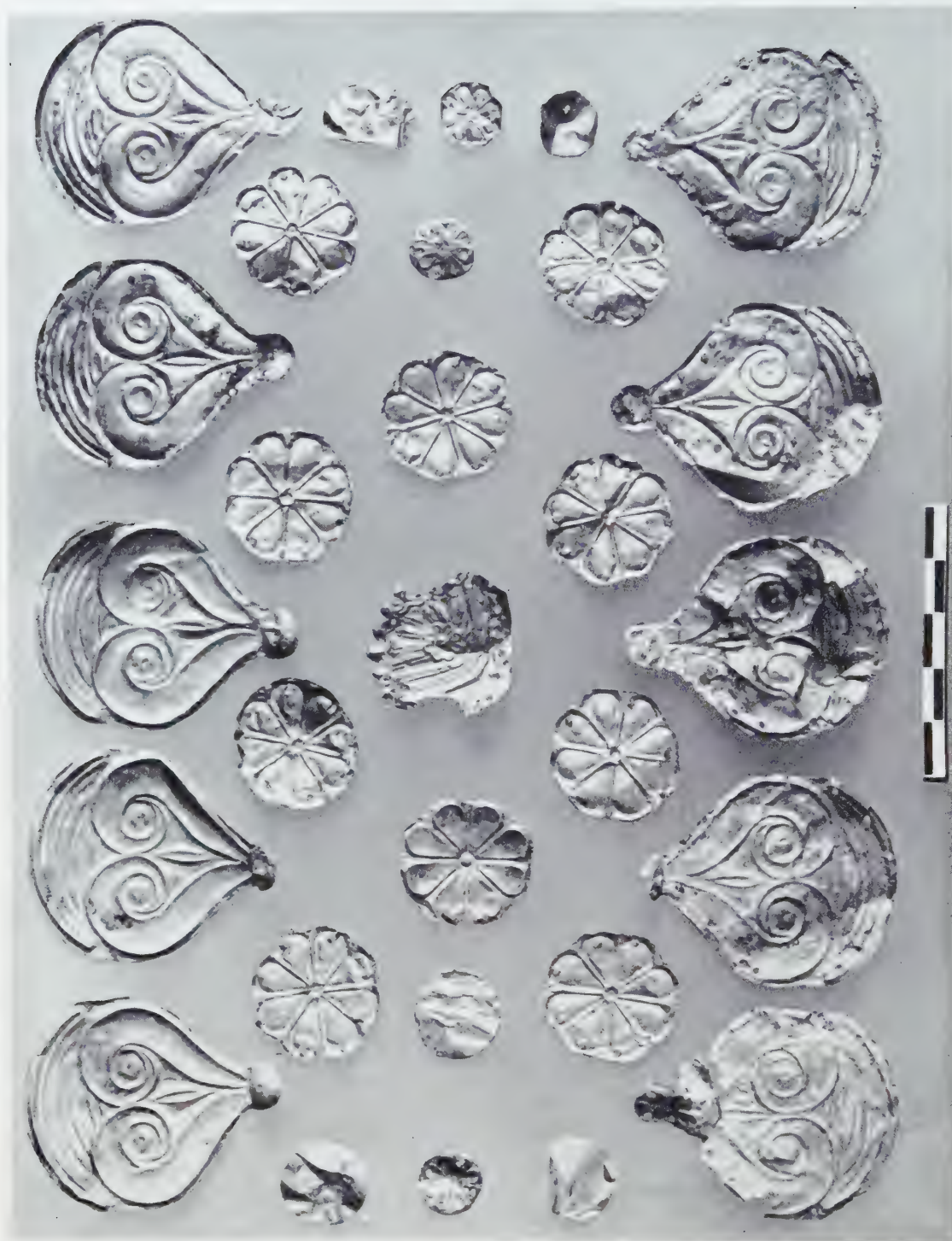


Fig. 32. Gold Ornaments from the Floor of the Chamber

pins, pyxis, and gold ornaments, on the floor of the chamber near the grave cist indicates a hasty flight of the workers which may have been due to the falling of more pieces of rock from the ruined roof.

This discovery of a rich tomb of the Mycenaean age in Athens is of special interest since it testifies to the existence of such tombs which have hitherto long been sought in vain. It is reasonable to expect that other similar burials were made in the same neighborhood, and in fact the scant remains of another tomb were uncovered about thirteen metres west of the first chamber. This tomb had originally been circular in shape with an estimated diameter of about three metres; it had a cist grave cut in the floor but this had been used as a modern cesspool. A Roman drain had been laid across the floor, and part of the rock itself had been cut away, but in spite of this destruction a small pocket, just above the floor close to the south wall, preserved some remains of the original burial including small pieces of bones, fragments of pottery and one nearly complete false-mouthed



Fig. 33. False-mouthed Jar



Fig. 34. Geometric Vases from above the Dromos

jar of characteristic shape and decoration (Fig. 33). In the next campaign of excavation the clearance and investigation of the hillside farther west will be continued.

It is probably only a coincidence that a grave of the Geometric age had been placed in the upper filling of the dromos of the Mycenaean tomb. This grave, of which the position is marked on the sectional plan of the tomb (Fig. 15), lay less than half a metre below the modern surface and had been disturbed by intrusions of the Turkish period, but fragments of bone and several vases were preserved, perhaps because they

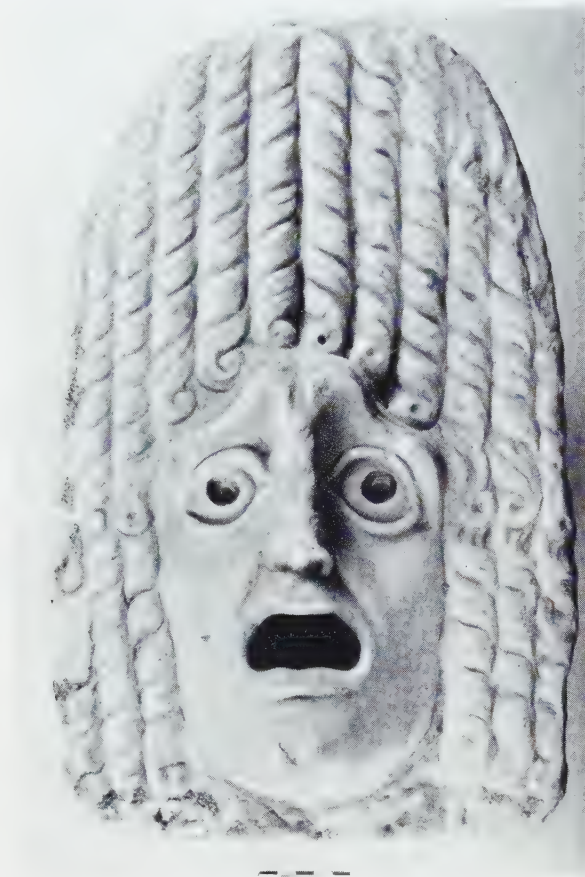


Fig. 35. Marble Votive Mask

were entwined by the roots of a tree growing in the courtyard of the modern house which stood above the site of the chamber tomb. The three vases which were secured are pyxides, indicating that the burial was that of a woman (Fig. 34). One of them is nearly complete with its lid intact; of the second only part of the bowl remains; while the third is a huge lid with a small two-handled bowl attached to its top by a thick collar. This is the first example of this shape which has been found in the Agora. The size and weight of the piece evidently caused the potter considerable difficulty since traces of patching of the clay appear on the undecorated under surface. These vases belong to the familiar class of late Geometric ware, dating from the end of the eighth century before Christ.

In addition to the work just described Vanderpool also had charge of the clearance of several wells in Section Psi where work had not been completed in the season of 1938. One tiled well of the Roman age, which extended down to a depth of twenty-two metres, had con-

tents roughly stratified into three main groups. The highest deposit, down to a depth of 16.50 m., contained some Byzantine ware mixed with the late Roman and should be dated in the ninth or tenth century after Christ. Below this came a deposit, five metres deep, of the late fourth and the fifth centuries after Christ, which contained lamps, pottery, several brightly colored terracotta masks, and a huge marble mask (Fig. 35: Inv. No. S 1144). The expression of horror on the features shows that this is a tragic mask, and it in fact resembles some masks which have been interpreted as representations of Clytemnestra; it was probably used for

some votive or decorative purpose. The deepest and earliest deposit in this well, of the third century after Christ, produced two bronze pitchers, vases of coarse ware, and numerous lamps.

SECTION IOTA

This Section lying south of the Stoa of Attalos on the east side of the American Zone was excavated in 1933 by A. W. Parsons. The area was not completely cleared at that time because of the presence of the small chapel of Saint Spyridon, the walls of which were covered with frescoes. The paintings were carefully photographed and were copied in water-color by de Jong. They were fully published in *Hesperia* (IV, 1935, pp. 448-469) by Miss Alison Frantz who, after thorough study, dated them in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Although these paintings were not of the highest artistic quality they were sufficiently interesting as representing Attic art of the period to warrant the effort and expense of preserving them when the chapel was demolished. During Miss Frantz's visit to America in the Autumn of 1938 she learned the technique of removing frescoes through the courtesy of Professor Charles H. Morgan and of the Art Department of Amherst College. On her return to Athens she directed the removal of the paintings, which were transferred panel by panel, and were reset on plaster. The process was successfully completed and the colors of the paintings are now more brilliant than when the frescoes were attached to the original walls.

After the removal of the paintings the demolition of the walls of the chapel was begun, in the course of which important chronological evidence was secured. A piece of an Ionic capital had been built into the north wall just at the level of the eye of a standing person, and on the side of this block was a neatly cut inscription giving a monogram below a cross and the date 1613. The position of the block in the wall suggests that the inscription was written after the block was in place, but obviously before the wall was stuccoed; it no doubt gives the date of the construction of the chapel and thus the approximate period of the frescoes on the walls. The date in the latter part of the seventeenth century previously assigned to them on the basis of style must now be put back to the early part of that century.

As soon as the demolition of the walls was begun traces of an earlier building on the site began to appear, which was a simple type of church like its successor. The north, west, and south walls of the earlier chapel had been destroyed except for their foundations, but on the east side the later wall had been built up against the earlier, leaving much of that in position. The wall was covered with frescoes which are well preserved wherever the wall itself was left standing. As on the east wall of the later church, the upper panels on either side of the apse were occupied, on the left by the Angel of the Annunciation, and on the right by the Virgin, beneath whom are two panels with Saints. Below the Angel is Saint Stephen whose identity is established

by his name and title, *Protomartes (sic)*, painted in large white letters distributed on both sides of the head. In the lower panel on the right side of the apse Saint Blasios is depicted (Fig. 36). His head, of unusual type, with white hair and beard, is surrounded by a nimbus. He is wrapped in a large cloak which is decorated with black and red crosses, and he holds in his right hand a scroll on which is written the

beginning of the exhortation preceding the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy of the Greek church.

The problem of dating this wall is more difficult than in the case of the later one and must be resolved on the basis of style. The elongated shape of the figures, and their awkward rigidity suggest a fairly early date, and in some respects they are similar to figures on frescoes at Mistra which are dated early in the fifteenth century. The only external evidence for date is a *terminus post quem* in the middle of the fourteenth century provided by four silver coins found in the west wall, which seems to have been a wall of an earlier building re-used for the church. The coins are: one of Charles II, Count of Provence (1285-1309); two of Robert of Provence (1309-1343); one of the Avignon Pope Jean XXII (1316-1334). With due allowance of time for the re-use of this wall the date assigned to the earlier building on the basis of the style of the frescoes, early fifteenth century, would seem to be reasonable. These two series of



Fig. 36. Early Version of Saint Blasios

paintings from the wall of the same church, separated by a space of two hundred years, make an interesting contribution to the study of the development of ecclesiastical art in Athens.

After the frescoes of the earlier wall had been removed the chapel was demolished and it was possible to uncover and study the remains of a large Roman building underlying the chapel and the adjoining sections of the Valerian Wall. This led to the surprising discovery that this building is the Library of Pantainos, of which the huge lintel block with an inscribed dedication was found in 1933 built into the

Valerian Wall beside the church (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 330-332). The inscription records that T. Flavius Pantainos erected at his own expense and dedicated to the goddess Athena, the Emperor Trajan, and the city of Athens, the building with its outer porticoes, its peristyle, its books and decorations. The plan of the excavated building satisfies the requirements of this description and moreover the lintel block exactly fits the main entrance doorway on the west; its place of discovery was less than five metres distant from that spot.

The building, situated just south of the Stoa of Attalos, faces west on the street of the Panathenaia. The west façade of the building is provided with an Ionic portico which has a length of thirty-five metres and is 5.20 m. wide. Behind the portico the west side of the building was composed of five rooms, of which the dimensions are about 4.30 by 5 m. The walls were made of bricks laid on a stone foundation, and they were covered with painted stucco. The central of the five rooms was evidently an entrance passageway leading from the outer portico to an inner colonnaded court, clearly the peristyle of the inscription. The east side of the building extends into an unexcavated area lying beyond the limits of the American Zone, and cannot therefore be uncovered, but the plan of the cleared part predicates a construction on the east similar to that on the west.

The sherds of pottery from beneath the floors of the rooms belong in the latter part of the first century after Christ, a date which accords with that of the inscribed dedication to Trajan, about 100 A.D. This great building, extending along the east border of the Agora south of the Stoa of Attalos, was standing at the time of the visit of Pausanias but like that Stoa is not mentioned by him. It was destroyed at the time of the Herulian invasion in 267 A.D., and shortly afterwards many of its blocks were used in the construction of the Valerian Wall.

SECTION IOTA IOTA

In this Section also Parsons completed a piece of work which had been left unfinished in the preceding campaign. In last year's Report (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 220) an account was given of the partial clearance of a great brick-lined shaft in the southeast corner of the area. During the current season this was entirely cleared to its bottom at a depth of twenty-seven metres; its diameter is two metres and the bricks were made in a slightly curved shape to fit this circle. The shaft is supported by three semicircular brick arches which spring from piers of poros blocks set in bedrock at the level of the floor of the shaft.

This elaborate structure was apparently part of a water supply system but the purpose of some details of its plan is not clear. A shallow basin in the floor of the shaft has an outlet opening into a small water-channel which slopes away under the floor of a brick-walled passage leading off toward the northwest. Since no trace is evident of any means of blocking the outlet the water in the basin must have run

off as it collected. Two large brick-walled and brick-vaulted chambers, of which the larger measures 4.20 by 2.20 m., open from near the bottom of the shaft; they communicate only with the shaft and the purpose they served is uncertain. Last year's Report recorded how water was supplied to the shaft by a conduit leading through a

vaulted chamber adjoining the shaft at a point 8.50 metres below the surface.

The filling deposit in the shaft was of the Byzantine period for the upper fifteen metres, but from that point to a depth of 25.50 metres it became late Roman. For the last 1.50 metres it changed again and showed a uniformity of type of contents which indicated a dump at the time the shaft went out of use, at the end of the second or early in the third century after Christ on the evidence of the lamps and the pottery. Besides a great quantity of pottery, most of which is coarse unglazed ware, the shaft yielded only a few objects of interest, among which are some fragmentary inscriptions of the classical period. The most important object from the shaft is the archaic marble head of a kore found last year in the Byzantine deposit, but this year an interesting piece of sculpture from the Roman stratum is a well-preserved bronze statuette of Herakles (Fig. 37), which closely resembles the Herakles Farnese in the pose of the figure, the proportions of the body, and the type of the head.



Fig. 37. Bronze Statuette of Herakles

SECTION OMICRON ALPHA

This is another area in which work was conducted by Parsons for a second season but because of his efforts elsewhere the investigation here was on a restricted scale. A little further exploration about the Klepsydra confirmed a date for the construction of the east wall of the forecourt in the first half of the fifth century B.C. And the late history of the building was rendered more complete by the discovery

of the Turkish fountain situated fifty metres northeast of the Klepsydra from which water was conveyed by a rectangular cement-lined channel. This fountain, which is mentioned by early travelers, was built in the first half of the eighteenth century and continued in use until the Bastion of Odysseus was erected in 1822.

Continued investigation of the Valerian Wall on the slope of the Acropolis revealed an interesting element of its construction in the presence of a tower situated just half way between the Hypapanti Gate and the wall of the Acropolis. This stretch of wall, 150 metres long, called for a defensive tower but the scanty remains of it had

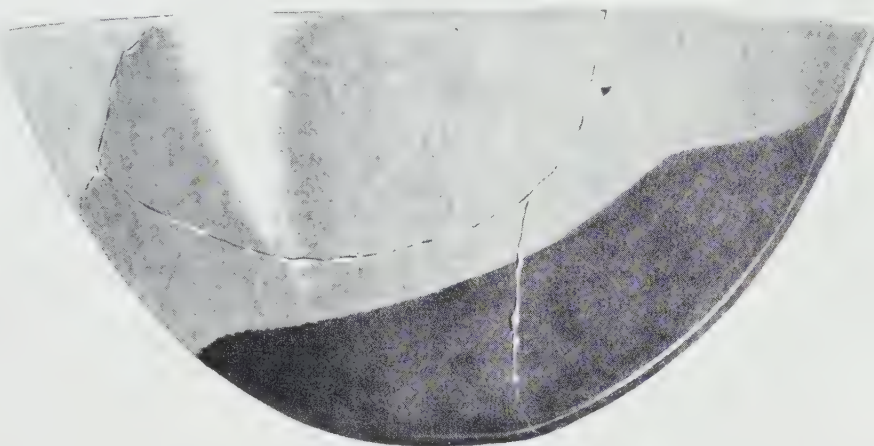


Fig. 38. Neolithic Bowl. Restored Painting by Piet de Jong

hitherto escaped detection. Like the others attached to the wall this tower has a width of six to seven metres and projects 5.30 m. from the wall.

Surface exploration of the rocky hillside, which brought to light many wells last year, was continued on a small scale this season with similar success. Fourteen wells were uncovered and cleared this year, of which ten held deposits of the Neolithic period, three had late Mycenaean contents, and one was late archaic in character. The Neolithic wells, like those reported last year, were cut in the bedrock near the site of the Klepsydra. They are uniformly shallow, but one of them was cut to a depth of 7.70 m., which is the deepest well of this age so far found. It is neatly cut in the rock and is a witness to the skill of these early people in handling their primitive tools. It is probably only a coincidence that from the best hewn well came one of the finest vases, a highly burnished bowl which has been so fired as to be neatly divided into red and black zones (Fig. 38: Inv. No. P 14562).

Two other wells produced each a handsome vase of similar shape (Fig. 39). These are rotund jars of hand-burnished red ware with rims and a low base. The base is perforated on each side by two holes which are in line with holes in horizontal projecting bands set just below the rims. These no doubt served for the passage of withes or thongs by which the vases could be carried, or the lids could be kept in place. These are particularly fine specimens of Neolithic ware, and on them the linear decorations made by white painted stripes are fairly well preserved. The addition of these splendid specimens makes the Agora collection of Neolithic pottery the richest from the southern part of Greece. A discovery in these wells which may prove



Fig. 39. Neolithic Jars

of great importance is that of the skeletal remains of two human beings, whose skulls are of very primitive type. But since it has not yet been possible to mend and study these remains anthropologically, nothing further can be said of them at this time.

The scraping of the rock in this area resulted in at least one other important discovery besides the mouths of wells. This is a small deposit in a pocket of the bedrock, about 1.50 m. in diameter, situated at the base of the cliff of the Acropolis seven metres east of the forecourt of the Klepsydra. The filling of the pocket, which had not been disturbed since it had gathered there at the end of the third century B.C., contained, besides coarse pottery and fragments of roof-tiles, parts of eight different red-figured oenochoes of unusual type. They are tall and slender in shape, have a wide mouth and two breast-shaped protuberances on the shoulder in front (Fig. 40). In every case the body of the vase is decorated with a representation of Athena in

a chariot, in front of which stands a youth, and on two vases the figure of Athena, done in archaic style, appears on the front of the tall neck. These figures are similar to the types of Athena appearing on the Panathenaic vases of the late fifth century and, taken with the scenes on the bodies of the oenochoes, suggest that the vases in the deposit were associated in some way with the festival of the Panathenaia; they will be fully discussed in a later article by Miss Talcott.

SECTION MU MU

This area, situated north of the Athens-Peiraeus electric railway at the north base of Kolonos Agoraios, is the property of the city and is designated for improvement as a small public square. Prior to such improvement permission was granted for its excavation on condition that the block be refilled at the conclusion of the investigation. The main excavation was conducted by H. A. Thompson in 1937 and various interesting ancient monuments were uncovered, as described in the Report for that year. The area was left open for two years in the hope that it might be possible to appropriate the blocks north of the railroad adjoining on the east, but when it became clear this season that such a project could not be realized, it was necessary to proceed with the filling of the area as had been agreed.

Before the refilling operations were begun Thompson made a supplementary investigation of the site for a period of six weeks, which produced some interesting results. The discovery of the boundary stone in place in the northwest corner has already been mentioned. It faces a road, of which the south edge falls within the excavated area. The history of this road, which was the main thoroughfare leading from the Dipylon to the Agora,



Fig. 40. Red-figured Oenochoe

is revealed by a series of successive strata. The earliest use, as indicated by the pottery, goes back to Neolithic times, and this is followed by evidence from the three prehistoric periods, the Middle Helladic deposit being especially deep. Higher stratified deposits mark road surfaces of various later periods, Geometric, Greek, and Roman.

Remains of buildings were uncovered on the south side of the road, of which the most important is one which is to be dated in the beginning of the fourth century B.C. This building appears to have been a foundry since abundant remains of iron working overlay the floor of its court. The red-figured and black-glazed pottery found intermixed with the metal waste is of early fourth-century type, and in the same deposit were found moulds for figurines and a terracotta mould of fine style from the metal cheek piece of a helmet, published by Mrs. Thompson in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 290, fig. 4. Evidence of habitation in the northeast corner of the area consists of the filling deposit of a large pit cut in the bedrock which contained what seems to be débris from houses destroyed at the time of the Persian invasion. Besides abundant pottery the deposit yielded also an ostrakon of Megakles son of Hippokrates.

SECTION NU NU

This Section in the extreme southwest corner of the American Zone, lying on the west and northwest slopes of the Areopagus, was designated as the site for the proposed Agora Museum. It was necessary to excavate the area before the construction of the Museum could be begun and the work of excavation was started this season under the supervision of R. S. Young. But because of the size of the area, which has a maximum length from north to south of 146 metres, and because of the deep accumulation of earth on the site, the excavation was not completed this year and consequently the building of the Museum was postponed.

Since this area lies outside the limits of the Agora it contained no public buildings of the Greek period, but it is topographically important because through it passes the main thoroughfare leading from the Agora to the southern part of the city, with branches to the Pnyx and to the Peiraeus Gate. The road follows the floor of the valley which is wide at the north end but narrows considerably at the south, the filling throughout being very deep, with a maximum depth of nine metres. The great drain, in continuation of its course revealed in the northern Sections of the area, passes through the entire Section from north to south along the line of the road. At the north edge of the area the drain is built of poros blocks arranged in corbelled construction, and is covered by large slabs, one of which is seen to be a much worn sculptured stele. These cover slabs are worn on their upper surface and at that level the surface of an east-west road is visible while, at a lower level, side drains from east and west enter the great drain. It seems evident, therefore, that an important street intersection existed at this southwest corner of the Market.

In the central part of the area people of the Byzantine age had dug extensively, in places even to bedrock, in search of building materials. Traces, however, remain of houses and of a bath of the Roman period, which was built in part over the great



Fig. 41. Sixth Century Grave as Excavated

drain after the drain had ceased to be used, about the end of the third century after Christ. Most of the walls of the drain had suffered from the Byzantine delving for stones but some undisturbed filling from various periods was uncovered. A little Hellenistic deposit remained below the early Roman, and still deeper, at the very bottom of the channel, was a small deposit of sand made in a hollow of the bedrock at the end

of the sixth or early in the fifth century B.C. From this deposit came 162 ostraka distributed as follows: 70 of Themistokles, 46 of Kallixenos, 41 of Hippokrates, 2 of Aristides, 2 of Kydrokles, 1 of Habron.

At the south end of the area the drain lies at the bottom of a hill which slopes sharply upward to the east, and had been arranged in terraces as early as the sixth century before Christ. This terraced area had been used as a cemetery and in it



Fig. 42. Objects from the Grave

twenty-two graves were opened during the season, nineteen being shaft graves of adults, one of a small child, and two urn burials of children. The graves were placed fairly close together and distributed among them were twenty-one sacrificial pits in which were still preserved many large pieces of charred and carbonized logs. Vases were found in ten of the graves and in five of the pits and prove that all the burials except two are to be dated in the sixth century before Christ. The two exceptions are earlier, belonging to the late Geometric period at the end of the eighth century.

A typical grave of this group is shown in Fig. 41 with the skeleton and offerings in place as excavated. This skeleton, which is well preserved, lay in a north-south direction with the head at the north end, but no uniform orientation of the bodies was

practised in the cemetery, the location of the graves being evidently governed by the restrictions of the space. The vases from the grave (Fig. 42) are four Attic black-figured lekythoi of a type dated about the middle of the sixth century and three small jugs of a kind that is non-Attic but has been proved to be common in Lydia in Asia Minor; they are evidently importations.

It is an interesting coincidence that the offerings in a neighboring grave are also imported vases, one from Lydia and one from Corinth (Fig. 43). The four Lydian

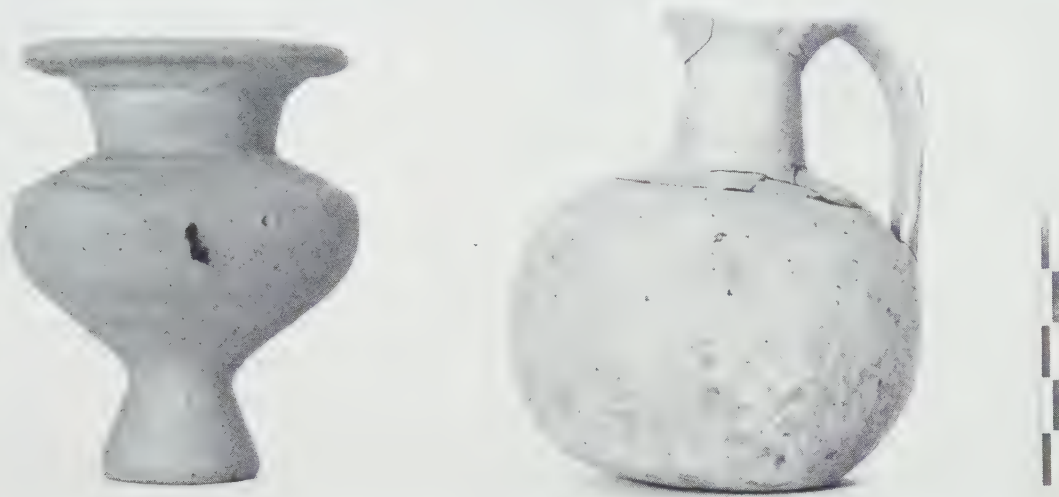


Fig. 43. Vases from a Neighboring Grave

vases from these graves are similar to the *krateriskoi* which were found in considerable numbers in the American excavations at the Lydian capital, Sardes. The clay, from which they are made, is generously sprinkled with specks of golden mica, a characteristic of Lydian clay, and the marbled surface decoration of the smallest specimen is typical of Lydian pottery. The walls of these vases are very thick, so that their capacity is small; they were probably used for the importation of precious ointment for which Sardes was noted. They must be dated before 546 B.C., the year when the Lydian Empire was conquered by the Persians. One other imported vase was included among the offerings in the graves, a Corinthian pyxis, but all the remaining vases belong in the Attic black-figured group, one of the earliest being a lekythos from a sacrificial pit decorated with a band of lions and sirens (Fig. 44).

The offerings in the graves and the ceramic remains scattered in the filling over them prove that the cemetery was in use from the end of the eighth to the end of the sixth century before Christ. The proportionately large number of imported vases among the offerings of the sixth century suggests that this may have been the

burial ground of a family with foreign affiliations. It is surprising to learn that a cemetery within the city limits was in use as late as the end of the sixth century.

Eleven wells were discovered in this area during the season but only two of these could be completely dug. Work was not begun on six and could not be finished on the remaining three because of the great flow of water in them. One of the wells completed produced unimportant pottery of the late sixth century, and the other

was a carefully made tiled well of the second century before Christ. At the bottom of the latter was the usual number of complete water jars of coarse ware, some being of the type with basket handle, with which was a fine plastic lamp in the shape of a bull's head decorated with garlands (Fig. 45). The filling hole is arranged like a sieve with five small holes made in a circular depression; the nozzle is at the muzzle. A noticeable attempt at realism is suggested by the wrinkles on the nose and by the arrangement of the hair. It is a handsome ceramic product of the Hellenistic age.



Fig. 44. Early Black-figured Lekythos

THE ODEION

The greater part of the site occupied by the Odeion was excavated in 1935 and the results were published in the Report for that year. During the present season the small remaining deposits were cleared by Thompson in preparation for the publication of the building. In general the new investiga-

tion provided confirmatory evidence for conclusions previously announced. The area was evidently part of the open market square until as late as the first century before Christ, and the floor now uncovered, partly of bedrock and partly with a shallow gravel surface over the bedrock, shows evidence of heavy traffic. Some foundation stones of a monument, measuring 3.10 by 3.75 m., were uncovered in the extreme southwest corner of the area occupied by the Odeion, but the west end of this monument was cut away by the foundations of the Odeion so that it ceased to exist after the construction of that building. Otherwise unbroken bedrock lies beneath the

Odeion without trace of earlier remains. Thus Dörpfeld's hypothesis as to the site of the grave of Theseus is proved to be impossible.

The date for the construction of the building, the Augustan period, which was suggested by the evidence secured in the earlier investigation, was confirmed by the pottery found in the earth packing of the cavea. The other epochal dates in the history of the building, as previously announced, are its total destruction by fire at the end of the third century after Christ, presumably at the time of the invasion of the Herulians in 267, and the erection of the great building above its ruins at the end of the fourth or early in the fifth century. The condition of the site during the century from 300 to 400 A.D. should be clarified by a detailed and complete study of the evidence secured from the current investigation.

The work of the season also included a thorough study of the temple of Hephaistos (the "Theseum"). Investigation of the area about the temple has been conducted for several years under the supervision of Mrs. Dorothy Thompson. One of the important results achieved is the certain identification of the temple because of the extensive remains of metal working establishments on all sides of the building. During the present season it was possible through the coöperation of the Governmental authorities and of Professors Orlandos and Marinatos to take up the modern floor of the building and to make a detailed investigation of its interior construction. This work was again supervised by Mrs. Thompson, and her husband, H. A. Thompson, coöperated with her; subsequently during the summer the foundations were exhaustively studied by W. B. Dinsmoor who will publish a full report on the results.

Many objects of interest and importance were found besides these which have been already mentioned. The season was particularly fertile in the production of terracotta figurines and of the moulds from which the figurines were cast. One of the 243 pieces catalogued during the year has been discussed by Mrs. Thompson in the article previously cited; others will be published by her later. Terracotta lamps were



Fig. 45. Hellenistic Plastic Lamp

secured in the usual abundance, the addition of the 354 new specimens bringing the total in the Agora collection to nearly four thousand. The inflow of stamped amphora handles continued unabated, so that the total of that group is now approaching the 10,000 mark, and the harvest of inscribed documents was as rich as usual with the new additions bringing the total to nearly six thousand. Since the new inscriptions are published with exemplary promptness by Meritt and his corps of experts no comment on this year's discoveries is required in this Report.

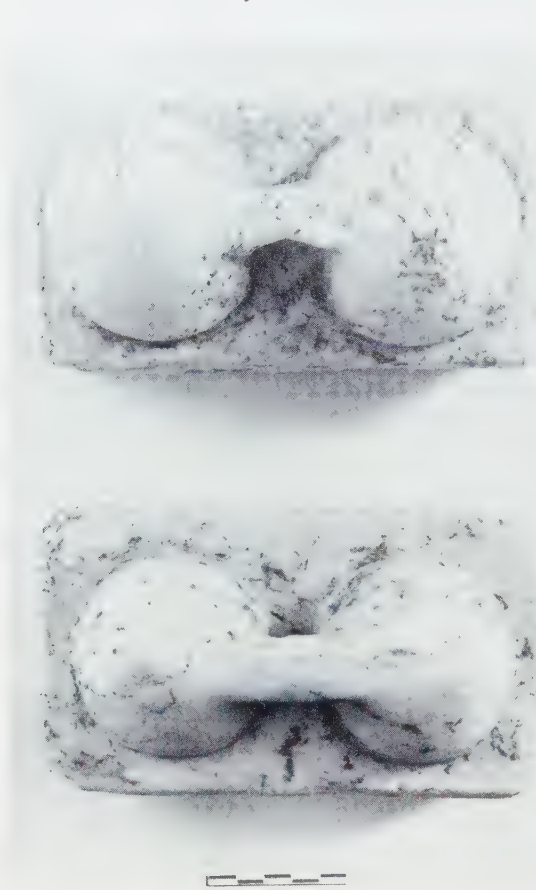


Fig. 46. Marble Weights

These foreign coins have been mentioned because of their exceptional interest, but the main groups of all coins found are the Greek and Roman issues of Athens. The coins from the excavation are so numerous and so varied in age and type that they can be only sketchily treated in the brief space here available. Nearly nine thousand additions were made to the collection during the season, and all were cleaned and catalogued under Miss Thompson's supervision. Mention may be made of some interesting bronze pieces of the Roman age. Two of these were struck in the reign of Caracalla, one for the city of Mytilene showing the Emperor on horseback, and the other a coin of Magnesia ad Maeandrum which has on the reverse a copy of the statue of Themistokles, erected by the Magnesians to commemorate Themistokles's sojourn in the city. Other historical associations are also suggested by the discovery of Jewish coins in the area near the Areopagus. Several of these belong to an issue struck by Herod Agrippa, Ruler of Judea from 37 to 44 A.D. On the obverse they have an umbrella with hanging fringe surrounded by an inscription in Greek; the reverse type shows three ears of wheat on one stalk with the symbols for the year 6 (42/43 A.D.) on either side. Interesting conjectures are aroused by the presence in Athens of this Jewish money of the first century after Christ. Saint Paul left Jerusalem in 44 A.D. on the mission which eventually brought him to Athens, and it is possible that these coins of 42/43 were carried by him or his companions.

These foreign coins have been mentioned because of their exceptional interest, but the main groups of all coins found are the Greek and Roman issues of Athens.

and the late Roman Imperial and Byzantine moneys which were current in the city. Besides handling the coins from this season's excavation Miss Thompson in the interval between campaigns cleared up some arrears in the Coin Department by cleaning, identifying and cataloguing some eight thousand coins found in 1934. Since many of these had come from drain and well deposits they were in a badly corroded condition, but five thousand struck prior to the Turkish period could be identified. Of these 2,684 came from Greek mints, 1,108 were issued by Roman emperors, 939 are Byzantine, 178 are barbarous imitations of the late Roman period, and 179 are from Frankish and Venetian epochs. Such great progress has been made with the cataloguing of the 90,000 coins in the collection that but comparatively little unfinished work from previous years remains to be done.

Reference has been made in past Reports to the increasing number of official weights and measures which are being assembled in the Agora. The present season has made a generous addition to the collection. Some of them are of the oblong marble type with breast-like protuberances on the top (Fig. 46), others are lead weights of many different sizes marked with official insignia, and often with an inscription giving the weight. One of the best preserved of the latter is a quarter stater of the fourth century B.C. (Fig. 47), which bears a tortoise as the official symbol and has its value given by the word *TETARTE*. The difficulty involved in determining the standard Athenian weight is well illustrated by this instance. This quarter stater weighs 227.5 grammes, based thus on a stater of 910 gr. But a double stater found last year gives a unit of 865 gr., and a bronze stater of a year earlier weighs only 810 gr. The many weights in the Agora offer a fertile field for investigation, but the divergencies from a single standard are so frequent and so great that it is doubtful if any satisfactory conclusions can be reached.

The progress of the excavation during the past season has been presented in this Report in all its essential phases. In several Sections work has not been completed and there remain to be excavated the blocks occupied by the temporary museum, storage rooms, and the workrooms of the staff. This work cannot be done until the new museum shall have been constructed. It is estimated that three more seasons will be required for the completion of the Agora project, but now the political situation in Europe injects an element of uncertainty into the conduct of the work and makes any forecast for its future unreliable.

T. LESLIE SHEAR

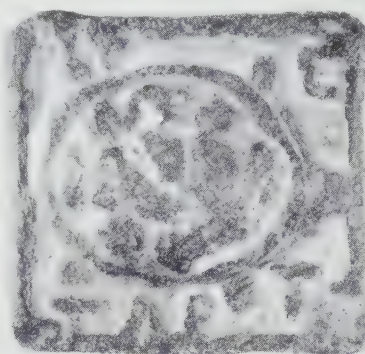


Fig. 47. Lead Weight: Quarter Stater

EXCAVATED BUILDINGS OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA
AS LISTED ON THE PLAN, PLATE I

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Hephaisteion | 17. Middle Stoa |
| 2. Hellenistic Hall | 18. Odeion |
| 3. Northwest Stoa | 19. Archaic Building |
| 4. Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios | 20. Valerian Wall |
| 5. Temple of Apollo Patroos | 21. Stoa of Attalos |
| 6. Metroon | 22. Greek Building |
| 7. Propylon of Bouleuterion | 23. Circular Building |
| 8. Bouleuterion | 24. Panathenaia Street |
| 9. Tholos | 25. Site of Eleusinion |
| 10. Peribolos of the Twelve Gods | 26. Klepsydra |
| 11. Altar | 27. Mycenaean Tomb |
| 12. Fenced Peribolos | 28. Library of Trajan |
| 13. Monument Bases | 29. Boundary Stone of the Agora |
| 14. Enneakrounos | 30. Boundary Stone of the Kerameikos |
| 15. Unexcavated Block | 31. Temple of Ares |
| 16. South Stoa | |

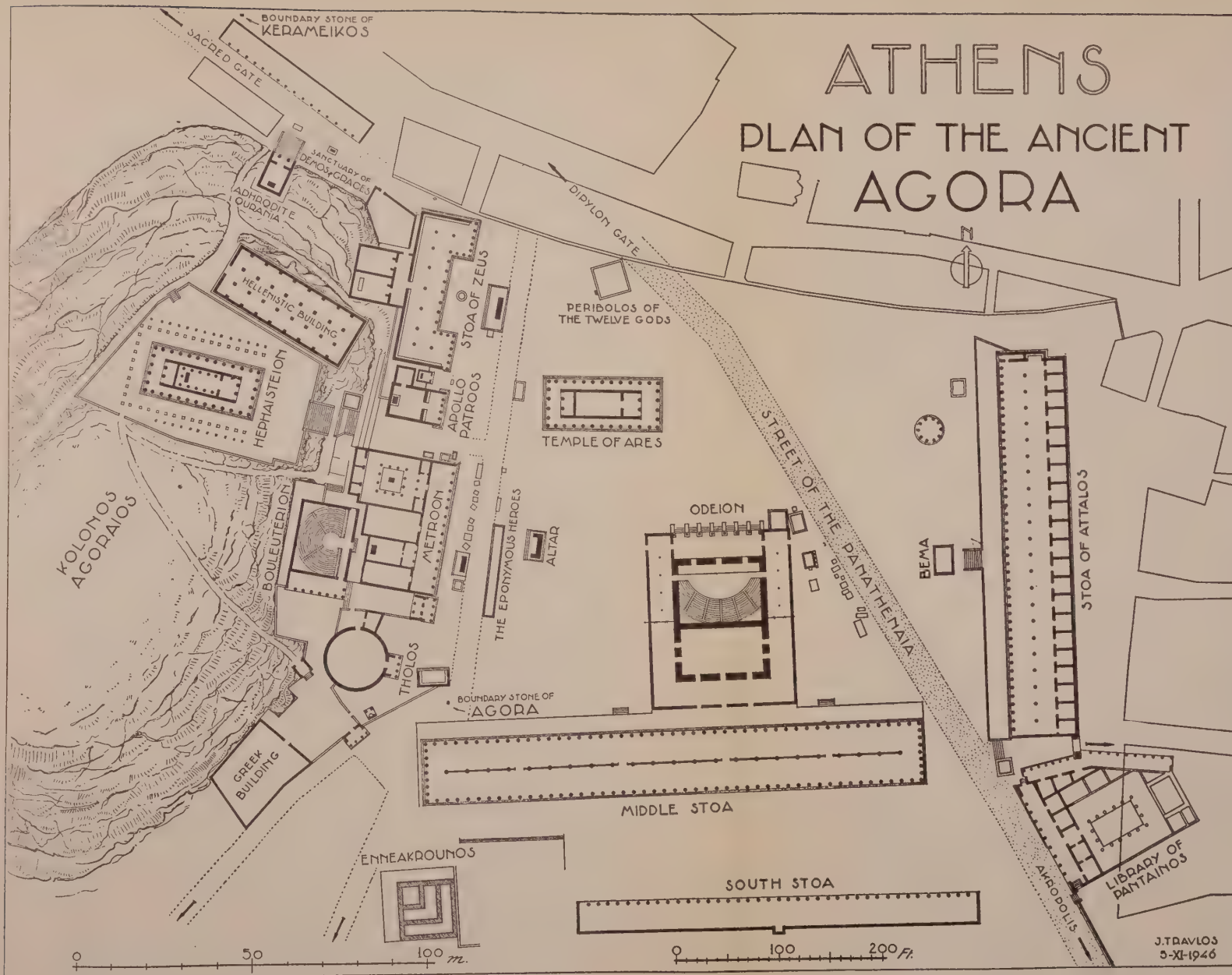
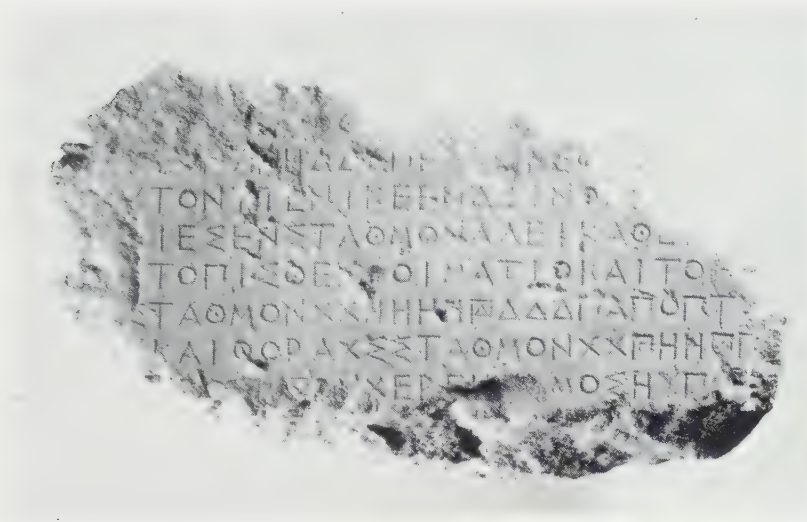


PLATE XLIX. The Agora in the Second Century A.D., Restored

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

THE ACCOUNTS OF THE GOLDEN NIKAI

27.¹ A fragment of Pentelic marble of which the back and the sides are preserved, found on September 13, 1938, in a wall of a modern house in Section BB.



Height, 0.177 m.;
width, 0.320 m.;
thickness, 0.120 m.

Height of letters,
0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5561.

The vertical space of
five lines of text occupies
uniformly 0.08
m., and the horizontal
space of five letters
is 0.054 m.

No. 27

ca. 430-425 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26

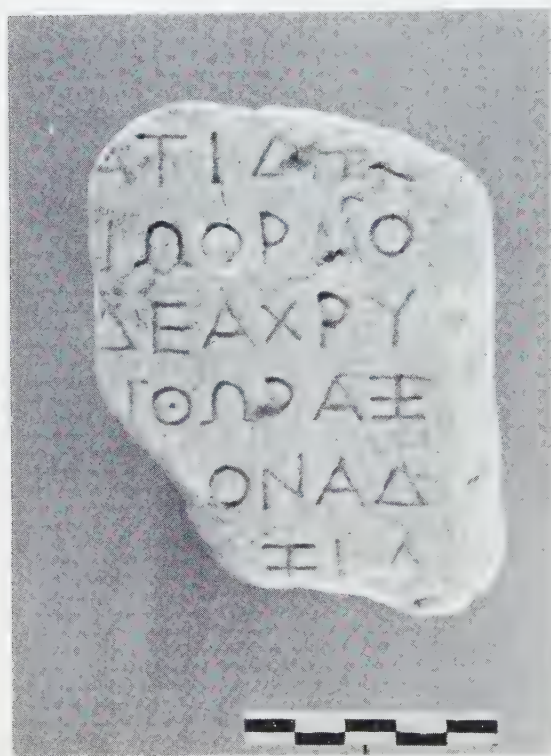
[-----]
[.....⁹...]οθ[.....¹⁴.....σ]
[ταθ]μὸν ΧϞΗΔΔΔΠΗΗ[ΠΠ]· κεφ[άλαιον]
[το]ύτον ΤΤ. ἐ Νίκε ἐν Δεινόκρ[άτες]
5 [ἐπο]ίεσεν, σταθμὸν ἄγει καθ' ἕκ[ασ]
[τον], τῷπισθεν θοῖματίο καὶ τὸ π[ό]
[δε], σταθμὸν ΧΧΗΗΗΗϞΔΔΔΠ, ἀπόπτν
[γμα] καὶ θόραχς, σταθμὸν ΧΧϞΗΗϞΠ
[... π]ρό[σο]πον, χέρε, ἡ[όρ]μος, ἡυπο[δ]
10 [ερίς -----]

¹ The inscriptions are numbered in sequence after those published by B. D. Meritt and W. Kendrick Pritchett in the first number of *Hesperia* for 1940 (*supra*, pp. 53-133).

The new fragment contains a record of two hitherto unknown golden Nikai. We learn little about the former Nike except its complete weight (lines 3-4), but a fairly complete description of the second Nike is preserved. Its sculptor, Deinokrates, is unknown, so far as I can discover. All the golden Nikai seem to have approached a weight of two talents, and in the case of the first Nike it is interesting to note that its exact weight is two talents (cf. Woodward, *'Αρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, p. 170 for a table of the comparative weights of the golden Nikai; also Ferguson, *Treasurers*, p. 91, note 2). The phrase which introduces the description of the second Nike is useful in restoring similar lines in other records of the Nikai (cf. p. 311). The letter forms of the new fragment belong approximately in the period 430-425 B.C.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF A GOLDEN NIKE

28. A small fragment preserving only the right side, broken otherwise on all other sides, found on February 9, 1937, in Section OA.



No. 28

Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.08 m.;
thickness, 0.037 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 4508.

The vertical space of four lines
of text is 0.066 m.; the hori-
zontal space of four letters
0.046 m.

The fragment belongs to the fragmentary record of the Hekatompedon, *I.G.*, II², 1386 together with 1381, recently dated by West and Woodward in the year 401/0 B.C. (*J.H.S.*, LVIII, 1938, p. 73, and pl. VII).

401/0 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 41

[----- ἐν]
 [τῶι νεῶι τῶι ἑκατομπέδῳ· ἡ Νίκη ἦν]ατίδης
 [ἐπόησεν καθ' ἕκαστον· κεφαλῇ, στεφάνῃ, ἐνωιδ]ίῳ, ὄρμῳ
 [ς, ὑποδερίς, ἥλω δύο χρυσῷ, χερῶν ἀριστερά, ἀμφι]δέα, χρυ
 5 [σίδια μικρὰ ΔΔ, σταθμὸν τούτων XXΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ]||· θώραξ,
 [στρόφιον, σταθμὸν τούτων XXΔ· ἀπόπτυγμα, περ]όνα δ
 [ύο, πόδε δύο, σταθμὸν τούτων XΠΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ||]· χερῶν δ]εξιά

The text of this new fragment can be restored almost completely, since the length of line (41 letters in each line) is established by the already published fragments mentioned above, and since the objects, once identified, are described completely in other texts. We discover that the Nike of this new fragment is the same as that of *I.G.*, I², 369; II², 1371; and several other texts (for the list see Woodward, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, pp. 163 ff.). The new text is helpful in establishing the readings and restorations in certain lines of the text of *I.G.*, I², 369. Where previous editors had read in line 9 the traces of the letter chi (*I.G.*, I², 369, line 9), the new fragment shows this letter to have been a tau and part of the name of the sculptor whose name was atides (cf. line 2). In this same line I have omitted the adjective χρυσῇ, since to restore it here would mean shortening the name of the sculptor to an improbable length, and I would restore on analogy with this line the corresponding line in *I.G.*, II², 1371, line 13 (cf. Woodward, *loc. cit.*, p. 164) thus: [ἡ Νίκη ἦν ατίδης ἐπο]ίησεν. Other differences between this text and that of *I.G.*, II², 1371 are: the word χρυσῷ found in line 4 and again in *I.G.*, II², 1388, lines 17-18, but absent from *I.G.*, II², 1371, line 14, and from its earlier counterpart, *I.G.*, I², 369, line 10; again, in line 6 there is space for four digits of which two are certainly XX, but the final units remain in uncertainty here as in other similar texts (cf. *I.G.*, I², 369, line 11; *I.G.*, II², 1371, line 17; 1388, line 20). In line 7 we find space for eleven single-spaced units, and here once more there is a slight variation in the accounts of the various texts. I have restored XΠΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔ|| where in the other corresponding texts XΠΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΠΤΤΤΤ|| is found; the resultant difference is one drachma.

THE TREASURERS OF ATHENA

29. A small fragment of Pentelic marble of which only the inscribed face and back are original, found on April 14, 1938, in a modern wall.

a nu, and not with an iota (see *I.G.*, I², 254, line 3, and Ferguson, *Treasurers*, p. 51). The year 408/07 must also be excluded because the formula reverts to the earlier type and because none of the names of the tamiai can be fitted into the restoration (see Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 52). It must also be observed that the year 406/05 was, like 410/09, the first year of a penteteris and had its own formula. This year was also probably the year of the amalgamation of the two boards of tamiai into one (cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 7; West and Woodward, *J.H.S.*, LVIII, 1938, p. 70, note 3), and the formulae probably resembled that of *I.G.*, II², 1370. Only two possibilities emerge from this sifting of the years, either 411/0 or 407/06. Of the latter there is no evidence of its form or of its principal members, since *I.G.*, I², 255a has been dated in 405/04 (cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Ferguson and Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 52-57).

A DECREE

30. A small piece of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in modern fill in Section OA on April 21, 1937.

Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.115 m.;
thickness, 0.049 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.
Inv. No. I 4768.

Two lines occupy a vertical space of 0.032 m., and two letters a space of 0.035 m.



No. 30

After 403 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 23

[. . .] ης κ[αὐ ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφ]
[ισμα] ἐν στ[ήλῃ λιθίνῃ τὸ γ γ]
[ραμμ] ατέα [τῆς βολῆς ἐμ πόλει]
5 [ἐπει] δὴ κα[θηιρέθη ἡ στήλῃ ἡ α]
[ὑτῶι πρ] ὅτ[ερον ἀνακειμένη ἐ]
[πὶ τῶν τριάκοντα -----]

This fragmentary text was inscribed on stone in letters of the early fourth century before Christ. The interesting point about it is that it was the successor to a stele which was destroyed in the time of the Thirty. Presumably the new decree revived the contents and purpose of the earlier decree. For lines 5-6 cf. *I.G.*, II², 9 (*S.E.G.*, III,

no. 69, 401-0 B.C.): |ἐπειδ|ῆ δὲ καθη|ιρέθη ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα| αὐτοῖς ἡ σ|τήλη ἡ πρότερον ἀνακειμ|ένη αὐτοῖς. Further, cf. *I.G.*, II², 6, lines 11-14: ἐπειδὴ καθηιρέθη ἡ στήλη |ἐ|πὶ τῶν τριάκοντα, etc. (cf. also *I.G.*, II², 66).

A STATUE BASE, *ca.* 375 B.C.

31. The following reconstruction is based on a selection of the fragments of a large statue base, which was shattered into many pieces. Some of these have no significance, since their position is indeterminable, and since they preserve no inscribed surface. The criterion used in selecting the following eleven fragments for publication has therefore been twofold: the necessary inclusion of inscribed pieces and those pieces which from the nature of their fractures indicate securely their position in the base.

Fragment A preserves the top of the base and a bit of the wreath; it was found in a modern wall in Section T on April 25, 1936. Fragments B and C preserve parts of the wreath; fragment B retains also parts of two adjacent faces on both of which the remains of wreaths are preserved; fragment C preserves the bottom of the base. Fragment D is broken on all sides, and the original surface of the top was cut down for re-use; it was found on February 9, 1935, in a modern house in Section II. Fragment E preserves parts of two adjacent faces, and like fragment D was cut down for re-use; it was found on June 16, 1933, in disturbed fill of the north tower in Section I. Fragment F joins fragment E and preserves part of the original top; it was found in a modern house in Section II on December 31, 1934. Fragment G, found on March 18, 1935, in a modern house, also has part of the top. Fragment H is significant because it preserves the bottom, part of an inscribed face with wreath, and the back; it was found on January 3, 1935, in a modern house in Section II. Fragments I, J, K were found about the same time in Section II. Fragment J is important because it presents parts of two faces, the bottom and a wreath. (See the accompanying reconstruction by Piet de Jong.)

Fragment A: height, 0.205 m.; width, 0.65 m.; thickness, 0.088 m.

Height of letters, 0.012–0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 994 A.

Fragment D: height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.118 m.; thickness, 0.18 m.

Inv. No. I 994 D (includes I 4587).

Fragment E: height, 0.155 m.; width, 0.075 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Inv. No. I 994 E (includes I 3710).

Fragment F: height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.31 m.; thickness, 0.052 m.

Inv. No. I 994 F.

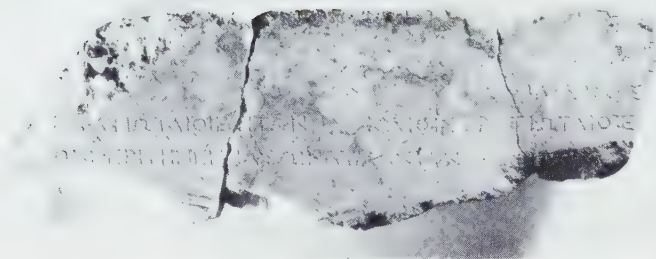
Fragment G: height, 0.147 m.; width, 0.28 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.

Inv. No. I 994 G.

Fragment H: height, 0.385 m.; width, 0.202 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.

Inv. No. I 994 H.

The original shape, the height, and length of the sides of the base can be discerned from a close study of these eleven fragments. From fragment H one can discover that the back was not inscribed, for the surface was finished only with a light tothing, and was obviously not intended to be seen. It preserves however a side on which a wreath and part of an inscription are preserved. This side we shall call the right face. The height from the base to the bottom of the preserved line is 0.371 m. Fragment A preserves the top of a wreath: the space between the top of this wreath and the bottom of the second line is approximately the same as in fragment H. Piet de Jong, who has made the drawing, discerned that each preserved wreath has approximately the same diameter: *ca.* 0.28 m. Fragments B, C, H, I, and J preserve the bottom and parts of wreaths. From these observations one can say that all the wreaths were placed at a uniform height. Such a disposition is the only symmetrical way. The space from the top to the bottom of line two in fragment A is *ca.* 0.149 m. This measurement added to the previous one gives the height of the base, 0.52 m. Since fragment H occupies the corner between the back and right face, fragment B, which preserves two faces and bits of wreaths on each face, must occupy one of two positions: either a position beneath fragments D and E (i.e., the front and right faces) or it must be placed in the remaining corner between the left face and the front. The former position is impossible because fragment E extends too low to permit the placing of a fragment so high as fragment B beneath it. The other position between the left and front faces is the only possibility. Each citation thus appears to have possessed a wreath below it, and the most symmetrical arrangement is a face with three crowns. It will be observed that on the left face the citation of Philiskos occupies a central and symmetrical position with only three crowns on this face. There is no other reason for excluding a possible but improbable larger number of wreaths and citations. With this arrangement fragment A can only be assigned to the left face, for it cannot be placed above fragment B. Fragments D, E, F, and G form an inseparable unit both from content and shape. The distances between crowns is given by fragment K, and the distance from side to edge of crown is yielded by fragments B (both faces), H, and J. From these measurements the over-all size of the base has been calculated. The front and back were *ca.* 0.116 m. long, and the left and right faces *ca.* 0.107 m. in length. The base was therefore almost square. The inscribed text consisted originally of nine honorary citations engraved one above each wreath, together with the signature of the sculptor and, presumably, on the front face in a central position the name of the man to whom the statue and base belonged. So far as the honorary citations are preserved they are almost entirely concerned with soldiers and in one case with the Demos of the Mytilenaeans. This observation suggests that the central figure was probably also a soldier; significantly, the first citation mentions marines who fought in the battle of Naxos (376) in which Chabrias had served as general. As a reward for this victory the Athenians raised a bronze statue



Fragment A



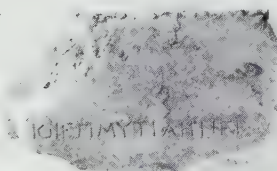
Fragments D and E



Fragment I



Fragments E and F

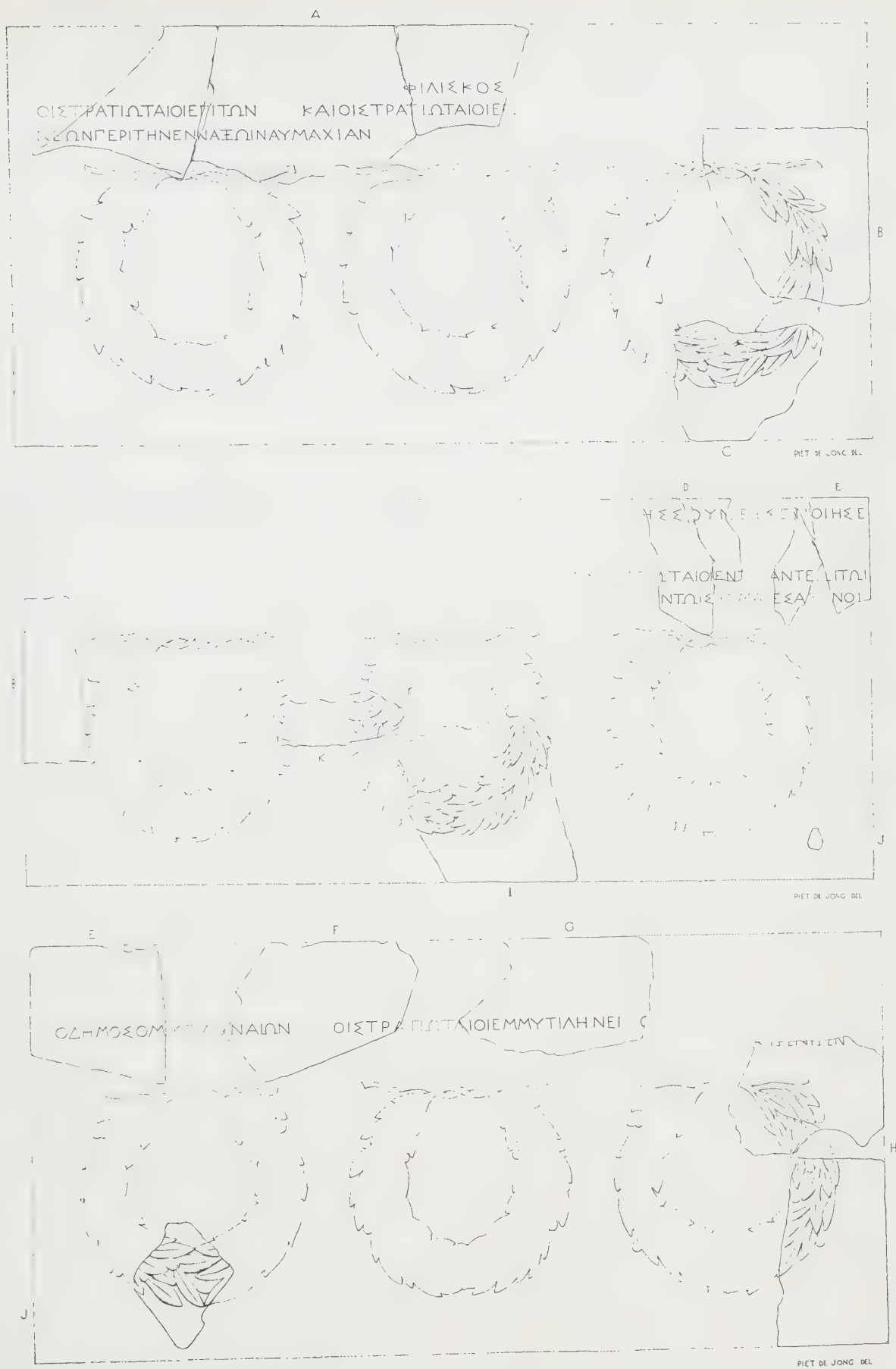


Fragment G



Fragment H

No. 31. Fragments A, D and E, E and F, G, H, and I



No. 31. Left (top), Front (middle), and Right (bottom) Faces of Base

ca. 375 B.C.	Non-STOIX.		
	LEFT FACE		
	A		
	Φιλίσκος		
[Οἱ στ]ρατιῶται οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ἐ[ν -----]	[-----]		
[ν]εῶν περὶ τὴν ἐν Νάξῳι ναυμαχίαν	[wreath]	wreath	
wreath			
	FRONT FACE		
	D	E	
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]ης Σουν|ιεύς ἐ|ποίησε	
	[-----]	[Οἱ στρατ]ωται οἱ ἐν Τ[. .]ΑΝΤΕΩΙΤΩΙ	
	[-----]	[-----]νται σ[ν]μαχ|εσά|με|νοι	
wreath	[wreath]	[wreath]	
	RIGHT FACE		
	F	G	H
Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μ[ν]τιλ|ηναίων	Οἱ στρα[τ]ωτ|αι οἱ ἐμ Μντιλήναι	Ο[ἱ] στρατιῶται οἱ -----]	
[wreath]	[wreath]	[----- Σι|κυνίων	wreath

of Chabrias in the Agora and gave him numerous other honors. It may be, although the name has disappeared completely, that in this base we have parts of the monument dedicated to Chabrias, which stood in the Agora (cf. *P.A.*, 15086).

On the right face the two citations are concerned with Mytilene: ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μυτιληναίων and οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ἐμ Μυτιλήνῃ. Mytilene was one of the charter members of the Second Athenian Confederacy (cf. *I.G.*, II², 40 and 43, line 80), and throughout the whole of the Theban War was of great service to Athens (*I.G.*, II², 107, lines 37-40²). That Mytilene is now known to have served as a base for Athenian soldiers helps to solve the problem concerning Astyphilos in the speech *Περὶ τοῦ Ἀστυφίλου κλήρου* of Isaeus. There it is stated that he had died with the expedition at Mytilene (ἀποδημήσας οὖν μετὰ τῶν εἰς Μυτιλήνην στρατιωτῶν ἐτελεύτησε). He had been a soldier throughout the whole of the Theban War (par. 14), but on this last campaign, in which he had served only as a volunteer with full hopes of returning home alive, he lost his life. This expedition in Mytilene (ἡ εἰς Μυτιλήνην στρατεία) is of course not an army sent against Mytilene, but an army sent there as a base of operations (cf. εἰς Κόρινθόν τε στρατεύεσθαι μέλλων; Isaeus, VII, 9).³ Of the third citation on the right face all that remains are the fragments of seven letters. The second must be a letter which spread at the top, and not an iota; or a letter like rho or pi, which spread only to the right. The only epigraphical possibilities here are upsilon, psi, or tau. Of these only upsilon is probable, and thus yields the reading [Σι]κωνίων. It may well be that the Athenian soldiers, who fought a battle against the Sikyonians, the allies of Sparta during the Theban War, are herein mentioned.

The second citation of the left face, Φιλίσκος καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ἐ[ν ---], contains a reference to a hitherto unknown Athenian garrison commander.⁴

The third citation on the right face is also concerned with soldiers. The disposition of the letters in Σουν[ιεύς] determines the spacing in both fragments, for, if iota is given here its normal half-space value, the fragments must be placed as delineated in de Jong's reconstruction; but if iota is allowed a full space, a corresponding amount must be granted to the lines below. I have discovered no satisfactory restoration of these letters: Τ[. . .]ΑΝΤΕΩΙΤΩΙ.⁵

² The assumption of Judeich (*Kleinasiatische Studien*, pp. 271-2), that the reference to "the past war" in *I.G.*, II², 107, lines 38-9 (369/8 B.C.) fell too long after the Theban War to be connected with it, and his conjecture that this is a reference to the attack on Samos by Iphicrates, have become a fact in Glotz-Cohen, *Histoire Grecque*, III, 1, p. 168. Far from being fact it remains rather a whimsy. The obvious war is the Theban War, and moreover there are numerous examples in honorary decrees of reference to past events long after their end. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 505, line 17.

³ Astyphilos may be the same man as the orator of the decree concerning Methymna, *I.G.*, II², 42, line 3. Cf. Pistorius, *Beiträge z. Gesch. von Lesbos*, p. 42, note 5.

⁴ This can hardly be a reference to Philiskos of Abydos, who had become an Athenian citizen in 367 (*P.A.*, 14430). His connection with the Athenian στρατιῶται would be obscure. He was hyparchos of the satrap Ariobarzanes. Cf. Lenschau, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Philiskos.

⁵ The following restoration is epigraphically possible: οἱ ἐν τ[ῷ μ]αντεῖσι τῶι | [---]ντωι, etc.—although I can discover no historical justification for it.

There was in all probability still another block above the one from which these fragments derive, for it is unlikely that the sculptor's name should occupy such a prominent place in the inscription and that the name of the person honored should not be inscribed. It is preferable to assume that the name of Chabrias was engraved on the block on which his statue stood, and that there was also perhaps an epigram, or at least a dedicatory sentence to give significance to the monument.

THE TREASURERS OF ATHENA

32. A small fragment of Pentelic marble preserving only the inscribed face, found on February 22, 1937, in late fill in Section II.



Height, 0.086 m.; width,
0.112 m.; thickness,
0.036 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 4527.

The vertical space occupied by three lines is 0.03 m., and the horizontal space of three letters, 0.03 m.

No. 32

374/3 B.C.

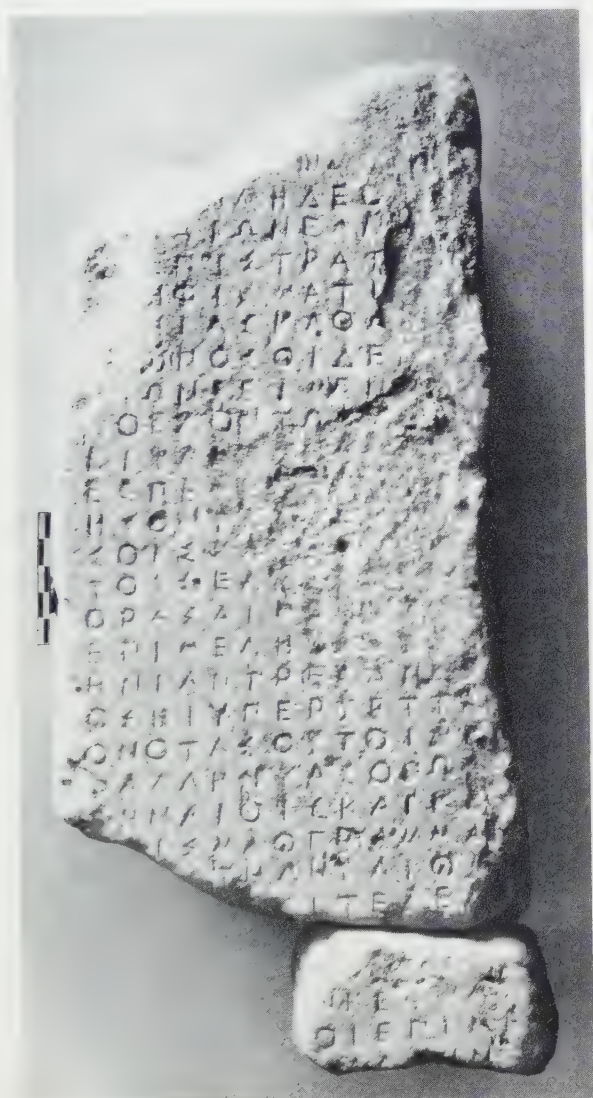
ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[----- χρυ]
[σοῖ σταθ]μ[ὸν: ††††††]
[φύλλον ἀ]π[ὸ τῆς θύρας ἀπὸ]
[τὸ Ἑκατο]μπ[έδο χρυσὸν]
5 [ἀπὸ τ]ὸ ἥλο ᾗ[στατον·]
[στέ]φανος χρυ[σὸς ὀν]
[ῆ Νί]κη ἔχει [ἐ]π[ὶ τῆς]
[κεφα]λῆς ῆ ἐπ[ὶ τ]ῆ[ς χειρὸς]
[τὸ ἀγά]λ[μα]το[s -----]

The fragment belongs to but does not join column I of *I.G.*, II², 1421, now dated by Kolbe (*Philol.*, XXXVIII, 1928, p. 263) in 374/3 (cf. *Addenda, I.G.*, II², 1421, p. 799). This new fragment is concerned chiefly with the description of the Nike in the hand of Athena Parthenos, and can be restored in its entirety from comparison with other records.

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE TREATY BETWEEN ATHENS AND KEPHALLENIA

33. A small fragment of Pentelic marble (fragment *b*), broken on all sides, found on May 4, 1936, in Section HH in modern fill. It joins *I.G.*, II², 98 (fragment *a*), the text of an agreement between the Athenians and the Kephallenians.



No. 33

Height, 0.056 m.; width, 0.105 m.;
thickness, 0.044 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4113.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26

- 27 [---τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βο]
28 [λῆι . . .⁵.]ο[-----]
29 [. . .⁵. τῇ]ν Κεφαλλ[ηνίαν ----]
30 [. . .⁷. . .] οἱ ἐπιμε[ληται ἐπιμελε]
31 [ίσθων Κεφ|αλ|λ]ην[ίας ----]

The new fragment, small and broken as it is, shows that the provisions concerning the board of epimeletai to be sent to Kephallenia were either reconsidered or resumed in a kind of rider to the original decree. This interpretation depends on the restoration of the phrase $\tau\alpha\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\iota$, but seems fairly certain, since it will be observed that the new fragment contains part of a text which succeeded the conclusion to the original text (lines 23 ff.). More can be achieved in the whole document than is to be found in the text of *I.G.*, II², 98. For example, the provision in lines 21-23 concerning the epimeletai destined for Kephallenia,

----- οὗτοι δὲ ἐ|πιμελέσθων Κε|
 φαλληνίας ὅπως [. 'Α|
 θηναίοις καὶ Κε|φαλλῆσιν ---],

can be solved through a comparison with similar passages in other texts. In 357/6 the Athenians, harassed by the opening maneuvers of the Social War, enacted certain legislation ensuring the safety of strategic islands, like Andros, where a garrison was stationed (*I.G.*, II², 123). The introductory statement in that decree is:

ὅπως |ᾶ|ν 'Ανδ|ρος| ἐ|ι| σ|[ᾶ|
 τῶι δ|ή|μωι τῶι 'Αθη|να|ίων
 |καὶ| τῶι δῆμωι τῶι 'Ανδρίων.

Another inscription from the period of the Social War (*I.G.*, II², 404), the decree concerning the Ceans, contains the same phrase, expressing a request of certain prominent Ceans that Athens provide for the loyalty and safety of Ceos.⁶ Therefore in lines 6-7 of this text I would restore on analogy with the decree concerning Andros:

[ὅ|πως ᾶν σᾶ ἦι Κέως τῶ|ι|
 |δῆμωι τῶι 'Αθηναίων καὶ|
 |ταῖς πόλεσι ἐγ Κέωι].

Xenophon preserves the same phraseology in his quotation from the decree of Demotion (366 B.C.): ὅπως καὶ Κόρινθος σῶα ἦ τῶ δῆμῳ τῶν 'Αθηναίων (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VII, 4, 4). This in the original decree was expressed thus: ὅπως ᾶν Κόρινθος σᾶ ἦι τῶι δῆμωι τῶι 'Αθηναίων. In the lines of the decree concerning Kephallenia I would also restore similar phraseology, as follows:

οὗτοι δ' ἐ|πιμελείσθων Κε|
 φαλληνίας ὅπω[ς ᾶν ἦι σᾶ τοῖς τε 'Α|
 θηναίοις καὶ Κε|φαλλῆσιν -----].

⁶ For the date see Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 16, note 1.

As in the cases of Andros, Ceos, and probably Corinth, the state was to be kept safe both for the Demos of Athens and for itself.⁷

A better restoration than [ἔδραι τῇ ἐπι]όσηι in lines 19-20 of *I.G.*, II², 98, which is abrupt and unattested, is [ἔως ἂν ὁ πόλεμ]ος ᾗι, for the war was still in progress, and the purpose of sending the board of epimeletai was to provide for the security of Kephallenia during the war with the Lacedaemonians. The restoration [νῆ]σοις in lines 14-15 seems fairly certain, as well as [φρ]οράς in lines 16-17. The sense seems to include the islands and the mainland (lines 12-23):

| — — — ἄρχοντ |
 ες πέ[ντε ἰόντων οἵτινες ἐπιμελ]
 ἦσοντ[αι τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς τε ἐν νῆ]
 σοις κα[ὶ ἐν ἡπείρῳ· εἶναι δὲ τού]
 τοις ἐὰν [βούλωνται ἔχειν τὰς φρ]
 οράς αἱ[περ εἰσὶ ἐν Κεφαλληνίαι·]
 ἐπιμελη[τὰ]ς δ[ὲ] πέμψαι ἐς Κεφαλλ[
 ῆνιαν τρεῖς] ἄνδ[ρας ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμ]
 ος ᾗι ὑπὲρ τετρα[ράκοντα ἔτη γεγ]
 ονότας· οὗτοι δ' ἐ[πιμελείσθων Κε]
 φαλληνίας ὅπως ἂν ᾗι σὰ τοῖς τε Ἀ]
 θηναίοις καὶ Κε[φαλλῆσιν —————].

The ἡπειρος would refer to Acarnania and the νῆσοι to Zakynthos, Ithaka, the Κεφαλληνίαι νῆσοι, and perhaps Corcyra, although the difficulties there were great enough to justify separate administrative consideration. To return to the new fragment of the text, the sense of the mutilated passage seems clear enough: the epimeletai of Kephallenia are still the subject of the decree. The complete text with the new suggestions follows below.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26

373/2 B.C.

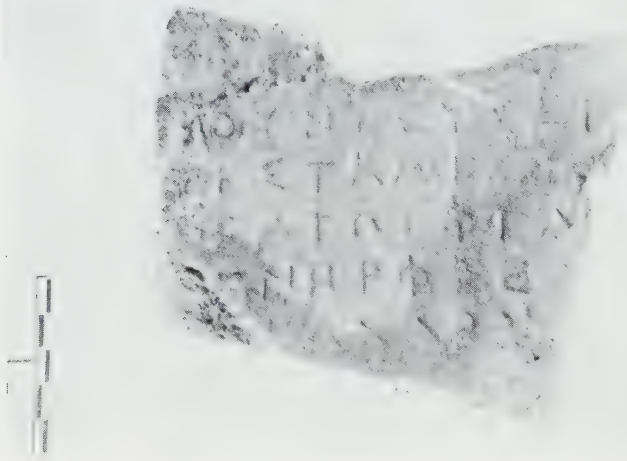
a [.....| | —————]
 [.....⁸] N[—————]
 [.....⁵ τ]ῇν δὲ σ[—————]
 [.....] ν μηδὲ ο[ὐ Κεφαλλῆνες ἄνευ Ἀ]
 5 [θη]ναίων· ἐὰν δέ [τις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικ]
 [ῇν] ἐπιστρατ[εύηται παρὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ]
 [ι ψ]ηφίσματι τ[ῷ]δε, βοηθεῖν Κεφα]
 [λλ]ῆνας καθάπερ [γεγραμμένον ἐσ]
 [τί]· ὅποσοι δὲ ν[όμοι περὶ τῶν Ἀθην]
 10 [α]ίων κείμενο[ι εἰσι ἐν στήλαις κ]

⁷ Foucart made the same restoration in a letter to Wilamowitz. Cf. *Addenda* to *I.G.*, II², 98. In connection with the adjective σὰ Meritt now notes that he wishes to interpret line 107 of *I.G.*, II², 463 thus: [κ]αὶ σὰ καὶ ἐντε[λή] “both sound and complete.” Cf. above, p. 68.

- αθελόντω[ν αὐτίκα μάλα καὶ ἐξάλ]
 εἰψά[ντων⁹ καὶ ἄρχοντ]
 ες πέ[ντε ἰόντων οἵτινες ἐπιμελ]
 ἦσονται τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς τε ἐν νή]
 15 σοις κα[ὶ ἐν ἡπείρῳ· εἶναι δὲ τοῦ]
 τοις ἐὰν [βούλωνται ἔχειν τὰς φρ]
 ορὰς αἷ[περ εἰσὶ ἐγ Κεφαλληνίαι·]
 ἐπιμελη[τὰ]ς δ[ὲ] πέμψαι ἐς Κεφαλλ]
 ἡνίαν τρέ[ς] ἄνδ[ρας ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμ]
 20 ος ᾗ ὑπὲρ τεττα[ράκοντα ἔτη γεγ]
 ονότας· οὗτοι δ' ἐ[πιμελείσθων Κε]
 φαλληνίας ὅπω[ς ἂν ᾗ σα τοῖς τε 'Α]
 θηναίοις καὶ Κε[φαλλῆσιν· τὸ δὲ ψ]
 [ήφ]ισμα ὁ γραμμα[τεὺς ἀναγραφάτ]
 25 [ω ἐν] στήλῃ λιθί[νῃ καὶ καταθέτ]
 [ω ἐμ πόλ]ει τέλε[σι τοῖς τῶν Κεφαλ]
 [λήνων· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βο] *b*
 [λῆι ...⁵...]ο[-----]
 [...⁵... τῇ]ν Κεφαλλ[ηνίαν -----]
 30 [...⁷...] οἱ ἐπιμε[ληταὶ ἐπιμελε]
 [ίσθων Κεφ]αλ[λ]ην[ίας -----]

THE TREASURERS OF ATHENA

34. A small battered fragment of Pentelic marble with the left side and back preserved, found on March 17, 1938, in Section II.



No. 34

Height, 0.128 m.; width, 0.132 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5325.

The record was inscribed in stoichedon order; the vertical space allotted to three lines is 0.046 m., and the horizontal space of three letters 0.041 m. The style of letter forms belongs to the middle of the fourth century B.C.

This fragment is part of the prescript of a record of the treasurers of Athena, containing the statement of the names of the members of the new board of treasurers (lines 3-6) and the name of the secretary of a preceding board (lines 1-2). A close parallel to this fragmentary text in letter forms and in style is *I.G.*, II², 1442 (346/5 B.C.), which also uses the formula [τοῖς] νέοις τ[αμίαις]. Ferguson has presented two tables of the secretaries of the tamiai and their cycles (*Treasurers of Athena*, pp. 9, 144; cf. also *Tribal Cycles*, p. 49), one cycle ending in 386/5 and the other commencing in 355/4. Presumably secretaries in the intervening years were determined by lot (but cf. Dinsmoor, *Archon List*, pp. 11-12, note 69). Since the letter forms appear to belong to the mid-fourth century B.C. one of the two available dates in the latter cycle (355/4 and 345/4) may be possible.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 35

ρ[ε] | ξ | — — — οἷς — — — name — — — Σ |
 ουνιενδς ἐγ[ραμμάτευεν, παρέδοσαν τοῖς νέο |
 ις ταμίαις | — — — name — demotic — name — — |
 ράτωι Φιλ[αῖδην, — — name — demotic — name — — |
 5 ἐννι Φρεα[ρρίωι, — — name — demotic — name — — |
 [.] Ἀχαρν[εῖ, — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — |
 [.] ν[—]

A DECREE CONCERNING LEMNOS, 337/6 B.C.

35. Two non-contiguous fragments of Pentelic marble both of which preserve only the rough-picked back and inscribed face; fragment A was found on February 18, 1938, in Byzantine fill near the Valerian Wall in Section II; fragment B was found on February 5, 1935, in late fill in Section II.

Fragment A: height, 0.144 m.; width, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.
 Height of letters, 0.005 m.
 Inv. No. I 5234.

Fragment B: height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.071 m.; thickness, 0.081 m.
 Inv. No. I 2409.

The vertical space occupied by five lines is uniformly 0.051 m., and the horizontal space of four letters is 0.04 m.

337/6 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 39

vacat

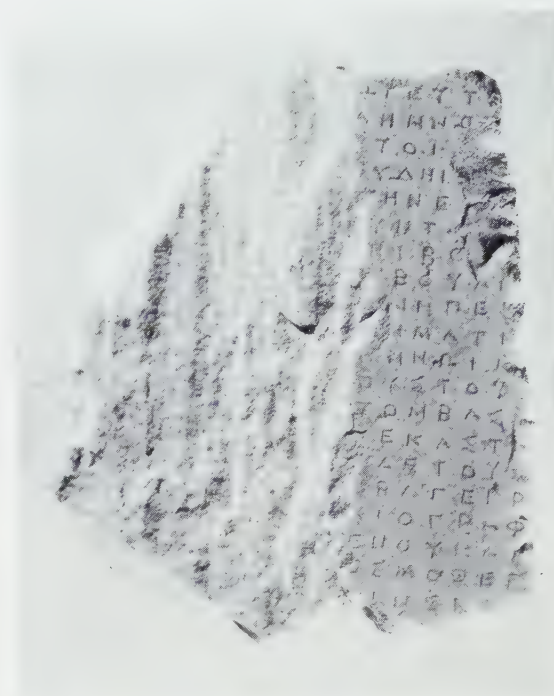
A

[Ἐπὶ Φ]ρυνίχο[υ ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος ἔκτ |
 [ης π]ρυτανε[ίας ἥι Χαιρέστρατος Ἀμεινίου Ἀχαρν |
 [εὐ]ς ἐγραμμ[άτευεν Γαμηλιῶνος ἐβδόμηι ἱσταμέν |

|ου]; πέμπτ|ηι τῆς πρυτανείας· τῶν προέδρων ἐπειψήφ|
 5 |ι|ξεν Ἔργ|.....²⁰· ἔδοξεν τῶι δῆμ|
ωι· Δ]ημάδ	ης Δημέον Παιανιεύς εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν οἱ θε	
σμο	θέτα	ι λέγουσι²¹
....]σα²³	



No. 35. Fragment A



No. 35. Fragment B

10 |-----|ωι εὐτ|.....⁷...|
-----ἐν	Ἀήμνω	ι.....⁶...
-----	τον⁸...
-----β	ουλῇ⁸...
-----	την ε⁸...
-----	υντω⁷...
15	-----τ]ῇ βο	υλῇ ...
-----τῇ	ι βουλῇ	ι.....
-----	μη περ⁵...
-----χρ	ηματί	σαι ...

B

20 |-----ἐν Λ|ήμνωι κ|.....⁵...|
-----	ους τοὺς
-----	τὸμ βασι	λέα·
-----	έκαστ⁵...
-----	δὲ τοὺς
-----π	αραγεγρ	αμμέ
25	ν-----κ	αὶ ὁ γραφ
-----	ένον καὶ
-----θ	εσμοθετ
-----	ιν εἰς τ

The new text is part of a decree which was passed in the assembly of the year 337/6 B.C. on the motion of Demades, the well-known orator. A comparative study of the prescript with *I.G.*, II², 239 shows that both decrees were passed on the same day, and that the restoration in lines 6-7 of *I.G.*, II², 239 should read [Γαμηλιῶνος ἐβδόμῃ] [ἰσταμένον]. In lines 6-7 a possible epigraphical variant of [θεσμοθέτα|ι] might be [ἀγωνοθέτα|ι], but in view of the repetition of θεσμοθέται in line 27 I have rejected this possibility in favor of [θεσμοθέτα|ι]. The decree seems to be occupied with a report or recommendation of the thesmothetai on matters concerning Lemnos (cf. lines 10, 19), but no continuous sense can be achieved in the text of fragment B. In line 21 there is a probable reference to Philip in the phrase τὸν βασι[λέα]. Lemnos was one of the few possessions that Athens retained after the battle of Chaeronea (cf. Glotz-Roussel-Cohen, *Histoire Grecque*, IV, 1, p. 196; Schaeffer, *Demosthenes*, III², p. 28).

A DECREE, 335/4 B.C.

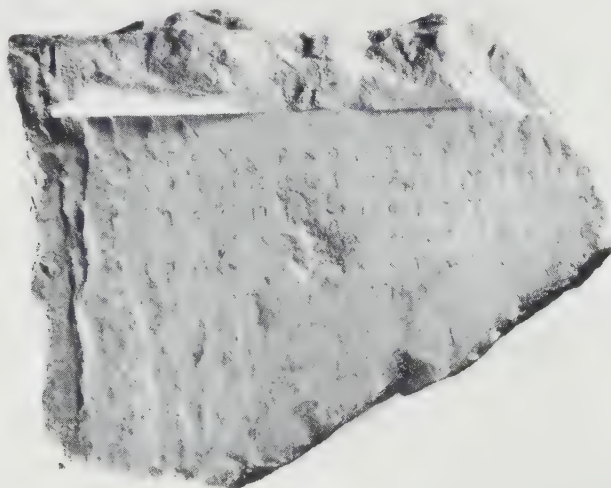
36. A fragment of Pentelic marble preserving the rough-picked back and simple moulding above the inscribed face, found on April 2, 1936, in Section T.

Height, 0.285 m.; width, 0.36 m.; thickness, 0.148 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 3960.

The vertical space occupied by five lines is 0.082 m., and the horizontal space of five letters, 0.079 m.



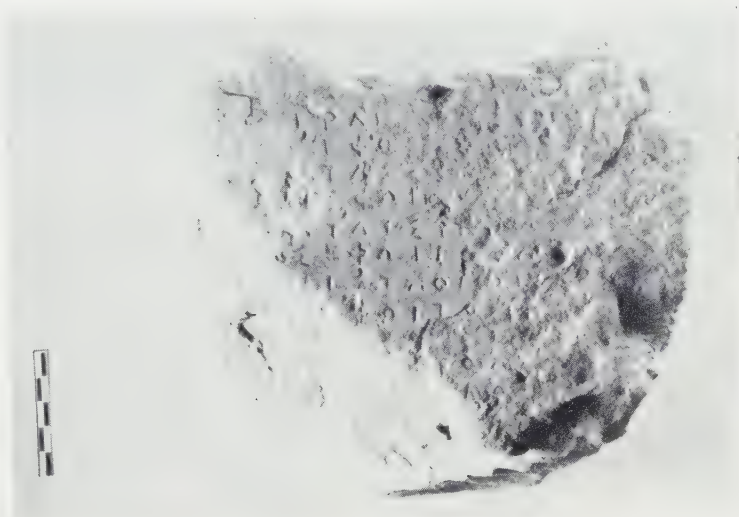
No. 36

331/0 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

OBSERVE FACE

- [στεφάνου ὃν ἀνέ]θη[καν οἱ -----]
 [στατηήρας: ΔΔΔΠ]ΣΣ: [καὶ -----]
 [καὶ⁹...]ους καὶ [-----]
 [στεφάνου ὃι ὁ δ]ήμος ὁ Ἀθη[ναίων]
 5 [ἐστεφάνωσεν τ]ὴν βουλὴν [τὴν]
 [ἐπὶ⁹...] ἄρχοντο[ς]
 [στατηήρας: ΔΔΔΔ]ΠΣΣΣ^v ἐνν[έ' ὀβολοί.]
 [στεφάνου ὃν ἀνέθ]ηκαν οἱ ἐ[ννεάρχοντες?]
 [ἐπὶ⁹...] ἄρ[χοντος, vacat]
 10 [στατηήρας: ΔΔΔΠ]ΣΣ: κ[αὶ -----]
 [καὶ⁹...]ου]ς κ[αὶ -----]



No. 37. Reverse Face

REVERSE FACE

- [.....¹⁰...] |Σ[.....⁵]ΛΔ[-----]
 [..... ἐπιγ]έγραπ[ται] στ[αθμόν, -----]
 [... στέφανος] ἐφ' ὃι [-----]
 [... ἐπιγέγραπ]τα[ι] στ[αθμόν, -----]
 5 [... στέφανος] ἐφ' ὃι [τὸ] ΛΦ[-----]
 [ἐπιγέγραπτα]ι σταθμόν, [-----]
 [... στέφανος] ἐφ' ὃι τὸ [-----]
 [ἐπιγέγραπται σ]τα[θμ]ό[ν, -----]
 [... στέφανος] ἐφ' ὃι τὸ Λ[-----]
 10 [ἐπιγέγραπται σταθ]μ[όν, -----]

The new opisthographic fragment which is part of the record of the Treasurers of Athena for the years 334/3–331/0 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1496) finds a non-contiguous position in face A, column III. That record presents an account of seven crowns, with their combined value in gold staters, as the following rubric in the concluding paragraph of the record demonstrates: ἀριθμὸς στεφάνων ἀνθ' [ὧν τ|ὸ χρυσ[ίον] ἐλάβομεν: ΠΙΙ' σταθμὸν τούτων: ΠΗΔΔ[----] (lines 63-64). To the four crowns described in lines 52-61 of *I.G.*, II², 1496 the new fragment now adds the three remaining crowns and their description.

The combined weight of the crowns is a sum which is less than six hundred and fifty drachmae and more than six hundred and twenty drachmae (line 64: ΠΗΔΔ---). In line 7 (obverse face) there is room for four units before the sum Π<<<<; the only possible restoration is ΔΔΔΔ, and therefore the complete figure to be restored is forty-eight and three-quarters staters. It will be noticed that this sum is the same as those of the second, third, and fourth crowns in column III, face A. (In line 61 of *I.G.*, II², 1496 the restoration should be ΔΔΔΔΠ<<<< [^v ἐ]ννέ' ὀβολο[ί]; cf. line 7 of the obverse face.) The crowns in lines 2-3 and 10-11 seem to be equal in value; at least, the form of the description seems to be identical in both cases. There is space in line 2 for four units before <<, either ΔΔΔΠ or ΔΔΔ< of which only the former figure added to the values of the remaining crowns will bring the final sum within the necessary amount (620 and a fraction drachmae), for the figure ΔΔΔ<<<< and its fraction barely reaches the minimum number (620 drachmae), and, moreover, seems too small a value in comparison with the values of the other crowns, so that the sum to be restored in lines 2 and 10 is thirty-seven and a fraction staters. The final sum in *I.G.*, II², 1496, A, line 64 must, therefore, lie between the figures six hundred and thirty-four and six hundred and thirty-eight drachmae (i. e., either ΠΗΔΔ[ΔΗΗΗ---] or ΠΗΔΔ[ΔΠΗΗ---]). The restoration of either ΔΔΔΔ (line 2) or of ΔΔΔΔ< in line 10 would carry the entire sum of all crowns to the figure 654 drachmae, and thus must be eliminated at once as possible restorations, since the complete sum must of necessity be less than 650 drachmae.

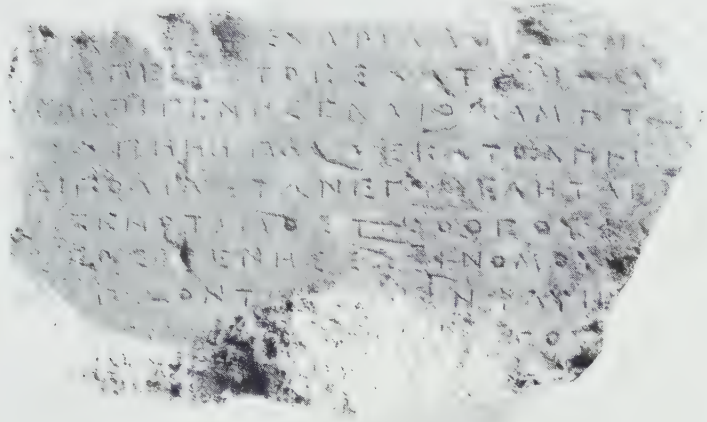
A FRAGMENTARY SALES-TAX RECORD

38. An opisthographic fragment of Pentelic marble preserving one side only, brought in from Erysichthonos Street by a workman on March 10, 1936.

Height, 0.140 m.; width, 0.225 m.; thickness, 0.083 m.

Height of letters, 0.005-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 3771.



No. 38. Face A

ca. 330 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

A

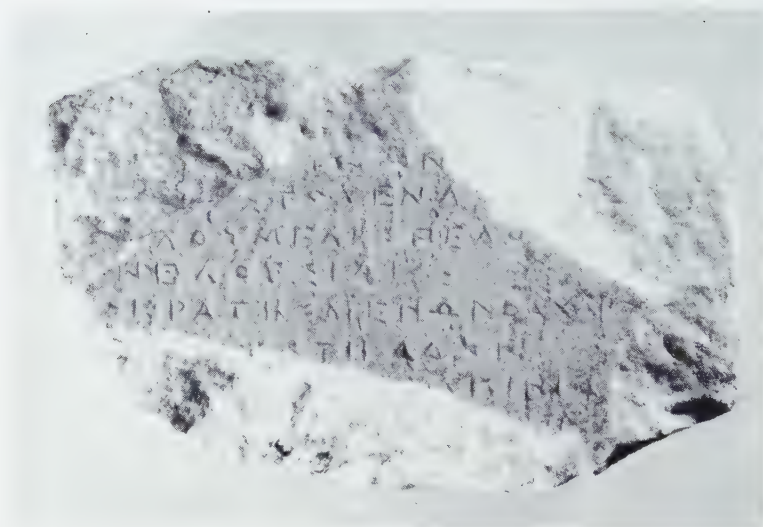
 [X]αιρ[εφάνη]ς Χαριάδο[υ 'Α]θμο|νεύς|
 ἀπέ|δον]το ἔσχατι|ὰ]ν ΛΛ|-----|
 [ὦ]νη 'Επιγένης 'Ενδίο Λαμπτ|ρεύς|
 ΧΡΗΗΗΗΡΔΔΠ' ἑκατο: ΔΠΗΗ|CT|

5 Διπολιαστῶν ἐπιμεληταί

Ξενότιμος Τιμοθέου Φλ[εύς]
 Σωσιγένης Σωσινόμου |-----|
 ἀπέδοντο [χωρί]ον Φλνῆ[σιν]
 |ὦνη| Τιμο|-----|του |-----|

B

[-----]|Ξ[.]N[-----]
 [-----]στον ἐν Λο[υσίαι]
 [-----]Πραξιτ]έλου Μελι: ἀπέδον[το]
 [χωρίο]ν ἑΛουσίαι
 5 [ὦνη-----]νοκράτης Μένωνο<ς> 'Αχαρ: Χ[ΧΡΗ]
 [ἐκα]τοστή: ΔΔΠΗ: vacat
 [-----]AKINIΔ[-----]
 [-----]IM[-----]



No. 38. Face B

This record belongs to the series of so-called "one-percent sales-tax records" (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1594-1603), and dates in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. An item of interest in this inscription is the mention of the Dipoliastai, line 5, face A, and their epimeletai. The Dipoliastai are apparently members of a private organization—a thiasos—connected with the ancient Attic festival of Zeus, the Dipolia.⁸ Here for the first time is evidence of the existence of such an association.

Chairephanes, the son of Chariades, of Athmonon (cf. face A, line 1) is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1203 as a merarches of the year 324/3 B.C. (*P.A.*, 15177). The purchaser of his property was Epigenes, son of Endios, of Lamptrai, who was a witness in a case discussed by Demosthenes (XLV, 8) and brother of Kritodemos, trierarch of the year 325/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1629, lines 3-4; *P.A.*, 4705). The restoration in line 3 of face B seems to be [---Πραξιτ]έλου Μελι, who was ἐπιμελητῆς νεωρίων in the year 369/8 (*P.A.*, 12171).

A DECREE IN HONOR OF PANDIOS

39. Two joining fragments of Pentelic marble, preserving the right side and the back; fragment *a* was found on September 22, 1937, in a modern house in Section AA; fragment *b* was found in fill of the Valerian Wall on the North Slope on June 9, 1937.

Height, 0.212 m.; width, 0.112 m.; thickness, 0.086 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

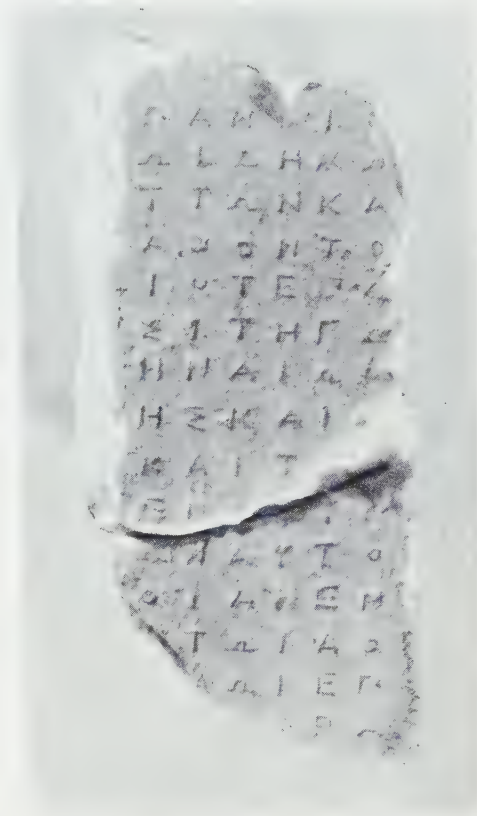
Inv. No. I 4956.

Five lines occupy a space of 0.065 m.; and three letters require a space of 0.039 m.

⁸ Cf. Toepfer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 143; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 158; for the Dipolia, cf. *I.G.*, I², 188, line 18; 839, lines 12-13; 843, line 7.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24

- [.....¹⁵ | μο |]
 [.....⁷... εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ | Πάνδιο
 [ς διατελεῖ εὔρους ὦν τ]ῶι δῆμω
 [ι τῶι Ἀθηναίων καὶ πρά]ττων κα
 5 [ι λέγων ὅτι δύναται ἀ]γαθὸν τὸ
 [ν σῖτον ἀπῆγε τῶι δῆμ]ωι, ὃ τε πα
 [τῆρ⁷... καὶ αὐτὸ]ς σιτηγῶ
 [ν εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ Ἀ]θηναίων
 [καὶ τῆς τοῦ σίτου πομπ]ῆς καὶ [.]
 10 [.....¹⁵ | καὶ τ | ..]
 [.....¹⁵ | ενο[.]ιρ
 [.....⁵... παρὰ τῶν προγόν]ων αὐτο
 [ῦ διαφυλάττων τὴν εὔν]οιαν ἐμ
 [πᾶσι καιροῖς τῶι δῆμωι] τῶι Ἀθ
 15 [ηναίων· δεδόχθαι τῶι δῆ]μωι ἐπ
 [αινέσαι Πάνδιον⁵... ο]ν Ἥρα
 [κλεώτην ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ φ]ι
 [λοτιμίας -----]



No. 39

This decree in honor of Pandios, the Herakleote, belongs to the series of numerous decrees of gratitude concerned with the grain shortage of Athens *ca.* 330 B.C. For a passage very similar in content to lines 7-9 compare *I.G.*, II², 407, 4-7; αὐτ]ός τε σιτηγῶν εἰς τ[ὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ Ἀθην]αίων διατελεῖ [κα]ὶ τῆ[ς τοῦ σίτου πομπ]ῆς ἐκ Κύπρου συνε[πι]με[λείται], and Demosthenes, XXXIV, 36: εἰάν τις βούληται Ἀθήναζε εἰς τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἐμπόριον σιτηγῆν; further, *I.G.*, II², 400, line 8.

A FRAGMENTARY DECREE

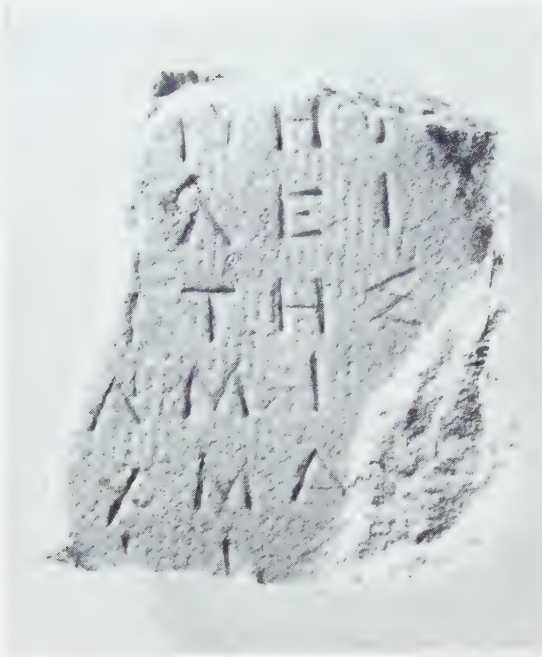
40. A small fragment of Pentelic marble of which only the inscribed face and right side are preserved, found on May 21, 1937, in surface fill in Section OA.

Height, 0.105 m.; width, 0.09 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4902 a.

Space occupied by two lines, 0.031 m.; by two letters, 0.032 m.



No. 40

ca. 325 B.C.

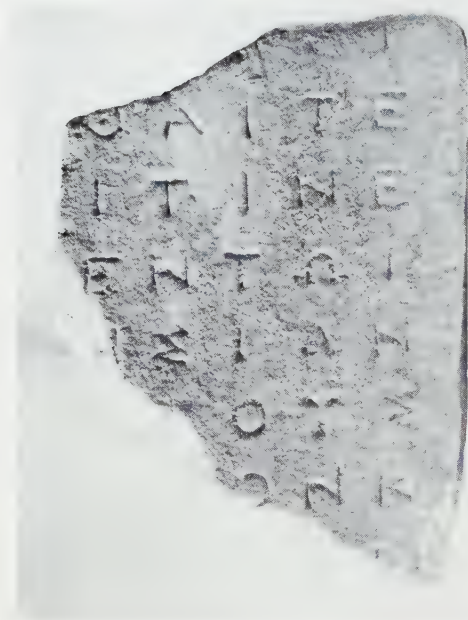
ΣΤΟΙΧ. 20

[. ἐν στήλῃ λιθί]νῃ
 [καὶ στῆσαι ἐν ἀκροπ]όλει,
 [εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴ]ν τῆς
 [στήλης δοῦναι τὸν τ]αμία
 5 [ν τοῦ δήμου ὁ ΔΔ ὁ δρα]χμὰ[ς]
 [ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψη]φίς[μ]
 [ατα ἀναλισκομένων τῶι δ]
 [ήμωι.]

This fragment preserves the concluding provision of a decree passed ca. 325 B.C.

A DECREE

41. A small piece of Pentelic marble broken on all sides, found on June 15, 1937, in the fill of the Valerian Wall in Section OA.



No. 41

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.074 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4902 b.

ca. 325 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 26

[.] | ξ | [. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ]
 [δεδόχ]θαι τεῖ [βουλευῖ τοὺς προέδ]
 [ρους ο]ἱ τινες [ἀν λάχωσιν προεδρ]
 [εὔειν] ἐν τῶι [δήμωι εἰς τὴν πρώτη]
 5 [ν ἐκκλ]ησίαν [προσαγαγεῖν]
 [.] ρους [.]¹³ πρὸ
 [ς τὸν δῆμ]ον κ[αὶ χρηματίσαι περὶ]
 [αὐτοῦ, γνώμ]η[ν δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι τ]
 [ῆς βουλῆς, κτλ. — — — — —]

This inscription preserves part of a probouleuma or decree passed by Council and Demos *ca.* 325 B.C. For the restoration of the formulae cf. *I.G.*, II², 354, lines 35 ff.; 394, lines 2 ff.; 574.

AN HONORARY DECREE

42. Eleven fragments of Pentelic marble of which eight were found in the Agora excavations. Of these fragments A, B, C (which now joins *I.G.*, II², 414c), D, E, and F are already published in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, no. 7. The five new fragments necessitate re-publication of the whole text.

Fragment H preserves the back and right side; all other fragments are broken all around.

Fragment A: Height, 0.098 m.; width, 0.101 m.; thickness, 0.042 m.
Inv. No. I 4935 *c*.

Fragment B: *I.G.*, II², 369 (E.M. 7333).

Fragment C: Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.
Inv. No. I 4935 *b* (joins J).

Fragment D: Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.073 m.
Inv. No. I 4935.

Fragment E: Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.042 m.; thickness, 0.066 m.
Inv. No. 4935 *c*.

Fragment F: Height, 0.127 m.; width, 0.08 m.; thickness, 0.076 m.
Inv. No. I 4935 *d*.

Fragment G: Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.036 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.
Inv. No. I 5496.

Fragment H: Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.128 m.; thickness, 0.144 m.
Inv. No. I 4935 *f*.

Fragment I: Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.075 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.
Inv. No. I 2752.

Fragment J: *I.G.*, II², 414 *c* (E.M. 12572).

Fragment K: *I.G.*, II², 414 *b*.

For photographs of fragments A-F see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 28.

The Agora fragments, with the exception of fragments H and I, were found in Section OA: fragment D on June 3, 1937, fragments A, C, E, and F from June 6 to June 9, 1938. Fragment I was found in a late wall in Section O on April 8, 1935, and fragment H in a modern house in Section EE on October 12, 1938.

Four lines occupy a vertical space of 0.068 m., and the horizontal space of four letters occupies 0.066 m.

tary's name. In line 2 of *I.G.*, II², 448 the reading is [⁹Ἀρ]χί[ας],⁹ and similar restorations are to be made in *I.G.*, II², 365, line 2; 367, line 3; 368, line 20—all decrees of the same year.

Although fragments *b* and *c* of *I.G.*, II², 414 belong to the Agora inscription, fragment *d* is part of *I.G.*, II², 285 and fragment *a* is entirely independent. The text of *I.G.*, II², 414 *a* seems to deserve a closer study than it has hitherto received, for it can, I believe, be restored almost *in toto*. With the aid of *I.G.*, II², 335 and 405 the problems of restoration are considerably alleviated. My attention was drawn to these inscriptions by the marked similarity of the letter forms, for the three inscriptions seem to have been engraved by the same man. It will be noted that the chairman of the proedroi of *I.G.*, II², 405, lines 2-3 is Δ[.....⁹..... Π]αια[ν]ιεύς; of *I.G.*, II², 335, lines 8-9 the chairman is Δημο[.....¹⁵.....]; and of *I.G.*, II², 414 *a*, line 1 the chairman is [Δ]ημοκ[.....¹⁴.....]. *I.G.*, II², 335 is dated by its archon 334/3, and *I.G.*, II², 405 was dated in the *Editio Minor* 335/0–330/29.¹⁰ In each case the chairman is the same, and the decrees were passed on the same day.

With these observations and several additional supplements and corrections I append the complete text of *I.G.*, II², 335 (to which E.M. 12773, published by Broneer, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 169, no. 32 belongs).

334/3 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 21

- [Θε]οί
 [ἐ]πὶ Κτησικ[λέους ἄρχοντο]
 [ς] ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκα[μαντίδος ἐνά]
 [τ]ης πρυτανε[ίας ἡι Μνησίφ]
 5 [ι]λος Μνήσ[ω]ν[ος Φαληρεὺς ἐ]
 [γ]ραμμάτεν[ε]· Μουνιχιῶνο
 [ς] ἔκτετι μετ' [εἰκάδας· ἐκκλη]
 [σ]ία· τῶν προ[σέδρων ἐπεψήφ]
 [ι]εν Δημο[κρ...ς Παιανιεύ]
 10 [ς· ἐ]δοξεν [τῶι δήμῳ· Δημάδη]
 [ς Δ]ημέο[ν Παιανιεύς εἶπεν].

*I.G.*, II², 335

The numbering of the lines differs from that of the *Corpus* because of the new

⁹ In lines 36-37 of *I.G.*, II², 448 the demotic [⁹Ἀχαρνέ]ύς has been changed to [Κολλυτε]ύς; see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 32.

¹⁰ Demades, its orator, was put to death in 320/19 (cf. *I.G.*, II², 398, note, and *I.G.*, II², 383 b), and therefore it has to antedate 320/19 at least.

reading [Θε]οί. In lines 10-11 I have used the restoration proposed by Leonardos (Ἄρχ. Δελτ., 1916, p. 211; *Addenda* to *I.G.*, II², 335). Other changes are the insertion of the nu at the end of ἐγραμμάτευεν, the restoration of ἐνάτης (lines 3-4) and Μουνιχιῶνος (lines 6-7), and the demotic Φαληρεύς (line 5). The secretary of this year belongs to Aiantis (IX), to which only three demotics with eight letters belong: Φαληρεύς, Κυκαλεύς, and Περρίδης. Since the last two demes have no epigraphically attested members, the form Φαληρεύς seems a fairly certain restoration.¹¹

Passing now to *I.G.*, II², 405, I have restored it on analogy with *I.G.*, II², 335 thus:

334/3 B.C. ΣΤΟΙΧ. 19

| Ἐπὶ Κτησικλέους ἄρχον
 | τος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδο
 | ς ἐνάτης πρυτανείας ἦι
 | Μνησίφιλος Μνήσωνος Φ
 5 | αληρεύς ἐγραμμάτευεν·
Μουνιχιῶνος	ς	ξ	κτ	η	ι μετ'
εἰκάδας· ἐ	κκλ	ησ	ία· τῶ	ν π	
ροέδρων ἐ	πεψήφιζεν Δ	η			
μοκρ . . . ς Π	αια	ν	ιεύς· ἔδ		
 10 | οξεν τῶι δῆμ | ωι — — — —

For the continuation of the text see *I.G.*, II², 405 (with the new numbering of lines).

It will be noted that there are new readings in line 6.

It is necessary, also, to restore *I.G.*, II², 414 *a* with the same prescript as follows:

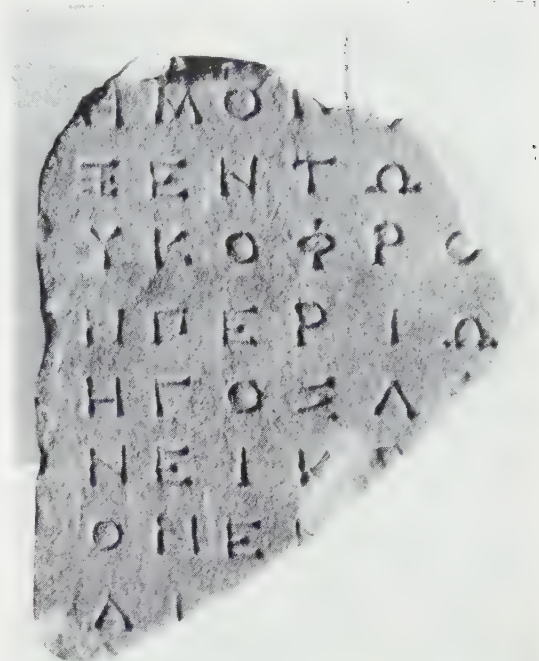
334/3 ΣΤΟΙΧ. 21

| Ἐπὶ Κτησικλέους ἄρχοντο
 | ς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος ἐνά
 | τῆς πρυτανείας ἦι Μνησίφ
 | ιλος Μνήσωνος Φαλη· ἐγραμ
 5 | μάτευεν· Μουνιχιῶνος ἔκτ
 | ηι μετ' εἰκάδας· ἐκκλησία· τ
 | ῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν Δ
 | ημοκ[ρ . . . ς Παιανιεύς· ἔδο
 | ξεν τῶι δῆμωι· Λυκούργος Δ
 10 | υκόφρο[νος Βουτάδης εἶπε]
 | ν· περὶ ᾧ | ν Διότιμος ὁ στρατ
 | ηγὸς λέ | γει· ἐπειδὴ ἀποφαί
 | νει κρ[.....¹³..... γέγ
 | ονε[.....¹⁷.....]
 15 | αι[.....¹⁹.....]

¹¹ I owe to Meritt the calendar restorations of lines 3, 6-7.

In line 4 I have restored Φαλη, the abbreviated form of Φαληρεύς, on the close analogy with the same form in *I.G.*, II², 336, line 1, of the same year. From *I.G.*, II², 1623, lines 276 ff. it is known that Διότιμος was general in 335/4 B.C. It is still further known that Lycurgus was orator of a decree passed in his honor in 334/3 (Ps.-Plut., *Lycurgus*, 844 a: ἐψηφίσατο δὲ [Λυκοῦργος] καὶ Διοτίμῳ Διοπείθους Εὐωνυμῆ τιμὰς ἐπὶ Κτησικλέους ἄρχοντος | 334 3 |). This statement should be connected with the following passage from *I.G.*, II², 1623, lines 276-285:

τριήρεις αἶδε ἐξέπλευσαν μετὰ
στρατηγοῦ Διοτίμον ἐπὶ τὴν
φυλακὴν τῶν λειστών κατὰ
ψηφίσμα δήμον ὃ εἶπεν
Λυκοῦργος Βουτάδης -----
ἐπὶ Εὐαινέτου ἄρχοντος (335/4).



I.G., II², 414 a

The general Diotimos was despatched with a fleet in 335/4 on a swift expedition against pirates in accordance with a decree of Lycurgus. It is highly probable that the decree mentioned by Pseudo-Plutarch was passed in his honor for bringing this expedition to a successful conclusion. *I.G.*, II², 414 a, which was proposed by Lycurgus, with reference to an official report of Diotimos (lines 9-13), is, I believe, a fragment of the text mentioned by Pseudo-Plutarch. In 335/4 the dangers to commerce and social life from pirates seem to have become much worse, in part occasioned by Athens' weakened national condition.¹² With the advent of Lycurgus the navy became more efficient and, as this decree shows, a temporary opposition to marauding was essayed.

The same epigraphical method of recognizing the chairman of the proedroi and restoring the text accordingly can be used in three other inscriptions: *I.G.*, II², 562, 276, and 343. The first inscription was passed in honor of a man who had been of use to Athenians while he was in the service of Antigonos and Demetrios. On purely historical and epigraphical grounds it was already limited to the period 307-302/1. The new text as it reads now is presented below (cf. *I.G.*, II², 501 and *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 546).

¹² Cf. Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte d. Altertums*, I, 368; II, 1046; Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, p. 115.

I.G., II², 562

302/1 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 41

[Ἐπὶ Νικοκλέους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνείδος ὀγδόης]
 [πρυτανείας ἥι Νίκων Θεοδώρου Πλωθεὺς ἐγραμμάτ]
 [ευεν· Ἀνθεστηριῶνος δευτέραι μετ' εἰκάδας, ὀγδόη]
 [καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία· τῶν προέδρ]
 5 [ων ἐπελήφει] Ἀντί[μαχος Εὐθυνόμου Μαραθῶνιος κ]
 [αὶ συμπρόεδροι]· ἔδοξ[εν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ...]
 [...¹¹...]χου Ξυπετ[αῖων εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ...⁷...]
 [... διατρίβ]ων παρὰ τοῖς [βασιλεῦσιν Ἀντιγόνῳ κα]
 [ὶ Δημητρίῳ] διατελεῖ τ[ῷ δήμῳ εὖνους ὧν etc.]

The second decree, I.G., II², 276, which was passed in honor of a certain Asklepiodoros on his own petition in Council, must be dated in the year 337/6, as the following quotation from the first part of the text demonstrates:

337/6 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 31

[Ἐπὶ Φρυνίχο ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδίων]
 [ίδος δεκάτης πρυτανείας· Χαιρέστρατ]
 [ος Ἀχαρνὺς ἐγραμμάτευε· Σκιροφοριῶ]
 [νος ἔνει καὶ νέαι, πέμπτη καὶ τριακοσ]
 5 [τῇ τῇ]ς πρυτα[νείας· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψ]
 [ήφειεν Εὐθυ]κράτη[ς Ἀφιδναῖος ...⁶...]
 [...¹... Π]οτάμιος ε[ἶπεν· περὶ ὧν ἔδο]
 [ξε Ἀσκληπιό]δωρος [Πο]λυ[...¹²...]

The form of this new prescript is identical with that of I.G., II², 242 and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 292. In three of the extant decrees from this day the relative pronoun ἥι was omitted before the name Chairestratos. Asklepiodoros was probably honored for his services against the enemy in the year 342/1 when he served on the ship of Chares of Aixone, although the latter may have served as trierarch again in the years 342-336.

The remaining decree, I.G., II², 343, was passed in the honor of Apollonides of Sidon on a request of the merchants. The text was inscribed in stoichedon style with 36 letters per line, with exceptions in the lines where the stone-cutter observed an occasional syllabic division, though he was somewhat forgetful about it.¹³ The partial text with several new readings follows (cf. I.G., II², 448 and Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 373).

¹³ Exceptions are: line 10, [δήμου] and line 11, Σ[ιδώνιον], both lines with 37 letters; line 15, Ἀθ[ηναί][ων], 37 letters; line 18, βου[λήs], with 38 letters; line 19, ἀκροπόλ[ει v], with 35 letters; and line 20, [τὸν v], with 35 letters.

323/2 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 36

- [Ἐπὶ Κηφισοδώρον ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονί]
 [δος πέμπτης πρυτανείας ἥι Ἀρχίας Πυθοδώρο]
 [ν Ἀλωπεκῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν· Ποσιδεῶνος ἕκτ]
 [ῆι μετ' εἰκάδας, μιᾷ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυταν]
 5 [είας· ἐκκλησία κυρία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισ]
 [ε|ν Ἐπαμεί|νων¹¹] ΚΕΡΔΗ[Ξ(?)^s]
 Ἀναγυράσιο|ς εἶπ|ε|ν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ| ἔμπορο|ι καὶ να|
 ὑκληροὶ ἀποφαίνουσ|ιν Ἀπ|ο|λλ|ωνίδην [Δημητρ|
 ίου Σιδώνιο|ν ε|ἰ|ς τὰ] ἄπα|ντα] ἀγαθὸν ἐκ [τῶν ιδί|
 10 [ω|ν τῶι δῆμωι τῶι Ἀθηναί|ων, δε|δόχθαι τῶ|ι δῆμωι]

For the rest of the text see *I.G.*, II², 343.

THE NAVAL RECORD OF 326/5 B.C.

43. A large fragment of Hymettian marble preserving the back, which appears to have been artificially rounded, perhaps for placing near a column. It was found on April 11, 1938, on a marble pile near the Temple of Apollo.

Height, 0.34 m.; width, 0.34 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.004-0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 5419.

The surface is very badly worn so that in many lines the text cannot be read. The new fragment joins *I.G.*, II², 1628, cols. b and c. Since it contains a direct continuation of the text as it is published in the *Editio Minor*, the numbering assigned to the lines of the new text follows that of columns b and c of *I.G.*, II², 1628.

326/5 B.C.

Column b

- [ὑπέρ|ας δύο: χαλινόν
 [ἀγκύ|ρας ἐπὶ τετρή: Δ||
 340 [σχοιν]ία ἐπὶ τετρήρης: Π|||
 καὶ παρὰ ταμίου κρεμα
 στῶν ἀπελάβομεν
 Ἀριστοκλείδου τοῦ Θρασικλέου
 Μελετέως *vacat*
vacat
 345 ὑποζώματα ἐπὶ τετρ[ή]: Π:
 ἰστία ἐπὶ τετρήρης: Π:
 παραρύματα λευκὰ
 ἐπὶ τετρήρης: Π
 παραρύματα τρίχινα

- 350 ἐπὶ τετρήρης: Π
 καταβλήματα ἐπὶ τετρήρηι[ς ---]
 τοπεία ἐπὶ τετρήρης: Π
 ἐκάστης καλωιδίων μηρύματα: ΔΠ|||
 ἱμάντας: δύο: ἄνκοιναν
 355 διπλῆν: πόδας δύο
 ὑπέρας δύο: χαλινόν
 ἀγκύ[ρας] ἐπ[ὶ τετρήρης: ---]
 σχοινία [-----]
 [σκ]εύη [τετρήρων: -----]
 360 [-----]
 καὶ παρέδο[μεν ἐν νεωρίοις]
 [σ]κ[εύη κρ]ε[μαστὰ τετρήρων]
 ὑποζώματα ἐπὶ τετρ: [---]
 ἰστία ἐπὶ τετρήρης: ΔΠ||

365 παραρύματα λευκά
ἐπὶ τετρήρης: ΔΙΙΙ
παραρύματα τρίχυνα
ἐπὶ τετρήρης: ΔΙΙΙ
καταβλήματα

370 ἐπὶ τετρήρης: ΔΔΙΙ
τοπέϊα ἐπὶ τετρήρης: ΔΙΙΙ
ἐκάστης καλωιδίων
μηρύματα ἐπὶ τετρήρης: ---]
ἱμάντας δύο: ἄνκοιναν

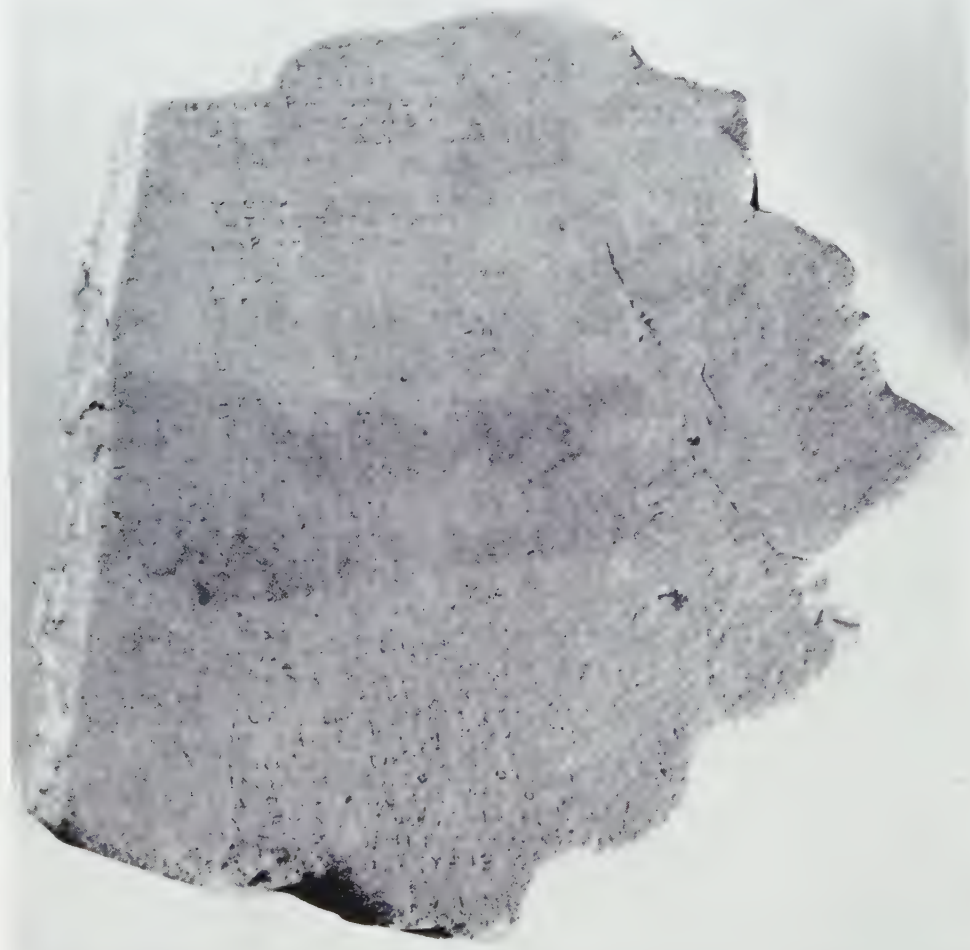
375 διπλῆν, πόδας δύο [---]
ὑπέρας δύο: χαλινόν
ἀγκύρας ἐπὶ τετρήρης: ΙΙΙΙ

|σχουνία] ἐπὶ τετρήρης [---]
vacat

|τάδε παρελ|άβομεν
380 |καὶ ἀπελάβομεν σκεύη ἐν|
|νεωρίοις -----], κτλ.

Column c

|καὶ ὁ παρελά]βομεν παρὰ
|νεωρίω]ν ἐπιμελητῶ]ν|
455 τ|ῶν ἐφ' Ἡγ|ήμονος ἄρχον[τος]
ΔΔ|ΔΗΗΗ|]: τοῦτο παρέδ[ο]
μεν |νεω]ρίων ἐπιμελη
ταῖ|ς τοῖ|ς ἐπὶ Ἀντικλέ[ο]υς
|ἄρχοντ|ος vacat



The new piece joins *I.G.*, II², 1628, column b, line 338, and presents a continuation of the list of *σκεύη κρεμαστὰ ἐν νεωρίοις* of the year 326/5 B.C. (cf. lines 323-325). In general the list follows the order which is exhibited in *I.G.*, II², 1627, lines 138-191 (330/29 B.C.), and again in *I.G.*, II², 1629, lines 446-474 (325/4 B.C.). After line 344, where there is clearly an uninscribed space, one might expect to find the sub-heading *καὶ νεωρίων ἐπιμελητῶν τῶν ἐπὶ Χρέμητος ἄρχοντος ἀπελάβομεν* (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1629, lines 466-469). For the restoration [σκ]εύη [τετρήρων -----] in line 359 compare the following rubric in *I.G.*, II², 1627, lines 172-174: *κεφάλαιον ὧν παρελάβομεν καὶ ἀπελάβομεν· σκεύη τετρήρων: ΔΠ.*

A DECREE GRANTING CITIZENSHIP TO AINETOS, THE RHODIAN, 319 B.C.

44. A stele of Pentelic marble almost completely preserved, with rough-picked back, sides, and pediment; removed on May 20, 1938, from the cleft above the Klepsydra where it had fallen in antiquity.

Height, 0.805 m.; width, 0.442 m.; thickness, 0.087 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5454.

The text is inscribed in stoichedon pattern; five lines occupy a vertical space of 0.075 m., and five letters a horizontal space of 0.074 m. Where water has dripped for centuries over the face of the stele, it has eaten away part of the surface, so that some lines present extreme illegibility.

319/18 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28 (lines 4-9)
29 (" 11-43)

Θεοί

Πολιτεία Αἰνήτωι Ῥοδίωι.

Ἀναγραφεὺς Εὐκαδμος Ἀνακαίεϋς "

ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς

5 [. . .] ντίδος τετάρτης πρυτανείας· Μ

[αιμακ]τηριῶνος ἐνδεκάτει, μιᾷ κα

[ὶ εἰκοσ]τεῖ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησί

[α κυρία·] τῶμ προέδρων ἐπειρήφιζεν Ἐ

[.] Ἀλαιοῦς· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ

10 [καὶ τῶι] δήμωι. *vacat*

[. οκρ]άτης Κτήσωνος ἐκ Κεραμέων

[εἶπεν· ἀγ]αθῇ τύχῃ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τ

[οὐ δήμον] τοῦ Ἀθηναίων· ἐπειδὴ Αἰνητ

[ος Δαήμο]νος Ῥόδιος πρότερόν τε διε

15 [τέλει τ]ὰ βέ[λτι]στ[α] ἐπιτηδε[ύ]ων Ἀθήν

- [ησιν ἀ|ποδημήσας τε μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου
το|υ β|ασιλέως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διεπολέ
μησε τὸν πόλεμον καλῶς καὶ ἐνδο[ξως]
καὶ διὰ τὰς εὐερ<γ>ες[ίας¹⁰.....]
20 ΔΟΜΗ| . |Α| . |ΤΟΗ Κ Ο| |.....] ἐπῆνε[σέ]
ν τε καὶ ἐστεφά[νωσεν¹².....]
[.]α τούτου περὶ [.]θ|¹⁵.....]
ον π[.....⁷.....]τ[.] Υ|¹⁵.....]
τοῦ δ|ήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων· δεδόχθαι τῇ]
25 ι βουλῇ[ι τοὺς προέδρους οἱ ἂν λάχως]
ι προεδ[ρεύειν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησ]
ί|α|ι χ|ρηματίσαι περὶ¹².....]
|ΤΙΜΝΟΝ[.]Υ[.], γνώμην [δὲ ξυμβάλλεσ]
θαι τῆς |β|ουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅ[τι] δοκ
30 εἰ τῇ β|ο|υλῇ ἐπαινέσαι Αἴν|η|τον Δα
ήμονος [Ῥ]όδιον καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσ
ῶι στεφ[ά]νωι ἀπὸ: Χ: δραχμῶν ἀρετῆς
ἐνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς περὶ τὸν δῆμο
ν τὸν Ἀθ[η]ναίων, εἶναι δὲ Αἴνητον Δαή
35 μονος Ἀ|θ|ηναῖον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους
καὶ γράψασθαι αὐτὸν φυλῆς καὶ δῆμο
ν καὶ φρατρίας ἧς ἂν βούληται κατ[ὰ τ]
ὸν νόμον, τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις δοῦν[αι π]
ερὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ ψήφον εἰς τῇ π[ρώτῃ]ν ἐ]
40 κκλησίαν ὅπως ἂν καὶ οἱ ἄλλ|οι πάντε]
[ς] φιλοτιμῶνται ποεῖν ἀγ[αθὸν ὅτι ἂν]
[ἕκαστ]ος δύνηται τὸν [δῆμον· ἀναγράψ]
αι [δ]ὲ τόδε τ[ὸ ψ]ήφισ[μα ἐν στήλῃ]

The new decree granting citizenship to Ainetos, the Rhodian, presents the name and demotic of the anagrapheus of 319/8 B.C., Εὐκαδμος Ἀνακαίεύς, which must be restored accordingly in the decrees of this year.¹⁴ It is further demonstrated that the year was ordinary, and that the sequence of days in the prytanies followed this scheme: prytanies I-IV, 36 days; prytanies V-X, 35 days (cf. Aristotle, Ἀθ. Πολ., 43, 2).¹⁵

The recipient of the honors of this decree, Ainetos, son of Daëmon, of Rhodes

¹⁴ Inv. No. I 3878 (Crosby, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 476-477); *I.G.*, II², 387, lines 4-5; 388, line 2. Since Ἀνακαίεύς belongs to Hippothontis (VIII), there is no anagrapheus cycle in the years 321/0-319/8 B.C. Cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 28.

¹⁵ For a discussion of the scribal error in *I.G.*, II², 388, lines 5-6, and the necessary correction see Crosby, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 478-479.



No. 44

is unknown.¹⁶ Kteson, the father of the orator [...*οκρ*]άτης, is mentioned in a speech of Demosthenes (cf. *P.A.*, 8910).

A DECREE IN HONOR OF ADEIMANTOS OF LAMPSAKOS, 302 B.C.

45. Six contiguous fragments of Pentelic marble preserving only the inscribed face, found on March 10, 1939, in the cellar wall of a house in Section ZZ.

Height, 0.43 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5709.

The text is inscribed in the stoichedon square pattern in which the vertical space allotted to five lines (measured inclusively from the bottoms of the lines) is 0.06 m., and the horizontal space of five letters is 0.06 m. The letter forms are very typical of the last decade of the fourth century B.C.

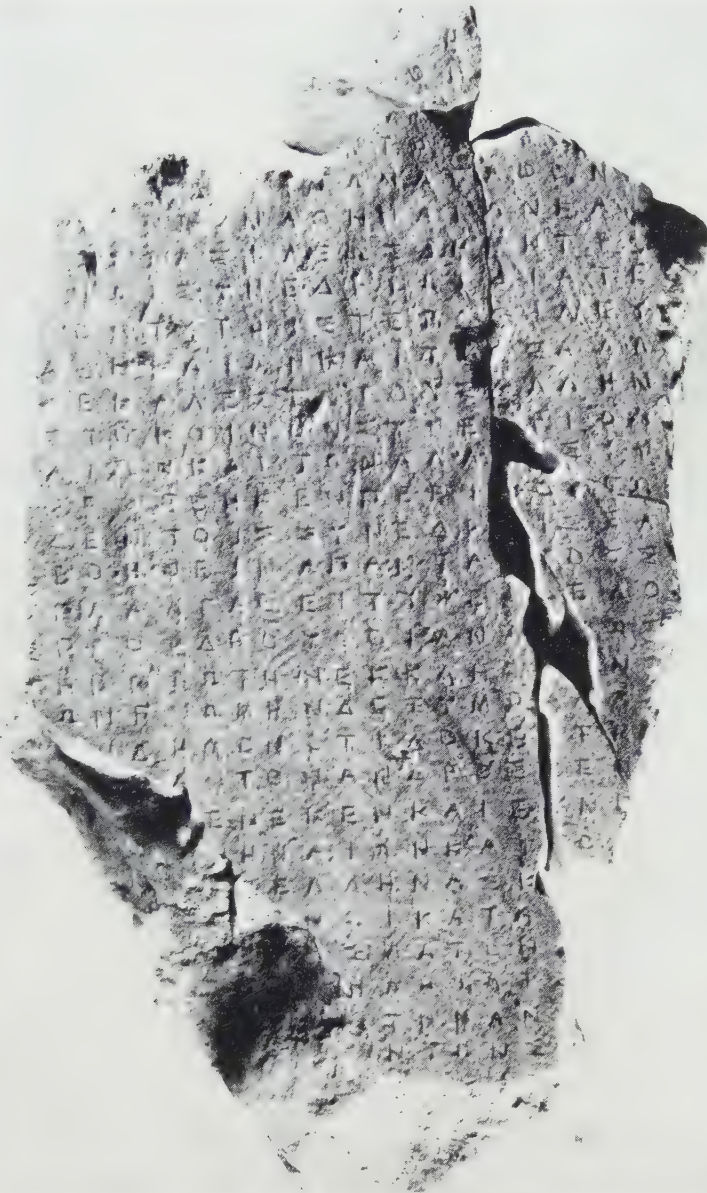
302 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 35

- [.....¹⁵.....] ΛΕ [.....¹⁸.....]
 [... καὶ συμπρόεδ]ροι(?) [.....¹⁸.....]
 |.....¹⁴..... εἰ[πεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἀδείμαντος]
 |διατετέλεκεν ἐ]ν τοῖς ἔ[μπροσσοθεν χρόνοις]
 5 |λέγων κα]ὶ [πρ]άττων ἀγαθὸν [ὅτι δύναται περὶ
 |τὸν δῆμ]ον τὸν Ἀθηναίων καὶ [νῦν κατασταθεῖ]
 |ς ὑπὸ τ]οῦ βασιλέως Δημητρί[ου πρόεδρος ἐν τ]
 |ῶι Κο]ινῶι Συνεδρίῳ διατε[λεί πράττων τὰ σ]
 |νμφέ]ροντα τοῖς τε βασιλεῦ[σιν καὶ τῶι δῆμῳ]
 10 |ι τῶι Ἀ]θην[αίων καὶ το]ῖς ἄλλ[οις συνέδροις κ]
 |αὶ παρ]εκάλεσεν τοὺς Ἑλλην[ας συναγείρεσθ?] ¹⁰
 |αι εἰ]ς τὸ Κοινὸν Συνέδριον [τὸ ἐν Ἰσθμῶι μετ']
 |Ἀθην]αίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμ[μάχων, προεδρεύ]
 |ων δὲ] προέθηκεν περὶ τούτω]ν ὧν¹⁰.....
 15 |. ἔδο]ξεν τοῖς συνέδροις, ἐά[ν τις ἦμι ἐπὶ πολ]
 |έμῳι,] βοηθεῖν ἅπαντα[ς] τοὺς [συμμάχους ἔχον]
 |τας] ὅπλα· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει [δ]εδό[χθαι τῇ βουλῇι]
 |τοῦ]ς προέδρους οἱ ἂν λ[άχωσιν προεδρεύειν]
 |εἰς τ]ὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν [χρηματίσαι περὶ]
 20 |τούτ]ων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλ[εσθαι τῆς βουλῆς]
 |εἰς τὸ]ν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ[ι βουλῇι ἐπαινέσ]
 |αι Ἀδείμ]αντον Ἀνδροσθέν[ους Λαμψακηνὸν π]
 |ροθυμίας] ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνο[ίας τῆς περὶ τὸν δ]
 |ῆμον τὸν Ἀ]θηναίων καὶ [τ]ο[ὺς συνέδρους καὶ ἄ]

¹⁶ He can hardly be connected with the Ainetos who was general with Demetrios Poliorketes in the early third century (Polyaenus, V, 19; *Priene, Inschriften*, par. 484).

- 25 [παντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν]
 [χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ] νωι κατὰ [τὸν νόμον· ἀναγράψαι]
 [δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν [γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ π]
 [ρυτανέαν ἐν στ]ήλῃ λιθ[ίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀ]
 [κροπόλει, εἰς δὲ] τὴν ἀν[αγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δ]
 30 [οὔναι τὸν ταμία]ν τῶν στ[ρατιωτικῶν δρ]
 [αχμας ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ] κα[τὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλίσκ]
 [ομένων τῶι δήμῳ]



No. 45

The present decree was passed in honor of Adeimantos, the son of Androstheneis, of Lampsakos (cf. line 22), an outstanding member of the large coterie of followers of Demetrios. Adeimantos received a copy of the will of Theophrastos (ca. 286), and his son was named Androstheneis after his grandfather (Diog. Laert., V, 2, 14). Athenaeus has preserved several gossip facts about this politician whose flattery of Demetrios was equalled only by a whimsical display of it. In Thria a temple was erected to Phila Aphrodite and statues were dedicated by his clique (Athenaeus, VI, 255 c), while Adeimantos himself along with Bourichos and Oxythemis (cf. *I.G.*, II², 558) received altars, shrines, and libations from the Athenians (Athenaeus, VI, 253 a).

The new text throws interesting light on the internal workings and politics of the League of Demetrios, which is mentioned in lines 8 and 12 (cf. line 7) and was founded in the year 303/2 B.C.¹⁷ The official name of it was τὸ Κοινὸν Συνέδριον or simply τὸ Συνέδριον, as we find it in the long and valuable Epidaurian inscription, *I.G.*, IV², 68, section I, line 8; III, line 70; IV, line 115. From the constitution of the League, which the Epidaurian inscription only partly preserves, we derive the information that the business of the Synedrion was to be managed by five proedroi (*I.G.*, IV², 68, lines 76 ff.), and the phrase which describes their powers is (line 80) προτιθέναι περὶ ὧν δεῖ βουλεῖσθαι. Our new text preserves a direct allusion to these powers in line 14, προέθηκεν περὶ τούτῳ, so that I have restored, on the assumption that Adeimantos was a proedros, in lines 13-4 συμμάχων, προεδρεύων δὲ προέθηκεν περὶ τούτῳ, and again in lines 7-8 [πρόεδρος ἐν τῷ Κοινῷ Συνεδρίῳ]. The question arises as to the manner of his appointment. We are again informed by *I.G.*, IV², 68, lines 76-7, that the proedroi are to be chosen by lot. Such can not be the case in lines 6-8, for there the clear implication seems to be that Demetrios appointed the man to the position of proedros in the Synedrion. His is in reality a special appointment, and indeed a clause exists in the Epidaurian inscription which provides for the selection by Demetrios of proedroi until the "general war" comes to a close (*I.G.*, IV², 68, lines 90-1: [καὶ] ἕως ἂν ὁ κοινὸς πόλεμος λυθῇ, προεδρεύειν [ἀεὶ τοὺς π]αρ[ὰ] τῶν βασιλέων). For the expression κατασταθεὶς ὑπὸ --- cf. *I.G.*, II², 469, lines 1-3: ἐ[πειδὴ] . . . ὁτιμος π[ρ]ότερόν τε κατασταθεῖ[ς] [ἐπὶ τὴν τ]οῦ Εὐρίπου φυλακὴν ὑπὸ Πολεμαίου. Adeimantos seems to have been quite successful in his efforts to strengthen the League; cf. the following sentence in lines 8-9: διατε[λεί] πρᾶττων τὰ συμφέροντα τοῖς τε βασιλεῦσιν ---, which has many good parallels: e. g., *I.G.*,

¹⁷ Tarn, *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, pp. 198 ff.; Glotz-Roussel-Cohen, *Histoire Grecque*, IV, 1, pp. 338-9. Plutarch (*Demetrius*, XXV, 3) says of it: ἐν δὲ Ἰσθμῷ κοινὸν συνέδριον γενομένου --- ἡγεμῶν [Demetrios] ἀνηγορεύθη τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

II², 492, line 21, π[ράτ]τει [τὰ] συν[φέροντα] τοῖς τε [β]ασ[ιλεὺς]σιν κα[ὶ] τ[ῶι δῆμ]ωι. This example is apt because it refers to Apollonides, who in 303/2 performed good services for the League (cf. *I.G.*, II², 492, line 20, and the note of Kirchner).

The payment by the ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν from the funds voted by the Demos is noteworthy, and finds parallels only in *I.G.*, II², 806, 809, and *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, no. 12. A close examination of the letter forms of these texts shows that they have been incorrectly dated hitherto and that they must be dated *ca.* 300 B.C., and perhaps in the same year as the new decree in honor of Adeimantos. Possibly in these years there was a shortage of funds which necessitated the allocation of money from unusual sources. In this connection it may be pointed out that still another decree from the year 302, *I.G.*, II², 558, in honor of Oxythemis, a friend of Adeimantos, was financed by the tamias of the Demos from extraordinary funds (ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων).

A DECREE OF THE YEAR OF LEOSTRATOS

46. A small fragment of Hymettian marble preserving the pedimental top, the back, and the left side, found on June 6, 1933, in modern fill.

Height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.185 m.;
thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 937.

303/02 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 19

Θ ε ο [ί]
[Ε]πὶ Λεωστρ[άτου ἀρχοντ]
[ος] ἐπὶ τῇ[s - - - - -]



No. 46

This fragment is part of a decree of the year of the archon Leostratos, 303/02 B.C.



A FRAGMENTARY DECREE

47. A small fragment of Pentelic marble of which the left side and back are preserved, found on May 22, 1936, in a marble pile in Section T.

Height, 0.295 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.004-0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4181.

Space occupied by two lines, 0.03 m.; by two letters, 0.026 m.

No. 47

288-262 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 37

[στεφανῶσαι ----- ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν]
 [καὶ εὐ]νο[ίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· ἀ]
 [ναγρ]άψαι [δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸ]
 [ν κατ]ὰ πρυ[τανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσ]
 5 [αι ἐ]ν τῷ τ[εμένει¹²....., εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀνα]
 [γρ]αφὴν τῇ[ς στήλης μερίσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικ]
 [ή]σει τὸ γε[νόμενον ἀνάλωμα].

This fragment is part of an honorary decree (cf. lines 1-2) passed in the period 288-262 (the ἀναγραφὴ τῆς στήλης was paid for by οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει). The τέμενος in line 5 may be that of Asklepios.

A DECREE IN HONOR OF PHILOKLES

48. A fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house on November 11, 1937, in Section AA.

Height, 0.213 m.; width, 0.265 m.; thickness, 0.079 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5039.

The space occupied by five lines (measured inclusively from the bottoms of the lines) is 0.066 m., and that of five letters is 0.067 m. The style of the letters belongs to the early third century B.C. In line 9 the phrase *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* in the clause with *ἐπαινέσαι* supplies an accepted *terminus post quem* of 303/2 B.C. (See *I.G.*, II², 495, 21 and note of Kirchner.)

287-278 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 40

- [.....¹⁵.....|ι|.....|ς|.....¹⁶.....]
 [.....¹⁶.....ὅ]πως ἂν οὐ[ν φαίνεται ἅπασιν ὁ]
 [δῆμος τιμῶν τοὺς εὐε]ργετοῦν[τας αὐτόν· ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ]
 [ἡι δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ]ῃ τοὺς [προέδρους οἵτινες ἂ]
 5 [ν λάχωσιν προεδρεύ]ειν εἰς τ[ὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν]
 [χρηματίσαι πε]ρὶ τούτων, γν[ώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι]
 [τῆς βουλῆς εἰ]ς τὸν δῆμον ὅτ[ι δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλῇ ἐπα]
 [ινέσαι Φιλο]κλέα τὸν Σιδο[νίων βασιλέα καὶ στεφα]
 [νῶσαι χρυσ]ῶι στεφάνωι κ[ατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐνοίας ἔν]
 10 [εκα ἧς ἔχων] διατελεῖ πρ[ὸς τὸν δῆμον· εἶναι δ' Ἀθηνα]
 [ῖον αὐτὸν κα]ὶ ἐκγόνους· [γράψασθαι δὲ φρατρίας κα]
 [ὶ δῆμον καὶ φυ]λῆς ἧς ἂν [βούληται· δοῦναι δὲ τὴν ψῆφ]
 [ον τοὺς πρυτάν]εις τῇ[ς ---- πρυτανείας ----]

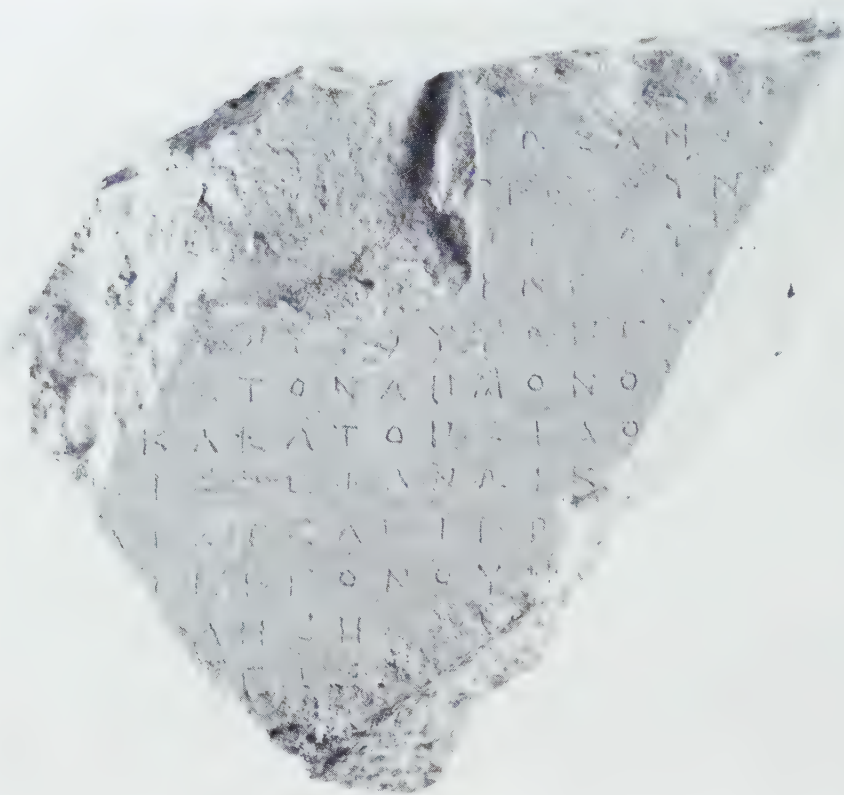
This new fragment is part of an Attic decree in honor of the King of the Sidonians, Philokles, nauarch of Ptolemy,¹⁸ with the customary formulae authorizing the granting of citizenship (lines 11-13).¹⁹ One is tempted at once to attribute to this very occasion the dedication of the honorary base bearing the inscription (*I.G.*, II², 3425):

βασιλεὺς Σιδονίων
 Φιλοκλῆς Ἀπολλοδώρου.

This inscription Ferguson (*Hellenistic Athens*, p. 151, note 5) has already assigned to the year of liberation from Demetrios, 287 B.C. The gifts of a gold crown and citizenship certainly point to a conspicuous service; and if Athens could pass a decree in honor of Zenon, Ptolemy's commander *ἐπὶ τῶν ἀφράκτων*, for aid in supplying grain during the early days of the revolt from Demetrios (*I.G.*, II², 650 of 288/7), she

¹⁸ Philokles is mentioned as βασιλεὺς Σιδονίων in *Sylloge*³, I, 390, 391; *Suppl. Epigr. Graec.*, I, 363, dated by Tarn (*J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, p. 158) ca. 278/7 B.C. For Philokles as nauarch see Tarn, *J.H.S.*, XXXI, 1911, p. 257; *J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 67; Glotz-Roussel-Cohen, *Histoire Grecque*, IV, 1, p. 370, note 75; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, IV², 2, p. 328, note 1.

¹⁹ The order is reversed from the more common form in these lines. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 448, line 21.



No. 48

must have felt even more eager to honor Philokles, who by changing masters had handed over Demetrios' fleet to Ptolemy.²⁰ Athens was thus released from a probable sea blockade and the difficulty of importing corn was considerably eased. The most suitable year for the honorary decree would therefore be 287; but it is also possible that as in the case of the Delian decree creating Soteria for Philokles, which Roussel has dated *ca.* 280 (*I.G.*, XI, part 4, 559), the honors were postponed for several years. If Tarn is right in arguing that *ca.* 278/7 Kallikrates succeeded Philokles as nauarch of Ptolemy (*J.H.S.*, LIII, 1933, p. 67), this year would serve as a *terminus ante quem*.²¹

²⁰ *Histoire Grecque*, IV, 1, p. 370; he had been Demetrios' admiral (*Sylloge*³, I, 337; cf. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, IV², 2, pp. 327-8; *C.A.H.*, VII, p. 92).

²¹ It will be noted that in the years 288-262 another Attic decree was passed in honor of several among whom one was a Sidonian (*I.G.*, II², 711). Although it contains the same number of letters per line, it is not part of the above decree for Philokles. The ethnic Σιδώνιος is spelled with either omicron or omega; e.g., in *I.G.*, II², 141, 343, 711, and *Sylloge*³, I, 391 with omega, but in *I.G.*, II², 3425, *Sylloge*³, I, 390, and *S.E.G.*, I, 363 with an omicron.

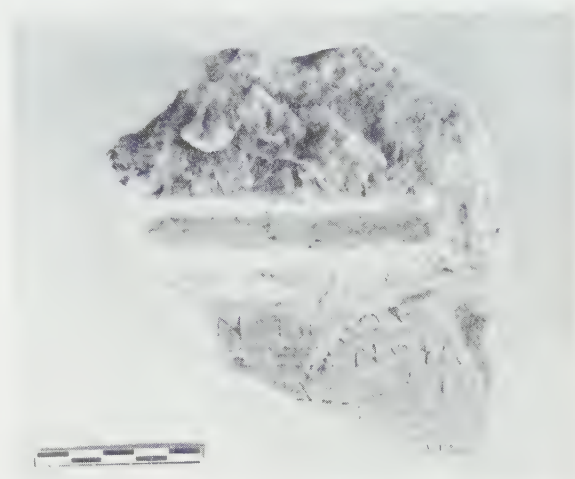
A DECREE OF THE YEAR OF HIPPIAS

49. A small fragment of Hymettian marble with the upper right corner of the stele, found on April 15, 1938, in modern fill in Section Ω.

Height, 0.118 m.; width, 0.115 m.;
thickness, 0.04 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5400.



No. 49

191/190 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

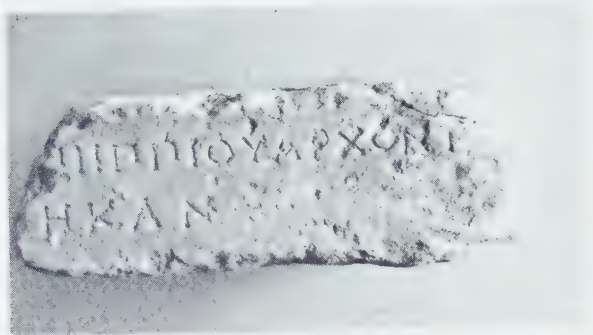
[Ἐπὶ Ἰππίου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς -----|ντίδος
[---^{ca. 7}--- πρυτανείας ἥι Θεοδόσιος]Ξενοφά
[ν---^{ca. 8}--- εὐς ἐγγραμμάτευν· βο|υλῆς ψή
[φισμα-----] vacat
5 [-----] πε

The new fragment preserves part of a decree passed by the Council (cf. line 3) in the year for which the secretary was Θεοδόσιος Ξενοφάν [---^{ca. 8}---]εὐς (cf. *I.G.*, II², 889). In a discussion of an Agora decree passed in the year of Hippias (an archon hitherto unknown) I have argued that the secretary Theodosios is to be assigned to this archon, and dated consequently *ca.* 191/190 on various historical and prosopographical grounds.²² Since the calendar equations indicate that the year of Hippias was intercalary, this archon cannot be dated in 190/189 where an ordinary year is required (see Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*, p. 186).

A DEDICATION OF THE YEAR OF HIPPIAS

50. A small base of Hymettian marble preserving the top, the right side, and the bottom, found on February 26, 1934, in a modern wall in Section K.

²² *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, p. 144. See also a preliminary discussion in Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List*, p. 186.



No. 50

Height, 0.054 m.; width, 0.16 m.;
thickness, 0.12 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 1460.

191/190 B.C.

[----- οἱ ἐ]πὶ Ἱππίου ἄρχοντ[ος]
[ἀνέ]θηκαν *vacat*

This is a small dedication by a group of Athenian citizens—unfortunately the designation is lost—dated by the new archon Hippias in 191/190 B.C. (see No. 49).

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EUGENE SCHWEIGERT

SOME UNPUBLISHED BRONZE MONEY OF THE EARLY EIGHTH CENTURY

One of the most interesting and important discoveries made in connection with the ninety thousand coins unearthed in the course of the American Excavations at the Athenian Agora concerns a group of sixty-three bronze pieces struck between the years 711 and 741 by three Byzantine emperors, Philippicus, Artemius Anastasius, and Leo III.¹ Fifteen of these types were first noted in 1933, but their poor state of preservation and their apparent uniqueness made it necessary to be extremely cautious about definite assignment. It was not until subsequent seasons of excavation had added new and, in some cases, better specimens to the collection that it was possible to attribute them with any degree of certainty. When the unclassified coins from the campaigns of 1935 and 1936 shall have been studied, as well as those which may be found in areas still unexcavated, it is probable that more of these types will be revealed; however, the number now on hand is sufficient to justify this present classification.

Forty-four of the coins were minted in the reign of Philippicus, three in that of his successor Anastasius, and the remaining sixteen at the time of Leo III. Almost all of the denominations are ten nummia indicated by a large **I** on the reverse of the coin. The Anastasius pieces, however, have the mark of value **K** (twenty nummia), and three of the Philippicus types are similarly stamped. At this period the earlier distinction in size between the two denominations had vanished; looking only at the obverses, one would have trouble in distinguishing between the oboloi of Anastasius and the dekanummia of Leo, in fact the former are often slightly smaller. Whether this identity of size reflects any change in the respective purchasing power of the two types is not definitely known, but in all probability it is merely indicative of carelessness in the re-use of old flans rather than of a deterioration or confusion of values.²

These coins are not museum pieces. Copper money, even of the best quality, suffered severely in the damp Agora soil, and the alloy used in the early eighth century

¹ To Professor and Mrs. T. Leslie Shear I am indebted for permission to publish this Agora material and also for many helpful suggestions during the course of its preparation. Professor Alfred Bellinger examined some of the coins and read the manuscript, and I am grateful for his comments. Mr. E. T. Newell also checked individual coins and confirmed the attributions, as did Mr. Harold Mattingly. Members of the Agora staff have been most kind about supplying excavation data.

² The fact that restriking almost invariably occurred over coins of higher denominations would indicate that allowance was being made for the wear and tear of circulation, an unnecessary precaution if the marks of value no longer had any meaning.

was extremely poor.³ The thick substantial fabrics of Justinian and his successors had gradually been replaced by thinner flans, bracteate-like in appearance, which did not wear well. The holes in some of our coins are due not to artificial disfigurement but rather to the fragility of the metal itself. Identification of the types is made still more difficult by the frequency with which restriking was practiced. Some pieces have three or more impressions on the one flan and are consequently so badly confused as to be almost illegible.⁴

Since the provenance of the coins is of considerable interest a rough sketch of the excavation terrain has been reproduced in Figure 1.⁵ On it each dot marks the approximate locality in which one of these pieces was found. Some topographical features are indicated, and attention is called in particular to the Valerian Wall at the right of the plan, beside which runs the great Dromos of Greek and Roman times. It is immediately apparent that there is a close connection between our money and this region of the Agora: more than two thirds of the specimens were found in areas which either adjoin or span the Valerian Wall (Sections I, P, Σ, AA, BB, ΘΘ, ΖΖ, and OA). The remaining coins were widely scattered over the market square, but study of their contexts showed that frequently they had come from modern surface deposits or else had been found in Byzantine filling washed down from higher sections. In the case of many of these stray pieces there was no definite connection between the coin and its location in the Agora.

With regard to the money found near the Wall, the examples in Section Σ were, for the most part, lying in sandy gravel filling along the line of the ancient street. Two coins from P were also on the northern end of the Dromos. Eight of the ten pieces from Section I to the south came from the same road deposit, while one other

³ The analyses given by J. Hammer ("Der Feingehalt der griechischen und römischen Münzen," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XXVI, 1908, pp. 140-141) do not seem at first glance to confirm this appraisal. One coin of Philippicus is included in his study. Its copper content is as high as that in some of the Anastasius I and Justin I specimens (97.86; 97.51; 97.76), but since coins like ours have never been published, the Philippicus piece must be of the same type as the Ravenna issue shown in Sabatier (*Description générale des monnaies byzantines*, II, pl. XXXVIII, no. 18), which is similar in appearance to sixth-century coinage and may possibly have been restruck on an earlier flan.

Comparative analyses of the metallic content in coins are not numerous and those which do exist are frequently useless because their conclusions are based upon the evidence of only one or two coins of a given type. Research in this field should be instructive and valuable if carried out on a sufficiently large scale; even then due allowance would need to be made for conditioning factors like carelessness and expediency at the time of minting. A recent study of Greek money is that of E. R. Caley, *The Composition of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins*.

⁴ The small number of illustrations is due to the poor condition of the money. Some of the best preserved pieces have been photographed, but the majority cannot be reproduced, their types being only decipherable under strong light or with the aid of magnification.

⁵ This has been divided into Sections designated by letters of the Greek alphabet in accordance with the system used at the Agora, and for convenience coin locations will be expressed in terms of these Sections.

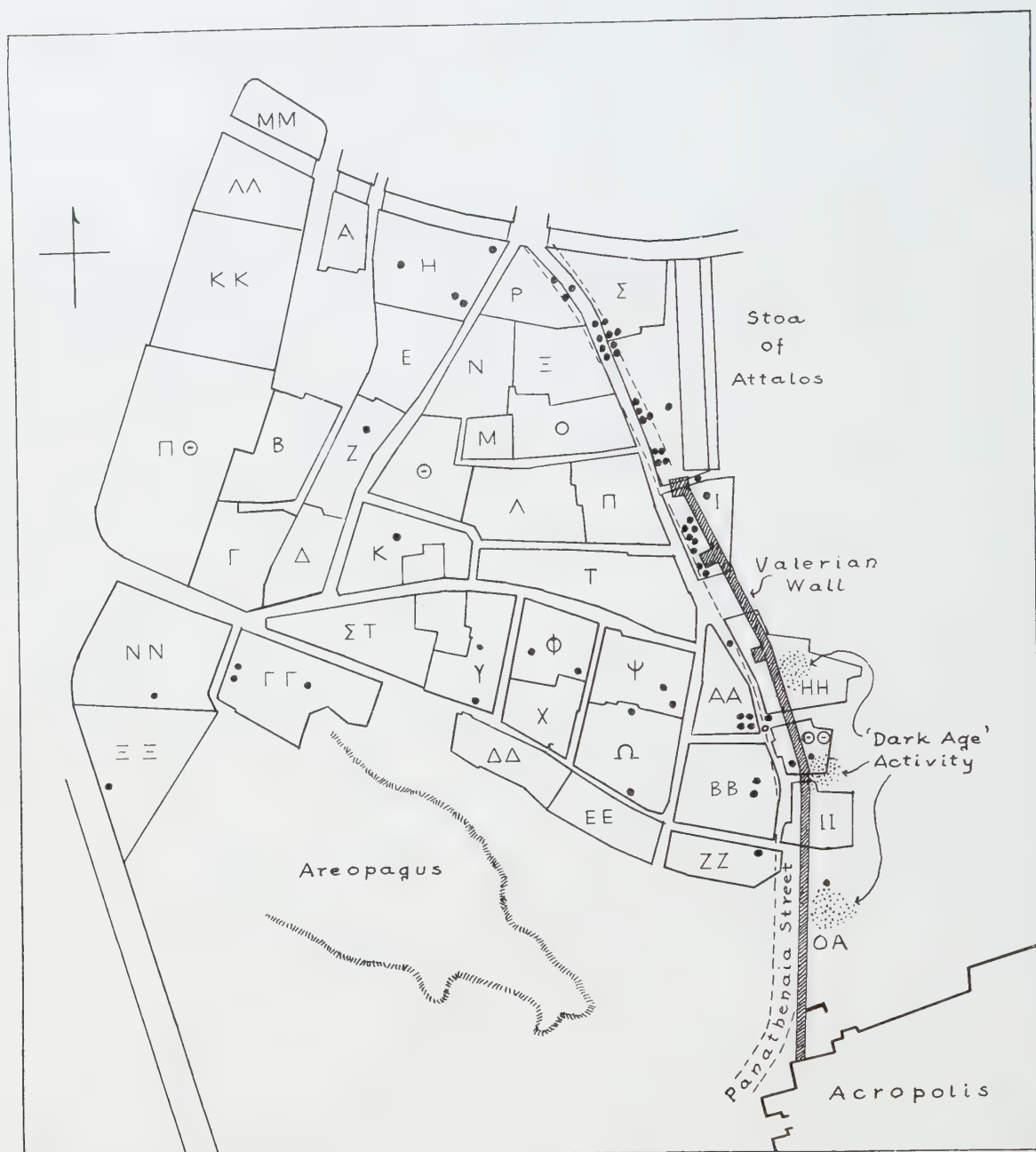


Fig. 1. Plan of the Sections of Excavation in the Agora
Showing Spots Where the Coins Were Found

was found just inside a gate which had been cut through the Valerian Wall south of the Stoa of Attalos. In Sections ΘΘ, AA, and BB the coins were buried either directly in the filling of the southern stretch of the Dromos or else in gully deposits of sand, sherds, and coins conceivably washed down from the road deposit. In these upper Sections a few pieces were discovered east of the Wall, and it is to be regretted that the inclusion of a part of the Byzantine city proper in the unexcavated area of the Roman Agora makes any investigation of its numismatic evidence impossible for the present.

Traces of eighth-century Byzantine occupation are so scant in the Agora that it is difficult to interpret the location of the coins in terms of the history of the city. Arthur Parsons, who has been studying the Valerian Wall and several of the Sections close to it, has found evidence of "Dark Age"⁶ activity in Section OA, high on the slope of the Acropolis, and again in Sections ΘΘ and HH further down (Fig. 1). All three areas are directly east of the Valerian Wall, which Mr. Parsons believes was still in use in the eighth century. Originally constructed in the third century after Christ, this defense fell into a state of disrepair several centuries later and was partially rebuilt during the reign of Justinian I (527-565 A.D.). The next historical mention of its existence is as a part of the city walls in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. What happened to it in the interim is uncertain, but there seems no reason to suppose a state of disuse in the time of Philippicus, so soon after the Justinian repairs, and one may assume that it formed a fortification wall for the city of that day.⁷

Parallel to the outer face of the Valerian Wall extended the ancient Street of the Panathenaia, a main thoroughfare in classical Greek times which was also used throughout the Roman era. No conclusive topographical evidence has established its continued existence in a later period; on the other hand our coins cannot be disregarded, thirty of them having been found within the confines of the ancient roadbed. Either the Roman road continued to serve the needs of the eighth-century community or else along its line were constructed the houses of the time, huddled close to the protecting city wall. Thus evidence found in OA, ΘΘ, and HH for "Dark Age" settlement inside the Valerian Wall is supplemented by our coins, which point unmistakably to the conclusion that this entire eastern section of the Greek Agora,

⁶ This term is applied by Mr. Parsons in his Sections to the period which follows the sixth century and terminates with the introduction of the wares known as Byzantine. It would thus include our particular half century.

⁷ In view of the Avar threat and the Slavic penetration of Greece (N. H. Baynes, "The Date of the Avar Surprise," *Byz. Zeit.*, XXI, 1912, considers the first successful attack on Constantinople to have come in 617 A.D.; the infiltration of Slavic tribes probably began a century earlier) an energetic dynasty like that of the Heraclids would scarcely have allowed the defenses of Athens to be weakened. Moreover Constans II sojourned there during the Winter of 662, which implies a safe city at that time.

within and without the fortification wall, was occupied in the eighth century, however few definite traces of such habitation have remained after centuries of rebuilding.

Prior to the Agora Excavations, the bronze coinage of Philippicus, Anastasius II, and Leo III was exceedingly rare. In the British Museum Catalogue a few gold pieces are listed for Philippicus but no bronze.⁸ Sabatier, however, has one bronze type with a portrait of the emperor similar to that used on the solidi and the mark of value **H** on the reverse.⁹ No bronze coins of Anastasius have been published by either the British Museum or Sabatier, but Count Tolstoi lists two **M** denominations.¹⁰ For Leo III the coinage is more numerous. The British Museum collection includes five bronze specimens;¹¹ Sabatier numbers five pieces bearing the effigy of Leo alone;¹² Tolstoi adds two new types to the group.¹³ However, it is by no means certain that all of these coins are to be attributed to Leo. L. Laffranchi in an interesting article, "La numismatica di Leonzio II," advances the theory that some of the types were issued by the usurper Leontius, for whose three-year reign there is no numismatic evidence.¹⁴

None of these published coins corresponds exactly with our denominations. There are, however, two known pieces which are closely comparable to the Agora types. One is an **I** coin of Philippicus (Plate II, B) in the possession of Professor Alfred Bellinger of Yale University, who also owns the **M** coin shown on the same plate. The other (Plate II, C) is a **K** piece of Anastasius owned by Mr. E. T. Newell. These two examples were procured in the course of years of numismatic collection, during which no other similar specimens were noted, and are the only unpublished pieces of which I have any knowledge.¹⁵ This puzzling scarcity of early eighth-century

⁸ *B.M.C., Byz.*, II, pp. 358-9; pl. XLI, nos. 11-14.

⁹ *Monnaies byz.*, II, p. 37; pl. XXXVIII, no. 18.

¹⁰ *Monnaies byzantines*, VIII, p. 909; pl. 64, nos. 23-24.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 369, nos. 21-23; p. 377, nos. 71-72. Three of the coins show the standing figure of Leo on the obverse and that of his son Constantine on the reverse. Another is a typical gold type and may have been plated with gold or electrum and intended to pass as a solidus. The last is a **M** issue of Ravenna.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 48, nos. 7-8; p. 49, nos. 11-13.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 930, no. 47 and p. 931, no. 52. The latter is like the *B.M.C.* gilded (?) specimen.

¹⁴ Laffranchi (*Numismatica*, Anno IV, 1938, N. 4, pp. 73-4; and Anno V, 1939, N. 1, pp. 7-15) calls attention to the two distinct portraits of Leo present on the coins attributed to him. One, which follows the conventional oval-faced tradition, is scarcely distinguishable from other imperial effigies of the period. The second, which seems to be a true likeness, shows a sturdily built man with round face and short cropped hair. Most of the coins in the museum collections belong to the first group, but several of the twelve bronze pieces discussed above have the realistic portrait and, according to Laffranchi, were struck by Leontius.

¹⁵ Laffranchi (*loc. cit.*, Anno V, N. 1, p. 8) shows an **I** coin from a Berlin collection which he ascribes to Tiberius III. The specimen is worn and to all appearances restruck, so that it is impossible definitely to question the attribution without seeing the coin itself, but from the photograph it appears very similar to our Philippicus type, nos. 1-22 in the catalogue.



coinage cannot be due to a curtailment or cessation of minting activity. The number of pieces found in the Agora proves that the types were issued in some abundance; at the same time the condition of the Agora coins indicates why so few examples have survived. In their poor state of preservation they would be of no interest to the dealer in numismatics or to the average collector. It is probable that pieces in similar condition have been brought to antiquity shops only to be considered unsalable and carelessly discarded.

PHILIPPICUS


(711-713 A.D.)¹⁶

SECOND STRIKING

FIRST STRIKING


NO.	OBVERSE	REVERSE	OBVERSE	REVERSE
	Inscription. Bust of Philippicus, bearded, facing; wears crown with globus cr., robe of lozenge pattern; in r., globus cr.; in l., eagle-headed sceptre. Border of dots.	I ; cross to l.; various symbols to r.; CON in exergue. Border of dots.	When clear the type seems to be that of Justinian II: two busts facing, supporting between them a globus surmounted by a patriarchal cross. Border of dots.	Justinian II K type: 
1 (R).	...!|EP|.....		Left-hand bust visible; traces of globus and cross.	Vertical, lower diagonal bars of K visible; ANN to left; A below.
2.	Inscription illegible.	Same; C of ex. off flan.	Traces of two busts of which right-hand one visible.	K visible; A below; X to right. X
3.	.....EP! M4..	Same; N of ex. not clear.	.....AN..... Left-hand bust visible.	K vague; ANNO to left.
4.	.....AN	Same; l to r. vague; C, N of ex. missing.	Traces of two busts.	Obscure.
5 (R).	..... M4 AN	Same.	Right-hand bust visible.	Obscure.
6.	Inscription illegible.	Same; lower dot missing.	.....N!A..... Two busts facing, patriarchal cross between.	K visible; A to left; A below.
7.	....LIP..O....	Same.	Two busts supporting globus cr.	Vertical bar of K visible; ANNO to left.




¹⁶ O or R in the first column indicates that obverse or reverse of that coin is illustrated on the plate. Dots below letters of the inscriptions mean that such letters are vague. For the Philippicus portrait cf. *B.M.C., Byz.*, II, pl. XLI, nos. 11-14. For the Justinian II type cf. *ibid.*, pl. XLI, no. 8.

SECOND STRIKING			FIRST STRIKING	
NO.	OBVERSE	REVERSE	OBVERSE	REVERSE
8.	DN...ЄPI MƳ...	Same; ex. illegible.	Traces of right-hand bust and cross.	K vague.
9.	..... MƳ...	Same; O vague, N missing in ex.	Traces of left-hand bust.	Obscure.
10.	.....ЄPI.....	Same; cross broken off; ex. vague.	Right-hand bust visible.	AN to left.
11.	Inscription illegible.	Same.	Two busts visible; patriarchal cross between.	K vague; ANNO to left; X in upper right field.
12.	..... MƳ AN	Same.	Traces of left-hand bust and globus.	K visible; cross above; X in upper right; traces of lower X and A in ex.
13.	Inscription illegible.	Same; cross illegible; symbols at r. and N of ex. doubtful.	Left-hand bust visible; traces of right-hand one and cross.	Type completely visible.
14.	Inscription illegible.	Same.	Traces of two busts and cross, left-hand one clear.	K vague; cross visible.
15.	Inscription illegible.	Same.	Left-hand bust and globus visible.	K vague; ANNO at left and X in upper right clear.
16 (O).	..... MƳ AN	Same; cross vague.	..... IƳSP..... Two busts and globus between.	Seems to have been a Justinian M type; M vague, A..O to left and X in lower right.
17 (O).	..... MƳ AN	Same.	Traces of restriking but not clear.	
18.	..... MƳ A.	Same; ex. vague.	" " "	" " "
19 (O, R).	...ЄPIČƳS MƳL S.N	Same.	" " "	" " "
20.	Inscription illegible.	Same.	" " "	" " "
21.	Inscription illegible.	Same; lower dot at r. off flan; ex. vague.	" " "	" " "
22.	..... MƳ AN	Same; both fields and ex. vague.	" " "	" " "
23 (O, R).	.....ЄPICOPP...	<div style="text-align: center;">  </div> Exergue here is vague.	Two busts facing, left-hand one clear; traces of patriarchal cross.	K vague; ANNO to left; X to right, upper one vague.

SECOND STRIKING

FIRST STRIKING

NO.	OBVERSE	REVERSE	OBVERSE	REVERSE
24.	..... M $\dot{\text{V}}$ AN	Same; ex. vague.	Left-hand bust and cross visible.	K visible; ANNO to left; $\frac{X}{X}$ to right.
25.	..... AV ..	Same; cross vague.	Left-hand bust visible; traces of cross.	Lower half of K visible; ANNO at left; traces of $\frac{X}{X}$ at right.
26.	Inscription illegible.	Same.	Left-hand bust visible.	Obscure.
27.	.... LEPIC M $\dot{\text{V}}$..	Same; symbols at r. vague.	Traces of restriking but not clear.	
28.	Portrait vague.	Same; symbols at r. vague.	Obscure.	K visible; cross above; ANNO to left.
29.	Inscription illegible.		..... $\dot{\text{C}}$. TIB $\dot{\text{C}}$ Two busts facing, right-hand one clear; traces of cross.	K vague; A (possibly NNO) to left; A below; $\frac{X}{X}$ to right.
30 (R).	D $\dot{\text{N}}$	Same.	Traces of restriking but not clear.	
31.	Inscription illegible.	Same I type; r. field and ex. vague.	DNIVSTINIANVSETTI-BERIVSP... Two busts facing; cross between them.	Diagonal bars of K visible; ANNO to left; cross above; $\frac{X}{X}$ to right, lower one vague.
32.	Inscription illegible.	Same I type; symbols at r. and N of ex. off flan; C of ex. vague.	Left-hand bust visible.	Obscure.
33.	..... M $\dot{\text{V}}$..	Same I type; r. field vague.	Traces of two busts but very vague.	Traces of K ; possibly ANNO to left.
34.	.. $\dot{\text{C}}$ PIC M $\dot{\text{V}}$..	Same I type; r. field vague.	Left-hand bust visible.	K vague; ANNO to left; A below.
35.	Inscription and bust obscure.	Same I type; r. field off flan.	Two busts with patriarchal cross between.	K vague; ANNO to left; possibly $\frac{X}{X}$ to right.
36.	.... LEPIC	Same I type; r. field and ex. illegible.	Left-hand bust visible.	Traces of K ; possibly ANNO to left.
37.	D $\dot{\text{N}}$ FILIP	Same I type; both fields and ex. illegible.	Two busts facing; cross between.	K visible; ANN to left; A below; $\frac{X}{X}$ to right.
38.	Inscription illegible.	I visible; traces of cross to l.	Obscure.	ANNO to left.

SECOND STRIKING			FIRST STRIKING	
NO.	OBVERSE	REVERSE	OBVERSE	REVERSE
39.	.....PİÇ.....	Traces of I and CON of ex.	Left-hand bust; traces of globus.	Traces of K ; ANNO to left. Beneath this is 
40.	Inscription and portrait obscure.	No trace.	.....ETTIBERIVSP... Two busts with cross between. Beneath this is a pre- vious striking, possibly of Tiberius III. 	Traces of K ; possi- bly ANNO to left.
41 (O).	DNFİL.....	Same I type; r. field illegible and cross at l. vague.	Traces of restriking but not clear.	
42 (O, R).	.....Pİ...MA	 Here O at l. is off flan; possibly X to r. X	All of these coins seem to have been restruck but no types are clear. Either they are mules, the I type not having taken over the K of Justinian II, or else they represent a K denomination of Philippicus.	
43.	..... AN	Same; NO at l. illegi- ble, also cross above and symbols at r.; B below.		
44.	Inscription illegible.	Same; cross and sym- bols at r. illegible; Γ below.		

That these coins were minted during the reign of Philippicus seems beyond question. The obverse portrait, a copy of that reproduced on the solidi, shows a bust of the emperor with heart-shaped face framed by long hair conventionally arranged beneath a crown which is surmounted by a globus cruciger. Like most of his contemporaries Philippicus has abandoned military costume and is represented as consul wearing a robe of lozenge pattern and carrying a globus cruciger and an eagle-headed sceptre.¹⁷ This particular combination of robe and sceptre is distinctive, and, as far as is known, is used only by Philippicus at this period. Comparison of the coins shown

¹⁷ One would like to connect this sceptre with the dream of the youthful Philippicus in which he saw an eagle hovering over his head, thus clearly portending his future rule, but as Wroth points out (*B.M.C., Byz.*, I, p. xxxiv) the same kind of sceptre is carried by Maurice Tiberius, Phocas, and other of Philippicus' predecessors when they are depicted in their consular capacity.

on Plate II with those on Plate XLI of the British Museum Catalogue will illustrate how closely the bronze type copies the gold.

In classifying the issues it was apparent that many pieces had been struck from the same obverse die; accordingly an attempt was made at matching portraits to determine the extent of duplication. As was to be expected, some obverses were too blurred or confused for satisfactory comparison, but thirty-one of the types were sufficiently legible. The results are intensely interesting. All thirty-one coins have been struck from only six dies,¹⁸ which is an amazingly small number when one considers that the coinage is copper and that several reverse types are represented. No coördination of portrait and reverse grouping is possible; the same obverse die has been used in combination with as many as three reverse types.

The six different die impressions are shown on Plate II. Type I is represented by only one coin (No. 19 in the catalogue) and may have been in the nature of an experiment at adapting the effigy of Philippicus for bronze issues. The attempt has not been entirely successful for, although the attributes of the emperor have been meticulously copied, the tiny size of the representation makes it impossible to trace any facial resemblance between it and the gold types and gives a crowded appearance to the flan. This coin has the most complete legend, reading with some restoration as **DNFILEPICVS MVL SAN**. In Type II, of which there are eight pieces,¹⁹ the bust has been slightly enlarged with consequently improved effect, and since there is now less space for an inscription, the abbreviation **DNFILEPIC MVL AN** occurs. These last four letters, arranged in pairs above and below the eagle-headed sceptre, are from now on the usual termination of the legend. From the standpoint of style Type III is the best die.²⁰ The emperor's portrait, a trifle larger than in the preceding group, fills the available space to the best advantage, and a shortened sceptre makes the picture more compact and pleasing. On the flan illustrated in Plate II the inscription seems to read **[DNFIL]EPICO** with possibly **PP** following on the left half of the coin. Another example from the group may have **AV** just above the sceptre, which would give the complete legend **DNFILEPICOPP AV**. Only one coin (No. 42), a carelessly executed piece, is a product of the fourth die. The legend seems to end **PI MA** above and below the sceptre, the most abbreviated form that we know. Type V²¹ was, if the proportions of this collection are any indication, the most popular striking. In it the face has broadened and assumed a disagreeable expression. The sceptre is longer than in previous groups and the cross on the crown is somewhat off centre, which speaks

¹⁸ These statistics for Philippicus should be compared with those for his successors. The three Anastasius coins in the collection are all from different dies. Twelve of the Leo specimens are legible and they represent at least ten dies. Nos. 7, 9, and 12 in the catalogue may be identical.

¹⁹ Nos. 9, 14, 17, 22, 27, 31, 34 and 36 in the catalogue. No. 17 is illustrated.

²⁰ Nos. 2, 23, 25 and 26 have been struck from it. No. 23 is illustrated.

²¹ Nos. 1, 3, 5, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 20, 32. No. 16 is illustrated.

of careless workmanship. One legend has survived in almost complete form, so that an original reading of **DNFILEPI M4 AN** may safely be assumed for this type. In the final class²² the imperial bust is as much too large as it was too small at first. On most of the flans there is scarcely room for the sceptre, and the inscription has often vanished completely. The portrait is overelaborate, a tendency especially noticeable in the waving of the hair. The surviving letters of the legends would suggest that they began **DNFILIP**; the termination is dubious.

It is impossible to stress too strongly the uncertain and tentative quality of these inscription readings. As can be seen from the catalogue, no legend has been preserved in its entirety. Perhaps ten per cent of the remaining letters are fairly legible, the others have been deciphered by dint of careful scrutiny in direct sunlight and by comparison with the better preserved legends on museum coins. Although our readings do not duplicate exactly any of the forms commonly found on the gold pieces,²³ unless in the case of Type III, the variations are plausible, consisting of abbreviations rather than basic changes.

The mark of value **I** is stamped upon forty of the Philippicus specimens. In every case the exergue letters, when preserved, are **CON**, while the left field is occupied by a cross. The symbols at the right vary. On most of the coins there is an **I** with a dot to the left above and another to the right below, survivals perhaps of the serifs of a well-formed Roman numeral one. It is quite probable that the **I** is indicative of Philippicus' first regnal year although this logical interpretation is somewhat weakened by the failure of other issues to continue the same system of dating. A second group of coins has the combination **II**, above which is another **I** or **Γ**. Two other specimens have **ΓA** in the right field. The meaning of these symbols, if meaning they had, is a mystery. Certainly no date can have been intended, unless one reads the year from the upper **I** of the **II** combination. Yet why should there be two totally different **I** issues to mark the emperor's first year? Some slight clue is afforded by the solidi of Philippicus in the British Museum collection on which the reverse legend **VICTORIA AVS4** is followed by similar meaningless letters. In one case **ΘΓ** is used, in others **Γ** and **A**.²⁴ The die-cutters may have simply transferred the combination of letters from the gold to the copper, though this assumption brings us no closer to an understanding of their initial significance.

The three **K** coins listed at the end of the catalogue have all been restruck, but the types are not clearly defined. Either they are mules, or else they represent a **K** issue of Philippicus.

²² Nos. 15, 21, 30, 37, 38, 41. No. 41 is illustrated.


²³ **DNFILEPIC4S M4L T4SAN**, **DNFILE PICOPPAVG**, and **DNFILIP CO A4T**. From the British Museum, Sabatier, and Tolstoi. There are, of course, slight differences in phrasing, but these seem to have been the standard inscriptions.

²⁴ *B.M.C., Byz.*, II, p. 358; cf. note 2.

Not one of the flans is new. In a few cases the original striking is not clear, but for the most part enough has remained to identify the first type as that of Justinian II shown with his son Tiberius supporting a patriarchal cross between them. The initial value of the coins, twenty nummia, has been lowered to ten with allowance made for usage. Two pieces have been struck three times, the original denomination of one being an **M**, which is credible in view of its large flan. The other has what seems to be another **K** type below the customary Justinian II obverse, and it may possibly have been issued by Tiberius III and marked with his regnal year IV.

ANASTASIUS II, ARTEMIS

(713-716 A.D.)²⁵

SECOND STRIKING			FIRST STRIKING	
NO.	OBVERSE	REVERSE	OBVERSE	REVERSE
	Inscription. Bust of Anastasius II, bearded, facing; wears crown with cross and paludamentum and cuirass; in right, globus cr.; in left, mappa; in field right, cross. Border of dots.			
1 (O, R).	DNAPT.....		May have been restruck, but there are no definite traces.	
		Possibly cross to right.		
2 (O).	...PTM ANAST...IS	Same; symbols at right illegible.	Traces of restriking, but not clear.	
3.	...PT.....	Same; Γ below vague; possibly $\frac{X}{X}$ to right.	Bust of Anastasius II K ; AN to left; Δ to (?); cross in field right. right.	

Both portraits and inscriptions prove that this group of coins belongs to Anastasius II. In every detail of dress and insignia of office the bronze type tallies with the gold. The only difference is a cross in the right field which has been placed on the obverse of the bronze pieces and is not found on the solidi, but at this period letters and symbols were often scattered promiscuously on both obverses and reverses so that addition of the cross would in no way affect the attribution.²⁶ The restored legend seems to be DNAPT M ANASTASIS, as far as can be judged from the Agora coins, and although this does not coincide with other known readings, it offers no problem.


²⁵ For portrait cf. *B.M.C., Byz.*, II, pl. XLI, nos. 15-21.

²⁶ One bronze coin pictured in Tolstoi (*op. cit.*, pl. 64, no. 23) has the cross to the right of the bust.

The reverses, all **K** denominations, have the same officina mark Γ . The symbols on the right are very vague, and it is impossible to be certain of any particular reading. In the one case which shows unquestionable restriking this has occurred over another **K** type, belonging either to Anastasius or to one of his predecessors.

LEO III

(717-741 A.D.)²⁷

NO.	SECOND STRIKING		FIRST STRIKING	
	OBVERSE	REVERSE	OBVERSE	REVERSE
	Inscription. Bust of Leo III, bearded, facing; wears military costume and helmet with cross and fan-shaped crest; in r., spear held transversely; in l., shield with horseman (?) device. Border of dots.	I ; * to left; X or X to right; X CON in ex. Border of dots.		
1 (R).	Inscription obscure.		Justinian II type. Traces of two busts facing.	K visible; ANNO to left.
2.	Inscription and portrait obscure.	Same; cross and symbols at right vague.	.....$\epsilon\tau\tau\iota\beta$ Two busts facing, supporting a globus with PAX on it, surmounted by patriarchal cross.	Obscure.
3 (O).	Inscription obscure.	Same; symbols at right illegible; ex. vague.	Traces of globus and right-hand bust.	Vertical bar of K visible; A to left; X in upper right.
4 (R).	Inscription obscure.	Same; ex. illegible.	Obscure.	K visible; NNO to left; A below; ' to right.
5.	Inscription obscure.	Same; ex. illegible; star vague.	Traces of two busts and globus.	K visible; ANNO to left.
6.	.....M η L	Same; cross illegible; ex. vague.	Bust of Anastasius II facing; cross in field right.	K visible; ANNO to left. Γ below.
7.	Inscription obscure.	Same; cross and N of ex. vague; symbols at right illegible.	Bust of Anastasius II (?) facing.	K visible; ANNO to left; Γ below.
8.	.....AM η L	Same; CO of ex. vague.	Obscure.	Obscure.

²⁷ For portrait of Leo cf. Tolstoi, *op. cit.*, VIII, pl. 65, no. 43.

NO.	SECOND STRIKING		FIRST STRIKING	
	OBVERSE	REVERSE	OBVERSE	REVERSE
9 (O).	Inscription obscure.	Same; cross illegible.	Obscure.	Obscure.
10.	Inscription obscure.	Same; ex. vague.	Obscure.	Upper half of K visible; A to left.
11 (O, R).	DNLEQO	Same; ` below symbols at right; O of ex. vague.	Traces of two busts and the globus with PAX on it.	Traces of K .
12 (O).	Inscription obscure.	Same; ` below symbols at right; upper X vague.	Obscure.	Traces of K .
13.	Inscription obscure.	Same; faint traces of I and exergue line.	Obscure.	K visible; ANNO to left; A below; ` to right.
14.	Inscription and portrait obscure.	Same; symbols at right illegible; cross, star, and O of ex. vague.	Obscure, possibly traces of right-hand bust of Justinian II type.	Obscure.
15.	. . . . N PAMQL	Faint traces of what may be an I .	Obscure.	Complete Justinian II reverse; Γ below the K .
16.	. . . . . PAMQ.	I and exergue line visible.	Obscure.	Complete Justinian II reverse; K with A below.

Beneath this striking is another:
 Bust of Tiberius III (?)
 holding spear across **M**
 body. (cf. *B.M.C., Byz.*,
 II, pl. XL, no. 26).

These coins were the most interesting and the most difficult ones in the collection. When they first began to appear, they were classified as new types of Constantine IV, the portrait being interpreted as a likeness of that emperor in military dress with plumed helmet, and spear held transversely over the right shoulder. Subsequent finds seemed to correspond more closely to the gold type of Tiberius III and were tentatively placed in his reign. For several years no definite decision was reached; then three discoveries linked the coins with Leo the Third. (1) A silver type in Tolstoi,²⁸ not listed in any other catalogue, has an unusual portrait of Leo carrying a spear over his right shoulder and wearing the same highly distinctive crested helmet that can be clearly seen on Coin 3 on Plate II. (2) During the 1939 excavation season

²⁸ *Monnaies byz.*, VIII, pl. 65, no. 43.

a well-preserved specimen was found on which, for the first time, the initial letters of the obverse inscription could be deciphered. The customary **D** and **N** of the formula are very clear, the **L** which comes next is almost certain, and following it are traces of **E** and **O**. (3) Finally, a re-examination of the whole group revealed the fact that the original type on two of the coins was that of Anastasius II, the identifying cross in the right field showing very plainly.²⁹ This discovery necessitated the assignment of the coins to an emperor succeeding Anastasius and probably preceding Constantine V whose bronze currency is fairly common and totally dissimilar to the pieces in question, introducing as it does several variations in the traditional copper types. Thus everything pointed to Leo.

As has already been noted, the portrait on the Agora money is a copy of that used for a silver issue described in Tolstoi. There can be no mistaking the unusual helmet. The reproduction in bronze of a silver instead of a gold type is somewhat disturbing; however, the only argument against it is that of tradition, and unless a missing gold prototype is invented, one must believe that in this case custom was set aside. The particular silver issue listed in Tolstoi is rare,³⁰ but it is impossible to say whether or not this was true in the time of Leo, so scant is the surviving fund of Byzantine silver for all periods.

On only five coins is an obverse legend visible, even in fragmentary form. Joining the letters preserved on Nos. 11 and 15 in the catalogue would give a complete reconstruction of **DNLEON PAMQL**, which is in accord with some of the inscriptions on the nomismata.

Like the majority of the Philippicus pieces, Leo's coins are **I** denominations with the abbreviation for Constantinople in the exergue. To the left is the customary cross, below which Leo has added a star. On the right are two **X**'s, one above the other, which should mean Leo's twentieth regnal year (i. e., 736/37 A.D.). Two coins have a slanting line below the lower **X** and if this was intended for a **V**, which is the British Museum interpretation of a similar mark on the coinage of Justinian II, the date of these two specimens would be the twenty-fifth year of the Isaurian's rule. If one accepts June 18, 741 as the date of Leo's death, then his twenty-fifth year of sovereignty would have started on March 25 of that same year, hence these coins would belong to the last three months of his life.³¹ There is the possibility, however,

²⁹ I am indebted to Mr. Newell for pointing out the cross on one of these coins.

³⁰ It is interesting to note that this type, of which all the Agora coins are a reflection, has the portrait which Laffranchi believes is that of Leo rather than Leontius. Since our coins must belong to Leo, they substantiate his theory.

³¹ This raises the moot question of the chronology of Theophanes. In this author, who wrote in the early ninth century and so is one of the few contemporary sources for this period of history, there is a disagreement between the years of the world and the years of the indiction (a fifteen-year cycle adopted by the Crown for taxing purposes). The error occurs from 610 to 773 except for the interval between 714 and 726 during which the two systems of dating correspond. Reckoning from

that no date should be read into these symbols. The custom of placing the regnal years on the currency is not followed consistently in this period, and, as has been noted on the coins of Philippicus, instead of dates one often finds what seem to be nonsense combinations of letters.³² It is suggestive that the same double X marking occurs on the coins of Justinian II over which the Leo types have been struck.

Before any interpretation of this currency is attempted, it might be well to glance briefly at its numismatic setting. As coins continued to be found at the Agora in numbers sufficient to make their relative proportions significant, some time was spent in compiling a chart showing the sectional and chronological distribution of the sixty thousand classified pieces. Even the most casual study of the Byzantine part of this table reveals with startling clearness the paucity of coinage during the eighth and ninth centuries.³³ An abundance of money has survived from the reigns

the creation of the world would make 740 the date of Leo's death; the indictions would place it one year later. Arguments have been advanced for both points of view, but the reasoning of E. W. Brooks ("The Chronology of Theophanes 607-775," *Byz. Zeit.*, VIII, 1899, pp. 82-97) and G. Ostrogorsky ("Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert," *Byz.-Neugr. Jahrbücher*, VII, 1930, pp. 1-56) seems valid enough to justify the date 741. They have compared Theophanes' dates with those given in Eastern sources, in contemporary papal documents, and in other papers, and have also computed the year by a correspondence between the day of the week and of the month when these are mentioned. On the whole it seems as though the year of the indiction were correct, and this is as one would naturally suppose, since that method of dating rather than the cumbersome Anno Mundi calculation was the common practice.

Most of the early historians speak of Leo as having reigned 24 years, which would not be true if he died in 740. Theophanes (*Chronographia*, I, ed. Bonn, p. 635) makes it 24 years, 2 months, and 25 days. Cedrenus (*Compendium Historiarum*, II, p. 458) gives the same regnal span. Zonaras (*Epit.*, XV, 4) simply states that when Leo had reigned 24 years, he died. In the *Chronographia Brevis* (J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, C, p. 1018) Nicephorus lists 25 years, 3 months, and 14 days for Leo; but when he writes *De Rebus Gestis* (*Patr. Gr.*, C, p. 966), he asserts that the emperor died in the 24th year of his rule. A footnote suggests that the word "after" should be placed before 24th.

³² The practice of precise dating began to decline in the latter part of the seventh century, and by the time of Justinian II the symbols cannot be relied upon as infallible indications of the year of reign.

³³ A great deal of the work represented in the chart was done by Elisabeth Washburn of the Agora staff.

Tabulation of the chronological data for Byzantine times gives the following picture:

6th century — 254 coins	10th century — 146 coins
7th " — 736 "	11th " — 1983 "
8th " — 8 "	12th " — 2580 "
9th " — 56 "	

During the particular period in question, the first half of the eighth century, statistics by emperors show: Tiberius III, 1; Justinian II (second reign), 4; Leo III, 1. The 63 coins under present discussion are, of course, not included, but now that they are definitely dated in the eighth century, the totals for that period must be revised upward. It should be remembered that the boundaries of the Greek Agora do not include the areas from which one would expect Byzantine

of Heraclius and Constans II. After that there is only an insignificant trickle until the Anonymous Coinage begins in the late tenth century. For some years the output of Constans' mints would have been sufficient for the city's needs,³⁴ but three centuries separate Constans from John Zimisces, who initiated the Anonymous series. At one time it was thought that this monetary shortage of three-hundred-years' duration might have been due to an Athenian "Dark Ages" during which the city was recovering from a severe cultural and economic setback consequent upon the barbarian invasions. Perhaps her population was drastically reduced with the result that the city shrank behind the Valerian Wall and occupied only the site of the old Roman Agora. In excavating it one might find the money of the eighth and ninth centuries. Now, however, the Agora has a collection of coins definitely assignable to the early eighth century, and the "Dark Ages" theory must be revised in some degree. One hundred and thirteen pieces³⁵ is a fair representation for forty years, especially when one remembers that for more than half of that period, the Empire was in a state of chaos. Numismatically speaking, there is no more reason for selecting the early eighth century as a period of barbarism than the early sixth, the time of Justinian.

But if these coins have thrown some light on one period of Byzantine history, they have also added a new problem. Before their appearance there was not enough

currency in greatest quantity. If the Roman market place were dug, the above ratios might be affected, though it is probable that the totals on hand represent a fair cross-section of the city's commercial history during Byzantine times.

Through the kindness of Professor Oscar Broneer and Miss Josephine Harris, the numismatic totals from the excavations at Corinth have been made available for purposes of comparison. Some 30,000 Byzantine coins are involved; these, when arranged in the same chronological brackets as our money, give the following proportions:

6th century — 2833 coins	10th century — 2513 coins
7th " — 181 "	11th " — 14803 "
8th " — 9 "	12th " — 9071 "
9th " — 1439 "	

From the first half of the eighth century only three pieces have survived: Tiberius III, 1; Justinian II, 2.

It is interesting to compare the Agora totals with those from another important Greek city. The two sites show the same overwhelming influx of coinage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the same poverty in the eighth. However the Corinthian "depression" began a century sooner than the Athenian one and ended more than a century earlier. Judging by the numismatic evidence, conditions there seem to have been more severe than in Athens. The explanation of these periods of prosperity and hardship must lie in the respective annals of the two cities, and one could wish that more were known about the provincial history of the Byzantine Empire.

³⁴ In fact, the worn condition of the coins indicates hard usage; on the other hand the poor quality of the metal and the frequency with which old flans were reworked must have shortened their circulation period.

³⁵ This includes the six coins previously known, and the sixty-three new eighth-century pieces, with a double count of the forty-four Philippicus issues. The reason for this last will be clearer in the course of the next pages.

money; now in one respect there seems too much. The totals for Anastasius and Leo are what one might expect, but it is hard to believe that in the ordinary course of a three-years' reign, a troubled reign at that, Philippicus would have issued so much currency that forty-four pieces have survived in a fairly distant part of the Empire. Or if the quantity found in Athens is representative of the magnitude of Philippicus' minting operations, then why have his coins been found nowhere else? It remains to see whether the history of the period affords any clue.

With the reign of Constantine IV the Byzantine Empire experienced the last measure of internal stability that it was to know for many years.³⁶ Justinian II, his successor and the last of the Heraclid dynasty, made himself so unpopular by his cruelty and greed that his general Leontius was able without difficulty to incite a revolt and seize the throne. After three years Leontius in his turn was pushed from power, the new emperor being an admiral, Apsimarus, who ruled as Tiberius III for seven years. But Tiberius had only a feeble grasp on the imperial sceptre. When the legitimate emperor Justinian returned with a force of Bulgars, he had little trouble in regaining his crown. Constantinople again suffered under this tyrant, now so maddened by his humiliations that he could think of nothing but revenge. He held the throne for six years, until the excess of his own cruelty brought about his downfall. A punitive expedition against the people of Cherson was organized by Justinian and entrusted to a patrician Bardanes. The Chersonese, in fear, sought aid of the neighboring Khan of Khazar, so that the Byzantine troops found it impossible to carry out their orders. Afraid to return and report failure, they joined the revolting citizens and saluted their own leader Bardanes as emperor.

Thus Philippicus, for so he chose to be called, came to the throne. The people were glad to be rid of the bloody Justinian, and had the new emperor been a stronger character he might have enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. Unfortunately Philippicus had the idea that the imperial office was his plaything. With the Bulgars threatening him on the north and a discontented military faction plotting against him in the capital, he did nothing but pass his days in a round of revelry and pleasure, during the course of which the ample treasury of Justinian was emptied and the temper of the people turned against him. Moreover, he was a monothelite and, motivated by zeal or superstitious fear,³⁷ he tried to foist that religious heresy upon

³⁶ The historical résumé which follows has been gathered from the two contemporary sources: Theophanes, *Chronogr.*, and Nicephorus, *De Rebus Gestis*. In addition Cedrenus, *Compendium Hist.*, and Anastasius, *Chronogr. Tripartita*, have been used. More modern historians include: C. Diehl, *Histoire de l'Empire byzantin* and *The Emperor Who Lost His Nose*; E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; G. Finlay, *Greece under the Romans* and *History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires*; J. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*; A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'Empire byzantin*; *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. IV; W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*; and F. C. Schlosser, *Geschichte der bilderstürmenden Kaiser*.

³⁷ The legend goes that Philippicus early in life had been promised the imperial power by a monothelite monk on condition that he use his new office to spread that faith.

the people. The Byzantine chroniclers record only one good quality for Philippicus, a certain facility of expression which made him an interesting speaker, but more than that was necessary to hold a usurped throne. As was inevitable, dissatisfaction grew until at Whitsuntide in 713 a group of soldiers broke into the palace, seized the emperor and blinded him. On the following day Artemius, a royal secretary, was acclaimed by popular vote as the new ruler, while the forgotten Philippicus was hurried to a monastery in which he ended his days.

In this short misspent reign there seems nothing which would explain our coins. As far as is known, Philippicus had no direct contact with Athens, nor does it seem probable that the amount of currency found in the Agora reflects any adjustment of the Empire's finances. Apart from his own weak and inefficient nature, the briefness of Philippicus' reign and the internal and external unrest of the times would have precluded any extensive fiscal reforms. It may be, however, that the solution of the problem lies in that very state of imperial anarchy. In looking over our group of coins, Professor Bellinger suggested that their occurrence in Athens might be due to local minting. Startling as the theory seems at first, it has many points in its favor. First, it must be remembered that these specimens have been found only in Athens. None have turned up in the Corinth excavations, none are listed in the museum collections, and none are for sale in the bazaars of Constantinople.³⁸ It would seem, then, that they were a local phenomenon.

Other factors lead to the same conclusion. It is noteworthy that the money has been struck from only six dies, which is an astonishing duplication in a fairly large group of coins, presumably coming from a distant mint. The whole succession of dies, as outlined above, points to a fumbling experiment at minting, possibly by craftsmen not accustomed to the work. The portraits resemble those used on the provincial Italian issues rather than the more skillful products of the capital's workshops.³⁹ Finally the fact that all of the metal has been re-used is suggestive of a local origin. Although the imperial Byzantine mint used all material, old and new, which

³⁸ As has been mentioned before, the poor preservation of the coins may be sufficient explanation of their absence from museum collections and from antiquity shops, but the Corinth excavations, involving many more Byzantine coins than have been found in the Agora, should include some Philippicus money, if that money was struck on a large scale at Constantinople and then distributed throughout the Empire, unless, of course, Corinth for all practical purposes had ceased to exist at that period.

³⁹ Whether die-cutters were sent from Constantinople or whether local men were used is a question. In view of the unskillful work probably the latter was true. It is to be noted that the exergue abbreviation for Constantinople has been retained, but this is also true of the gold and silver money of this period which Wroth assigns to provincial mints (*B. M. C., Byz.*, II, pp. 350-1, nos. 19-22; p. 357, no. 12; etc.). CONOB is uniformly used, making it seem likely that only in the case of bronze issues was the local mint allowed to use its own letters. However, Athens, striking an isolated issue of bronze under unusual circumstances, would probably not have been accorded even this opportunity for self-identification.

came to hand, it would scarcely have issued nothing but restruck coins. A temporary provincial mint would find it much easier to adapt old flans than to prepare new ones.⁴⁰

This hypothesis of an Athenian mint is, as Professor Bellinger points out, not so improbable if one assumes that it functioned with imperial sanction. May not Athens, finding her supply of bronze currency worn and inadequate, have asked Byzantium for new issues, only to be told that there was no way of sending them. The Saracens were invading province after province in Asia Minor, their fleet was a powerful force in the eastern Mediterranean; at the same time Bulgar bands were threatening the Golden Gate of Constantinople and plundering citizens who ventured across the Hellespont. Troubled as he was by enemies without and discontent within, Philippicus was scarcely likely to have bothered about a plea for financial assistance from a remote province. One can readily imagine his remarking, "If they have no money, let them coin some," utterly heedless of the dangerous precedent inherent in such an action.

The conception of Athens as an insignificant Byzantine village in the early eighth century must be relinquished if one credits her with minting activity. There are supplementary historical indications of her importance, among which the most striking is the expedition of 727 A.D. A force of mainland and island Greeks, aroused by Leo's iconoclastic decrees, equipped a fleet and set out to attack Constantinople.⁴¹ The ships were destroyed by Greek fire, but the fact that they ever put to sea was eloquent of the strength of the country. In the eighth century there were still cities in Greece sufficiently resourceful and determined to stage an armed revolt against an infringement of their rights. What part Athens took in the rebellion is uncertain, but as one of the chief cities of Hellas she must have had a share in it.⁴² The decentralization which made such an expedition possible was an outgrowth of the anarchy of the period. In the time of Justinian I the provinces had been disarmed and robbed of their fiscal powers in an effort to render them dependent upon the central government. This was all very well under rulers like Justinian and Heraclius, but when the central

⁴⁰ If one accepts these coins as local products, then they had a double period of circulation, first in the reign of Justinian II and again, reworked and re-issued, in the time of Philippicus. Thus, as indicated above, they should be counted twice in tabulating the amount of currency struck in the early eighth century.

⁴¹ F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 109-111.

⁴² The fact that Athens is not included in the list of cities which Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Thematribus*, II, 5) mentions for the *theme* Hellas is not significant since Thebes is also omitted and that city was presumably the capital. Rather the omission implies that Athens like Thebes was too obvious for comment. In 662 she was the winter home of an emperor; a century later she supplied an empress for the Byzantine throne; in the ninth century she became an archbishopric, then a metropolis (Gregorovius, *op. cit.*, p. 156). Later still, in the eleventh century, she enjoyed special favors, levying her own taxes and exercising judicial power (M. Paparrigopoulou, *Histoire de la civilisation hellénique*, pp. 286-7).

government was too weak to defend them,⁴³ the provinces could scarcely be expected to sit back in the face of Avar and Slavonic threats and not take protective measures of their own. It is probable that a strong local administration was functioning at the beginning of the eighth century,⁴⁴ which would explain the ease with which our hypothetical financial crisis was adjusted. Had the central government refused to sanction emergency measures, it might have discovered that the Athenians were capable of coining the needed money on their own initiative.

Two more emperors rose to brief power and were overthrown before Byzantium knew any permanent peace. Artemius, the successor to Philippicus, seems to have been of imperial stature. "Is erat homo doctissimus," says Cedrenus, and the energy which he showed in reorganizing the army and repairing the city's defenses proves him an able man. Unfortunately he had made powerful enemies among the nobles, and they were only awaiting their chance. Rebellion broke out in Rhodes where the fleet had been sent to attack an Arab division. The victorious insurgents, returning to Constantinople, suddenly realized that they had no ruler to put in Anastasius' place. It shows the depth to which the imperial office had fallen that they should have selected a Thracian tax-collector whom they met by chance and urged upon him the heritage of Justinian and Heraclius. Theodosius III was clever enough to appraise the offer at its true value. History relates that he fled into the mountains to escape his glorious calling, and was only captured with difficulty and dragged to the throne. He was not the man for the times; even his sponsors soon realized that and urged him to resign in favor of his general Leo.⁴⁵

⁴³ Finlay (*Hist. of Byz. and Gr. Empires*, p. 39) says that communications between capital and provinces were interrupted during the period of anarchy. F. W. Bussell (*Roman Empire*, II, p. 122) holds the same conviction.

⁴⁴ The location of a temporary mint at Athens involves the question of *theme* organization. Most authorities believe that the division of the provinces into military districts or *themes* was a fairly early development. Constantine VII (*De Thematribus*, I, 1 [p. 12 in Bekker's edition of the *De Thematribus*, vol. III of the edition of Constantine in the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn, 1840]) speaks of the Empire as having been cut up in both East and West at the time of Heraclius. Modern historians (E. Stein, "Ein Kapitel vom persischen und vom byzantinischen Staate," *Byz.-Neugr. Jahr.*, I, 1920, pp. 70-87; and A. Vasiliev, *Hist. de l'Empire byz.*, pp. 298-9) agree that the first steps may well have been taken in the seventh century. However, they contend that the system must have evolved slowly. The original organization would have been a purely military one, revising the established boundaries and sometimes including several provinces in one *theme*. For some years at least the provincial civil administration would have continued to function while the military measures were decided by the new *strategos* or governor of the *theme*. Only in the time of Leo and his successors, it is assumed, was complete union of civil and military administrations achieved. If this were indeed the case, there is no contradiction in saying that the capital of the *theme* Hellas was Thebes, as has been commonly held, but that the currency for a part of that *theme* was coined at Athens. The *strategos* and his garrison may have been established on the Cadmea but there was still, in all probability, an organized civil administration in the old capital of Attica.

⁴⁵ From the time of Anastasius we have three coins, from that of Theodosius none, which proportions are in accord with the short reigns they commemorate.

During this sorry period of Byzantine history seven emperors had ruled in a period of twenty-one years, four of whom had been killed, and the state of anarchy threatened to become chronic. If the Empire was to survive, someone must come, and quickly, who would be capable of establishing a lasting government. Leo III was to prove equal to the task. Of obscure Syrian ⁴⁶ parentage he had started his career as a soldier under Justinian II and had gained further experience under the successors of that emperor. His defense of Constantinople against the Arabs in 717 A.D. was a brilliant military feat, but no less important were the reform measures—legal, military, and financial—which are attributed to him.⁴⁷ With his religious decrees against the worship of images and the power of the monastic orders we are not directly concerned.⁴⁸ They aroused bitter opposition at the time, and the fact that he retained the throne in spite of his unpopularity testifies to the strength of his government.

Regulation of the entire fiscal system is thought to have been undertaken by Leo. This regulation would have been in the direction of centralization, Leo's chief goal, and probably involved an organized system of tax-collecting intended to operate independently and without local control. The emperor himself may have acted as overlord of the treasury in order to be in a position to check more carefully on the functioning of the system. The purpose was to strengthen the Crown at the expense of the provinces; Athens could never have coined her own money once Leo had established his power.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Leo was not an Isaurian. His family had been transferred from Germanicia in Syria to Thrace. In that province Leo is supposed to have met the emperor Justinian and to have won his favor by a timely gift.

⁴⁷ Estimates of Leo's ability vary greatly. K. Schenk ("Kaiser Leons III Walten im Innern," *Byz. Zeit.*, V, 1896) eulogizes him as "einer der grössten Männer, die je auf dem römischen Kaiserthron gesessen haben." G. Ostrogorsky ("Über die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit der Isaurier," *Byz. Zeit.*, XXX, 1929-30) denies that he was responsible for any of the reforms usually accredited to him with the exception of the *Ecloga*, his code of laws. However, the attempt at revision of an antiquated legal system would indicate that Leo was conscious of the needs of his people. Certainly as an experienced general, he must have realized the defects of the military organization, and tried to remedy them. That he was concerned with financial matters is proved by his special levies, in the form of a Sicilian capitation tax and a wall tax for the rebuilding of the Constantinople defenses. There seems no reason to believe that Leo has been overrated. It is unfortunate that hatred of his religious measures led to the destruction of his works, so that the only historical appraisal of Leo is given by violently prejudiced chroniclers.

⁴⁸ They may have been actuated by a sincere desire on Leo's part to introduce a greater measure of rationalism into the spirit of the age. The people were incredibly superstitious, believing in dreams and prophecies of all sorts. Almost every emperor from Leontius to Leo had had his sovereignty foretold by supernatural means, and these stories are related in all seriousness by historians like Theophanes and Nicephorus.

⁴⁹ Professor Bellinger in reading the manuscript raised the question of whether one should not attribute all sixty-three coins to an Athenian mint. It is true that conditions were unsettled during the reign of Anastasius and during the first years after Leo gained control. The reforms undertaken by the Isaurian were only possible after he had defeated the Saracens. At the same time the smaller quantity of Leo coins, the number of different dies, their superior execution and possibly the regnal symbols on the reverses, make the evidence less conclusive for the later emperor. Yet local minting must certainly be considered as a possibility in trying to reach a tenable explanation of the circumstances under which our money was issued.

An essential part of the fiscal reform must have provided for an increase in the amount of currency. For many years the prevailing tension would have interfered with the orderly striking and circulation of coinage. Our Philippicus pieces may be one reflection of this monetary famine. Another is to be found in the legal codes of the period. In the *Ecloga*, compiled by Leo early in his reign and therefore based on conditions as they were prior to his reforms, the few references to definite sums of money are for small amounts. In the *Ecloga Privata Aucta* of the late eighth century the specified sums are larger and in the *Procheiros Nomos* of Basil I they are comparatively enormous.⁵⁰ This means that in 726, the probable date of the *Ecloga*, money was scarce. By the end of Leo's reign, as indicated in later law codes, the situation had been remedied as the result of a definite imperial fiscal policy, increased mineral resources,⁵¹ and the years of undisturbed prosperity which Leo's wise administration had brought to Byzantium. One would expect then to have a great quantity of currency issued by Leo. This is true of the gold pieces, which have survived in large numbers, but heretofore little silver or bronze had been found. Now the Agora group proves that a fair amount of bronze money was issued, judging by the amount which was lost in Athens.

To summarize briefly, the value of this particular collection of coins is both numismatic and historical. Preëminently they are of interest because of their uniqueness and because they add definite new types to the existing fund of Byzantine currency, types which belong to a period from which comparatively little bronze money has survived. In a more restricted sense they help to round out the numismatic history of Athens, filling as they do some part of the lacuna between the reigns of Constantine IV and John Zimisces. In addition, their historical contribution, apart from all speculation and conjecture, is definite. To take a specific example, the fiscal reform measures commonly attributed to Leo III explain in some degree the comparative abundance of his bronze money in Athens; conversely the fact that his money *is* fairly abundant strengthens the case against his opponents who deny that Leo was responsible for improving the financial structure of the Empire. In a more localized field our currency, again by its quantity, substantiates the belief that Athens in the early eighth century was still an important city. For a period whose history is so nebulous, even such scraps of evidence as these cannot be scorned.

MARGARET THOMPSON

⁵⁰ E. H. Freshfield (*A Manual of Roman Law*, XVII, 29) translates one passage of the *Ecloga* as imposing a fine of one pound of gold on a man of means whereas a poor man is to lose half his property. If rich and poor were equal before the law as Leo insisted, this would make a man who possessed two pounds of gold wealthy. In the *Revised Manual of Roman Law* (IV, 1) by the same translator gifts of seven pounds of gold are mentioned, and in the *Procheiros Nomos* (XXXIV, 11) slaves bring as much as a gold pound.

⁵¹ A. Andréadès ("De la monnaie dans l'Empire byzantin," *Byzantion*, I, 1924, pp. 83-4) says that the stock of precious metal was increased at the beginning of the eighth century due to the discovery of new mines and a more intensive working of the old ones.

PHILIPPICUS



ANASTASIUS II



LEO III



NEWELL AND BELLINGER COLLECTIONS



PLATE II. BYZANTINE BRONZE COINS

THE ACROPOLIS OF HALAE¹

Halae Acropolis has been long a-digging. The excavation, begun in 1911 by Mrs. A. Leslie Walker Kosmopoulos and myself, continued as a joint enterprise until the outbreak of the World War in 1914. Since then Mrs. Kosmopoulos has been unable to join me and I have returned alone three times. In 1921 Mr. Piet de Jong made the drawings of architectural details and the general plan, to which such parts of the circuit wall as were later excavated have been added, partly by Mr. de Jong himself, and partly by Mrs. Ann M. H. Ehrich. In 1923 about four weeks of work saw the completion of the sanctuary area and additional excavation at the North-east Gate. In the spring of 1931 a campaign of five weeks was devoted chiefly to the prehistoric area underlying the temple square but served also for study and to uncover further details of the fortification. The twenty years which elapsed between the initial campaign of 1911 and the final one of 1931 were in part years of war and upheaval in Greece, but the delay in completing the work at Halae was due as much to personal as to political and economic reasons. So great a discontinuity is never to the advantage of an excavation. Fortunately, however, the records remained to help bridge the years and the account here set down rests, with the exception of some architectural blocks which have disappeared, on evidence which may still be seen either at the site itself or in the Museum at Thebes.²

PART I—THE CIRCUIT WALL³

(PLATE III)

The acropolis of Halae is an acropolis only in the wider sense of the word: that is, it encloses within fortified walls what the little city had in the way of temples, altars, monuments and official inscriptions. In addition, the acropolis was crossed outside the limits of the sanctuary enclosure with a regular network of one-room shops, or possibly official and priestly dwellings, of rectangular plan, which had the

¹ Previous publications: A. L. Walker, H. Goldman, "Report on Excavations at Halae of Locris," *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, pp. 418 ff.; H. Goldman, "Inscriptions from the Acropolis of Halae," *loc. cit.*, pp. 438 ff.; H. Goldman, "Some Votive Offerings from the Acropolis of Halae," *Festschrift für James Loeb*, pp. 67 ff.

² A neolithic settlement underlay the Greek one. This is not included as Mrs. A. Leslie Walker Kosmopoulos has undertaken the publication. With this in view she conducted a brief excavation in 1935.

³ For a discussion of the history of the site see the preliminary report, *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, pp. 418 ff.; Oldfather in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Lokris; *A.J.A.*, XX, 1916, pp. 51 ff.

long and contiguous layout of stoas. As the best harbor in the immediate neighborhood of the capital city of Opous it may well have been used to store the proceeds of the dubious enterprises of Locrian pirate-merchants and as a hideout for their ships. From the strictly physical aspect, however, the fortified area of Halae hardly deserves the name of acropolis, for at no point does it rise more than four meters above the level of the bay and only on the west and south sides is there a really perceptible difference in elevation between the acropolis and the adjoining fields and shore line. This lack of natural defenses probably accounts for the repeated efforts made to strengthen adequately the Northeast Gate. Ships stationed in the quiet bay and the formidable reputation of the Locrian pirates probably proved the best defense towards the water, at least before the close of the Peloponnesian war. One must add, however, that the height of the acropolis in relation to the bay may originally have been greater, for the level of the water rose considerably during the great seismic disturbance of 1893 and we have no record of the effects of the catastrophic earthquakes of earlier date.

It will perhaps be simplest to start at the North Gate, for on this side the early defenses remained in use as long as Halae maintained its walls, and then continue our description of the circuit towards the west. It may be said in a preliminary way that the fortifications of the acropolis represent, in the main, two periods, with a modification of the earlier system at the Northeast Gate, introduced not long after the original walls were built. The types of wall construction used on the acropolis are characteristic not only of Halae but of a number of forts in this region. Notable among them are the well-preserved fortifications of Larymna. With the exception of a very few polygonally cut stones the earlier walls are composed of approximately rectangular blocks of light-colored hard limestone, frequently showing a slight cushion-like curve on the horizontal surface. They are of no fixed dimensions but rarely exceed 0.80-0.90 m. Though the general scheme is that of rectangular blocks laid in courses, these are not consistently maintained nor are they carefully jointed. Smaller stones are frequently used to fill out interstices. While the wall as a whole presents a fairly regular vertical face, the individual blocks are not smoothly cut (Fig. 1). It is for the most part, though not throughout, founded on a socle, protruding as a rule some 0.16 m. beyond the face. The wall, where preserved on the north side, has an average width of 3.10 m., though this is not invariably maintained. To the west, where there has been more disturbance and rebuilding than anywhere else save at the Northeast Gate, the width varies considerably. The wall fill consists of fairly flat stones closely packed with smaller stones. It contains practically no extraneous material such as potsherds, tiles, etc. The even flight of the wall is interrupted only by retreating or advancing angles and by rounded, though by no means circular, corner towers.

The gate on the north side of the acropolis is not flanked by towers, but the ground is here artificially lowered and the thickness of the wall construction increased



Fig. 1. To Right, Typical Section of System I West Wall; To Left, Mend Wall



Fig. 2. West Side of North Gate (System I)



Fig. 3. North Gate and Street, from South



Fig. 4. Angle of Repair Wall with Shoring Wall in Front of It



Fig. 5. Overlapping of Two Sections of West Wall, System I

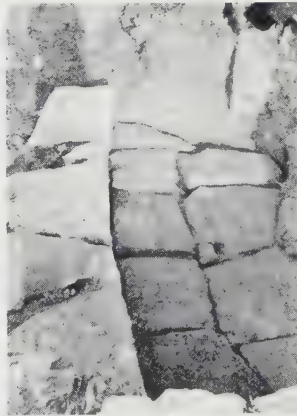


Fig. 6. Drain in North-east Entrance, System I

to 3.54 m. to the east while it measures only 2.85 m. to the west of the entrance. The east side of the gate protrudes some 0.60 m. beyond the west, but the difference is hardly sufficient to have given the defenders any strategic advantage. Such advantage as might have existed would have been minimized by the fact that the advanced bastion lay to the left or protected side of any attacking forces. The especially heavy construction extends some six meters to the west of the gate and is sunk 1.50 m. below the adjoining piece of wall; it extends 4.20 m. to the east with a greater depth of approximately 0.87 m. The sides of the gate have a slight batter, as can be seen on Fig. 3. The wall is preserved to an average height of somewhat less than one and one-half meters (1.40 m.) at this point and consists of three courses. Blocks much above the average in size were used for the corners and very carefully jointed with the neighboring stones (Fig. 2). The threshold of the gate, which has a width of 1.70 m., is composed of two flat stones cut on the under surface into the shape of an arched drain (Fig. 3) for the carrying off of water from the street. The blocks which supported the framework of the door are still in situ. At a later date, to judge by the very late tiles which were mixed with the earth in the street down to the very pavement, probably at the same time that the Northeast Gate was destroyed and the building of the bathhouse carried across the road (see p. 490), the gate was filled in, partially with blocks taken from the inner face of the west wall (Fig. 7).⁴ The gate unit is not integrally tied into the adjoining walls and so need not be contemporary. From the point of view of style, however, there is little difference in the shape and laying of the individual blocks, except for those in the immediate vicinity of the entrance, and I see no need for assuming a later date. According to Philo⁵ it was considered a source of strength rather than of weakness not to tie the tower into the flight of the wall and the same principle may underlie the structural isolation of the vulnerable region of the gate.

West of the strengthened gate region only the lowest course of the wall is preserved until we come to the northwest corner where there is a horseshoe-shaped tower with a maximum diameter of 6.20 m., preserved at a single point to the height of three courses (1.25 m.).⁶ The outer facing blocks are wedge-shaped and show a slightly convex surface. On the east side it passes into the thickness of the wall as a separate construction; to the west it merely abuts upon the outer face. The general impression of primitive construction presented by the first fortification system is heightened by the appearance of the towers which show no standard shape and no fixed method of construction in relation to the walls.

It is on the west side that the wall was most frequently in need of mending and strengthening. We know of at least two serious earthquakes which affected eastern

⁴ Compare Fig. 7 with Fig. 87.

⁵ Philo Byz., 84, 18: *τοῖς δὲ πύργοις τὰ μεταπύργια οὐ δεῖ συνάπτειν*, etc.

⁶ The measurements do not include the socle.

parts of Locris in ancient times: those of 426 B.C. and 106 A.D.⁷ At the eastern end of the acropolis the native rock rises very close to the surface (in one trench it is only 0.80 m. below the present level of accumulated earth) and offers a firm foundation for construction, while at the west the wall is bedded only on soil. This, taken together with seismic disturbances, undoubtedly accounts for the greater evidence of rebuilding on this side.

A glance at the Plan (Plate III) will show that the flight of the west circuit wall is interrupted at about the middle by a towerlike construction which juts out some 6.30 m. It is here that we encounter for the first time part of the Second System. In spite of its appearance this is not a tower forming an integral part of the defense system to the west, but a bastion, replacing an earlier one inserted into the first wall for the support of a small Doric building. The latter faced an open square containing dedicatory inscriptions and statues: the whole forming the precinct of Athena of Halae.⁸ (This will be described later in detail, pp. 430 ff.)



Fig. 7. North Gate Blocked Up; from North

Between the northwest round tower and the bastion, the construction of the wall seems to be interrupted by a new alignment (Fig. 5). Are we to think of this as a second period of construction? This hardly seems possible, as material and technique of the early walls are similar throughout. The appearance on the plan is somewhat deceptive. Of the first stretch of wall, only the lowest course is preserved, while the piece which passes in front of it still stands to a height of 2.40 m., an average of eight courses. Undoubtedly we have here one of the advancing angles which characterize the early wall, and the finished face of one section passed beyond and behind the point of the jutting angle, just as at the northwest corner of the acropolis it passed behind the tower.

Directly to the south of the bastion there is an angle of wall some 1.20 m. high and 8.80 m. long, evidently a mend put in to strengthen the original wall when the whole outer face fell forward. The face of the wall, with its dangerous outward inclination, can still be seen resting against the inner face of the mend wall. Later, stones of the Second System were placed over the collapsed section (Fig. 4). The fill of this mend wall was carefully excavated, and, as it contained tile fragments as well as bits of architectural terracottas similar to those found in the fill of Bastion II, which passes over the earlier Bastion I, one may attribute the undermining of the

⁷ Thucydides, III, 89; Eusebius, *Chronicon* (Hieronymus, 106 A.D.).

⁸ Cf. *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, pp. 438 f., for statue bases with dedications to Athena.

early wall and the destruction of the building erected on Bastion I to the same cause. The weakening of the structure of the old wall, when a piece was torn out in order to insert Bastion I, was undoubtedly one factor contributing towards its collapse at this point.

A third length of wall (length, 5.70 m.), placed some 3.00 m. to the west of the first mend, can hardly have served a similar purpose (Fig. 4). The angle of wall used to repair the early system is still in excellent condition and there would have been no need to replace it. I think it was probably used in shoring up the earth which hid the face of the mend wall, for it is evident from the uneven alignment of the stones and the reuse of blocks taken from the first bastion that, unlike the face of the original wall of System I, this one was never meant to show.

Just to the south of the repair wall (cf. Fig. 1), the old wall is preserved to a height of 3.20 m., but falls away rapidly towards the sea. There it rounds the southwest corner of the acropolis, forming a tower only to the south where it juts out beyond the face of the sea wall (Fig. 11). Here again, as at the northwest corner, a piece of the finished face of the sea wall passes behind the tower. This tower is preserved for the most part only to the height of two or three courses, which show the wedge-shaped blocks with convex faces characteristic of corner construction. The tower projects 2.40 m. beyond the south wall. Corroded by the action of the sea water and showing at times no more than the remnants of the lowest course, the line of the First System fortification can nevertheless be followed for some 28.00 m., when apparently all traces are lost along the water front and the line of its flight is continued by the wall of the Second System. For a long time it was taken for granted by the excavators that the later wall replaced a destroyed section of the earlier and followed substantially the same course. But when not a single stone of the earlier system could be found beyond this point of juncture, either along the sea or along the east side of the fortified area, it seemed more probable that the original wall had taken a different course. Walls, as well as buildings, very rarely disappear so completely as not to leave a trace behind. A short search revealed the fact that the old system had never gone farther along the sea than its present point of preservation, but had turned inwards towards the northeast (Fig. 15), crossing the acropolis diagonally and narrowing the enclosed area towards the northeast partly by means of the typical retreating angles and partly by a slight curve in the flight of the unbroken sections of the wall. The joining of Systems I and II was made as little awkward as possible by adapting for System II at this point the technique of angles characteristic of the older circuit wall. The later wall is stepped back against System I at the point indicated on the Plan (Plate III). For a short stretch of 6.50 m. the inner line of II becomes the outer wall and the outer face of I serves as the rapidly diverging inner face of what might be called a hybrid system. This is clearly shown by the fact that here alone no foundation stones for an outer line remain under water and the inner line of System II is eaten away by

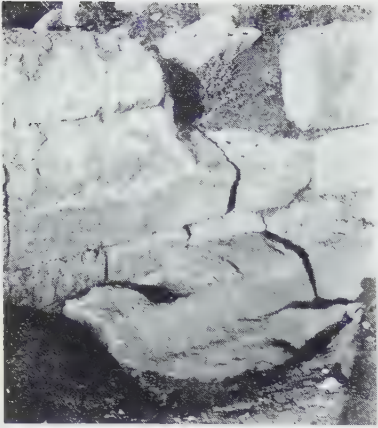


Fig. 8. Northeast Gate, System IB, North Stone

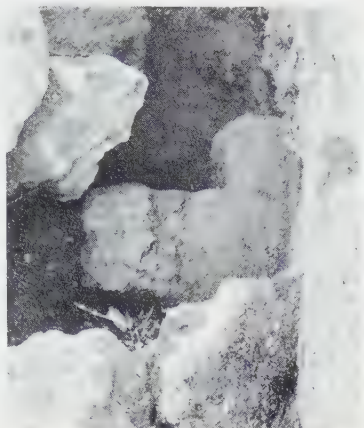


Fig. 9. Northeast Gate System IA, North Stone



Fig. 10. Southeast Wall, System II



Fig. 11. Tower 2-I



Fig. 12. Wall IA and Fill in Front



Fig. 13. Tower 1-II



Fig. 14. Road from Northeast Gate, Seen from East

the action of the sea water. This discovery of the flight of the old wall well inside the line of the later showed that the Second System was built not in order to replace a portion of the previously existing circuit wall but to enlarge the enclosed area. In this the greatest economy of effort was observed, and the old wall was retained wherever it was still capable of serving as an adequate defense. Immediately upon the construction of the later system the portion of the early wall contained within its circuit must have been partially leveled and buried, and this accounts for its good preservation. Except for a short section near the Northeast Gate, the lower courses at all times acted as a terrace support without inner face. Smaller stones were piled against it to a width of 1.80 m. The wall was not everywhere excavated to its complete depth, but only sufficiently to determine its exact course. In two retreating angles, it reaches the Northeast Gate where the thickness of the wall is increased to 3.40 m. The technical treatment is similar to that of the North Gate. The northeast flight of System I, wherever examined, was found to be preserved to a maximum height of 2.25 m. and to consist of seven courses.

At the northeast corner there was at all times the chief entrance and the only one by which wheeled vehicles could gain access to the acropolis. It is not surprising, therefore, that we should find here the most elaborate defensive measures and evidence for several periods of construction. It will be best to discuss the gateway of the older system in its remodeled, or second, phase before attempting to reconstruct the original appearance. Towards the south there was never any tower, but merely a heavy rectangular bastion which flanked the gateway. Only the foundations are still in situ, for the superstructure must have been leveled off soon after System II was built (Plate IV). A flagged drain (Fig. 6) carried off rain water. The width of the roadbed is here 2.80 m., while the space enclosed within the actual framework of the gate is only 2.00 m. The stones for the support of the gateposts are of poros. The north side of the entrance and roadway is formed by a wall now 1.20 m. high and, although seemingly more carefully laid, constructed of the same roughly rectangular blocks of hard limestone as the older system of walls (Fig. 16). Its width is 3.00 m. at the widest part and it is solidly built with a heavy fill of stones. Towards the east it now ends in a flight of steps (Fig. 17) of which five treads are still partially preserved. The stairway has been very carefully inserted and the stones of the wall arranged to rest upon it, so that wall and steps have the appearance of being contemporary, but that is not the case. The lowest course of the wall still passes under the steps and the foundation of Tower 4-II is cut back (see stone marked by arrow, Fig. 17), evidently so that the steps could be built against it. After the construction of the Second System the stairway gave access to the area behind this tower. Although the original line of the wall could not be found to the northeast of the stairway, owing to the fact that this area was entirely built over in later times, the stones to the north, connected by a dotted line on the Plan, undoubtedly mark what has been preserved of its course, for



Fig. 15. Junction of Systems I and II
in South Wall



Fig. 16. Wall IB Showing behind Well;
Later Wall to Left



Fig. 17. Stairway in Wall IB



Fig. 18. Road Bed after Clearing, Showing
Some of Late Stone Fill



Fig. 19. Sea Wall, System II



Fig. 20. Round Tower 3-II with Doorway of
Late Limekiln to Left

a great many of the characteristic limestone blocks lie about behind Tower 4-II. The stones in situ are still fairly well aligned with the north wall further west, if one allows for a certain inevitable dislocation of single blocks. It was while making some investigations behind the stairway that we discovered that the wall, which for the sake of convenience I shall call IB (see Plate IV), does not represent the first fortification in this region, but was built to mask a still earlier construction. The investigation necessitated tearing away some of the late bathhouse, which covered this area after the wall had been razed, and cutting into the preserved portions. At its western end IB abuts upon another heavy wall, IA, some 2.00 m. wide inclusive of the socle, and preserved to a height of 1.20 m. Wall IA, after bordering the road for a short distance (5.00 m.), turns and runs diagonally in a northeasterly direction for 17.60 m. to abut in turn upon what proved to be the original north wall of the acropolis. A piece of it was found to the west at the point where an arrow shows (Plate III) in the break of a later building. Beyond that it could not be traced westward. To the east, however, it was established by means of small pits dug along the lines indicated on the Plan. Here it ends at the corner in a curiously shaped tower, 3-IA, in which curved and angular construction are combined to form an approximately pear-shaped projection⁹ (maximum width 8.50 m.).

What are we to think of IA? Does it represent all that remains of an earliest system and is the rest of the fortification wall contemporary with IB? The fact that Tower 3-IA is preserved to the height of only one course makes it impossible to come to a decision on the basis of style. Rebuilding has isolated IA from the rest of the system and added to the difficulties of reconstruction. In view of the fact that nowhere else is there evidence for two systems of the early period, I believe IB to be a remodeling of the gate area for the purposes of improved defense and that IA was originally an integral part of the earlier fortification.

That the pear-shaped tower was not razed to the ground as long as the fortifications as a whole existed is proved in two ways. As already stated, the square tower of System II north of the gateway is so constructed as to leave free access, by means of a stairway, to the earlier tower, although this no longer formed the vanguard of the defense, a position now taken over by Tower 4-II. The second proof of the long-continued existence of the tower above its present height lies in the fact that the earth fill above it contained exclusively late material with a preponderance of Roman and early Byzantine tiles. In other words, it was material of the period of the bathhouse which later passed over both the roadbed, which had been filled with large stones (Fig. 18) to support the building, and over the flanking towers, razed at the time of its construction. Had the pear-shaped tower been razed and filled over earlier, the accumulation above it should have contained material corroborating the earlier date.

⁹ There is a pear-shaped tower on the citadel crowning the high hill of Opous, according to information kindly supplied by Professor Oldfather.

The space between Tower 3-IA and Wall IA, then, formed originally, before the construction of IB, a pocket in which an attacking force could be caught and assailed from rear and front.

The history of the region is most clearly written in a pavement consisting of beaten earth with a slight admixture of crushed poros, which is contemporary with Wall IA. It exactly follows the line of the socle of this wall, covers the space between it and Tower 3-IA, and, wherever investigated, passes *under* the stones of wall IB. By the same test it is found that Tower 3-IA originally returned against the north wall at the point indicated on the plan by a partially dotted line, leaving access to a narrow recess (1.50 m. \times 3.50 m.). This was later closed by extending the south wall of Tower 3-IA until it abutted on IA. At the time of the building of Wall IB, the triangular space enclosed behind it, which was no longer accessible, was filled in with very heavy stones of every description including broken tubs and seats (Fig. 12). The hard limestone construction of Wall IB runs no farther west than the stone against which the northern socket of the gate is placed (Fig. 8). The blocks which appear as a continuation of the wall on the plan are of the soft poros characteristic of the Second System and appear to be of later date, designed to mask the return of Wall IA. They stand to a height of 1.21 m. and a typical single block measures 1.27 m. by 0.61 m. The stones forming the upper course just above the gatepost socket are also of poros, while the lower stone is of limestone. The whole area, then, after the building of IB, including the tower and the walls, formed an immensely solid and strong bastion of much greater dimensions than the one on the south side of the road and jutting out some 17 m. beyond it.¹⁰ This is a very ancient form of defense. Indeed the main entrance of Mycenae is constructed on the same principle.

Wall IA deserves a little more extended notice. While only 1.70 m. wide, it was backed by a heavy fill of stones which must have added considerably to its power of resisting assault. The few sherds found among the stones were of the Neolithic period and the terrace behind Wall IA apparently never supported a building until the late Hellenistic period.¹¹ The wall is bedded on a very carefully laid socle, extending 0.20-0.30 m. beyond the vertical face, and contains much larger polygonal stones, some a full meter in height, than any used elsewhere in the early fortification. Between these, smaller stones are laid horizontally (Fig. 12). The whole appearance is more primitive than that of any other section of the early circuit,¹² but it cannot be any older than the

¹⁰ Cf. the citadel of Alea near Bougiati in Arcadia (Fraser, *Pausanias*, vol. IV, pp. 275 f.), where there is a similar relation between the citadel walls; further, Wrede, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIX, 1924, p. 199, the south bastion of Phyle.

¹¹ See p. 490.

¹² By the late fifth century B.C. this type attains a refined form. Cf. Wrede, *Attische Mauern*, pl. 27 (Sounion) and pl. 112 (Athens, Tritopatreion by the Eridanos). The mid-fifth century house wall from Eleusis (*ibid.*, pl. 111) is a more informal construction, closer to the Halae example. The latter, however, has a more primitive appearance.

adjoining wall to the north with its tower (3-IA). Before the building of IB, Wall IA must have formed the north side of the gateway, and, although the foundation stones of the original portal by which the acropolis was entered no longer exist on the south side and the building of the poros facing in front of the western return of IA effectually hides the northern side as well, the search for some indication of its original position was rewarded by the finding of a single poros block (marked X on the Plan) with a cutting for the gatepost. It was no longer horizontally bedded, but had been pushed in between Wall IA and the facing blocks (Fig. 9). This sufficiently indicates the original position of the gate. The sinking on the upper surface of a stone in Wall IA just at the point where it returns northwest is probably also connected with the framework of the door. It was not unusual to differentiate the construction of the entrance to an acropolis from the long flight of the circuit wall, and the occasional use in Wall IA of the irregularly shaped, sometimes triangular, sometimes polygonal orthostates may have been an attempt to combine strength with a somewhat more decorative pattern. Evidently the recess between this gate and Tower 3-IA proved a source of weakness rather than of strength and was soon eliminated by the building of IB. After the building of System II, the stairway leading to the tower allowed of sorties on the flank and rear of the enemy attacking the gate and on the right or more vulnerable side. The rise of the single steps varies from 0.23 m. to 0.29 m., making a total of 1.20 m. I know of no parallel for such a stairway placed between the protecting tower and the entrance, but there is no evidence that it at any time lay inside the gates. This would only be possible if the gate of System II had lain between the round and the square tower. A prolonged and careful investigation produced no evidence for so anomalous a position. It is true that walls are sometimes stepped like the famous terrace wall supporting the treasuries at Olympia, but it is quite impossible that a small portion of a wall otherwise built in quite different technique should be so constructed.

The description of the Second System of fortification, built, as we have seen, to enlarge the area of the acropolis, need not detain us long. Wherever uncovered on the side of the bay it shows long stretches of wall, unusually impressive even in their ruined state because of the careful cutting of the individual blocks and the peculiar charm of the rather crumbly golden limestone. The walls are constructed according to a method prevalent in the fourth century, although already known in the fifth. They consist of two parallel faces, divided into hollow chambers—later filled with loose rubble of the same limestone—by straps which are tied into both the front and the rear wall. At the towers, the vertical surface of the individual blocks is treated according to a fairly consistent method of rustication which is carried around all but the upper edge; in the flight of the wall, however, the blocks are chamfered frequently with a slightly concave stroke. The surface of the sea wall especially was unusually well preserved when first found, due probably to the protection of the roof

which covered the gallery; but the lowest course directly above the socle had been eaten away, before it was finally buried, by the action of the salt water so that on Fig. 19, which represents the wall as it appeared immediately upon excavation, it looks as if it had been set back from the superimposed courses. In spite of the disadvantage of so friable a building material, it was used, doubtless because of the ease with which it could be quarried in the immediate neighborhood, for a number of other Locrian and Boeotian towns. At Larymna and Anthedon to the southeast on the same coast, the walls built of similar material are still fairly well preserved.

The sea wall maintains an average width of 2.70 m. It is founded on a socle of hard limestone which extends 0.30-0.40 m. beyond the face of the wall. The chambers, while not absolutely uniform, maintain a width of 1.30-1.40 m. (inner measurement) and vary in length from 2.70 m. to 3.50 m. with an occasional even smaller chamber. For most of its length the wall is preserved to a height of 1.85 m. and four courses on the outside, while the inner wall at certain points still stands to the height of six courses. There seem to be two standard sizes for the blocks: 1.20-1.25 m. by 0.60-0.70 m., and a shorter block placed next to the header of the strap, 0.90-0.95 m. by 0.65 m. At the southeast tower (1-II, Fig. 13) there is a rise of the ground level corresponding to the height of two courses. The tower is square (6.30 m. \times 6.30 m.) and preserved on the west side to a maximum height of four courses (1.56 m.), of which only two were meant to show owing to the rise of ground (height, 0.86 m.). Somewhat longer blocks are used in this tower, measuring a maximum of 1.38 m. This tower ties in with the sea wall but not with the diagonal stretch of wall (20.70 m.) which follows and unites the southern and eastern defenses. There is, however, no reason to suppose that an upper course did not bind tower and wall to the east as well as to the west.

In looking at this wall, preserved only to the height of two courses (0.90 m.), we are immediately struck by the fact that here, as to the east, the inner line of the wall is lacking while the system of straps has been maintained (Fig. 10). The rise of ground already noted in the structure of the tower must therefore have continued and both the diagonal and the east wall have served in their lower courses as a terrace support. The straps have the same spacing, approximately, as those of the sea wall and are 1.95 m. in length with a width of 0.50 m. At the eastern end of the diagonal wall there is a second tower (2-II), although curiously not directly at the corner, which is turned by an angle block. Like the round one which flanks the south side of the Northeast Gate, this tower is strengthened on the inside by walls crossed at right angles. It is preserved only to the height of one foundation course except on the north side where one visible course is still in situ. It is somewhat smaller than Tower 1-II and does not form a perfect square (5.70 m. \times 6.20 m.). Most of the east side and some of the north are missing.

The east wall, which is preserved to a maximum height of five courses exclusive of the socle (*circa* 2.55 m.), runs for a length of 37.50 m. The straps are again 1.92-1.95 m. in length but are more widely and irregularly spaced. The upper courses of this wall showed above the ground before excavating and in consequence present a very worn appearance. Just before the round tower is reached, an angle of wall, 3.30 m. by 3.50 m., juts out, forming a kind of three-sided chamber or recess. Its purpose is obscure but it is undoubtedly an integral part of the original construction, as its walls are carefully laid on a socle identical in structure with those of the towers and tie into the outer face of the main system. It may have sheltered a guard and corresponded to the modern sentry box. The break now visible in the back wall (Fig. 20) was made in comparatively recent times as the doorway (1.07 m. wide) of a limekiln into whose furnace doubtless went much of the acropolis stone and sculpture.

The round tower (3-II), the best preserved of all those of the Second System, forms the southern defense of the gateway. At its maximum height (2.25 m.), it consists of three courses of superstructure set back on two foundation courses of which only the upper was visible. It has a diameter of 6.53 m. and, like 2-II, is strengthened on the inside by cross straps. In appearance the gateway is identical with the rest of System II, showing the typical rusticated blocks for the towers and chamfered ones for the face of the wall. This tower does not at its present level of preservation tie into the east wall, but it is structurally united with the exedra, or long curved bench, behind it.

Opposite the round tower, the gateway is defended by a square tower (4-II), an asymmetry which has parallels in other defensive systems.¹³ At present it is more or less concealed under one of the chambers of the very late Roman bathhouse which originally passed over the round tower as well and entirely covered the roadbed. By that time the ground level had risen above the surface of the road in this region. Tower 4-II is preserved only to the height of a single course above the socle and that only on the south side. The drafting visible on the socle stones, carrying no superstructure now, shows how carefully the visible courses were laid. This tower, like Tower 1-II, forms an approximate square, 6.30 m. by 6.30 m. It abuts, as has already been said, on a later stairway and represents the end of the second or auxiliary fortification wall which enclosed the enlarged area of the acropolis. We must now follow the roadway as it leads into the acropolis at this time.

The width of the road between the two towers is 3.38 m. To the left of the traveler entering the acropolis, a low exedra directly behind Tower 3-II invited repose. Here the road widens to 8.85 m. The exedra forms a long shallow arc with a chord of 9.30 m., and against the back of the rear wall there are the characteristic radiating straps. The bench itself is low (height, 0.49 m.; width, 0.50-0.60 m.). The wall

¹³ G. Fougères, *Mantinée*, p. 137, fig. 19, Gate C. Built 371 B.C., Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V, 217. Boutrinto, *Illustrated London News*, 1938, pp. 705 f.

above it was surmounted by coping stones (Fig. 32) of careless workmanship. None of these was found in situ.

Where must we place the gateway of the acropolis in System II? The gate of System IB could no longer have been in use, for that would have left the long east building outside the protection of the walls. The exedra was probably a bench before the gates to be used in times of security. Although no certain traces of the gate remain, the most probable location would be at the point where the road narrows directly to the left of the exedra to 3.00 m. This measurement is taken, not against the now-existing row of stones, of which the well forms a part, along the north face of the road, but against the face of the wall of System IB behind it. This stretch of later wall cannot be contemporary with the building of System II, although the blocks are of the same type of soft poros, for Tower 4-II would hardly have been built so carefully to make a join with the outer face of the corner of System IB at the same time that the stones of this wall were so carelessly placed in front of a portion to the west. Further evidence for this relative dating may be adduced from the structure of the walls of the well itself, in which was found a piece of late Hellenistic tile. Contemporary with System II, on the other hand, must be the facing in front of the return wall of IA. In accordance with the economy of effort characteristic of the builders of the Second System, the wall of IB continued to serve as the facing of the road to the right and poros blocks of the type of those of System II were only used to continue it in front of the old gate of IA. To judge by its condition when excavated, IA may already have been in ruinous or at least dilapidated state when System II was built. Wall IB, on the other hand, was in perfect condition when first excavated. The two types of construction meet over the northern gatepost of IB, where the lowest course is of hard limestone but the upper of poros. Another argument for making this section of the facing prior to the building of the wall which goes with the well is that this latter wall rests on the drain which bounds the street on the north, whereas the drain passed in front of the poros extension of IB. Perhaps one should mention the possibility that the poros facing blocks may be contemporary with those of limestone, but such a change of material is extremely unlikely, especially as IB up to this point is built with the strictest consistency.

As there is no internal evidence, such as objects found in the fill of the wall, for dating System I, I prefer to postpone discussion of the date until the earliest finds within the acropolis have been described. For System II on the other hand we have a small sherd of white-painted Gnathia ware from the sea wall and a terracotta figurine from Tower 3-II (Fig. 21).

Preservation: broken diagonally from elbow of right-hand figure to slightly above the feet of the left-hand one. Color: none. Clay: buff. Height, 0.08 m. Three identical female figures formed in a single mould and standing side by side. They wear polos and chiton with apotygmata; hair drawn back and radiating from the forehead. The terracotta is indistinct in detail.

While the simple costume and hieratic stiffness of the terracotta gives it a certain archaic look, the small oval heads with their early "melon" headdress are certainly of the fourth century. They may represent the *Χάριτες* or less probably Hecate.¹⁴ Gnathia ware is not in common use before the middle of the fourth century.¹⁵ I believe



Fig. 21. Terracotta Figurine from Tower 3-II

the wall to have been built some time about the middle of the fourth century B.C., and not later than the end of the third quarter.¹⁶ In technique it is close to the repairs in the wall of Conon of which Robert Scranton says: "repairs----in smooth-faced ashlar masonry with beveled edges, may be assigned to----the Macedonian period."¹⁷ While nine different pavements of the road from the Northeast Gate can be distinguished, they belong to three main periods. The one going with the First System slopes somewhat more steeply towards the east than later levels. It is slightly raised at the edges and a drain 0.30 m. wide runs along the north side. The sherds found in it are of the same period as the pottery under the poros pavement of the temple area (see p. 404). The second well-defined level goes with System II and runs over the stones of the old south wall, some of which show in the roadbed. The sherds were for the most part good black glaze of the fifth and first half of the fourth century. By the beginning of the second century the roadbed had risen about fifty centimeters.

This level corresponds to the wall going with the well which belongs to the end of the third or beginning of the second century B.C., judging by the coins most frequently found in the roadbed. They are Boeotian coins of 215-167 B.C.;¹⁸ the late Hellenistic character of the pottery points to the same period. While it seemed unnecessary to excavate the road for its whole length, sufficient work was done to ascertain that it traversed the acropolis from east to west, for a distance of somewhat over one hundred meters, and led to the *τέμενος* or sanctuary area (Fig. 14).

¹⁴ Parallels for this terracotta may be found in Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, vol. III, 1, p. 57, no. 10 from Greece; p. 64, no. 2, from Athens with a similar one noted from Halae.

¹⁵ See *infra*, p. 485, No. 12.

¹⁶ On historical grounds one might incline to connect the enlargement of the fortified area of the Halae acropolis with the rise to power of Boeotia earlier in the fourth century, but in the absence of any real knowledge of why this was done it is best to give full weight to archaeological data, however slight. After all, Locris was involved in the Sacred War and doubtless not without profit.

¹⁷ R. Scranton, "The Walls of the Piraeus," *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 301 f.

¹⁸ *B.M.C.*, Central Greece, pl. VI, 8.

A few blocks of a construction which juts out into the water can still be seen in front of Tower 2-I; and to the northwest, running along the shore, a row of foundation stones some eighteen meters long. I take these to be the remains of ship sheds. At the easternmost end are two blocks (0.80 m. \times 1.25 m.) which carried the grooved stones of the actual runway along which the ships were drawn up under the protection of the sheds. The runway of the Munychia docks in similar position measured 0.75 m. in width.¹⁹

PART II—THE FIRST TEMPLE AREA

The road from the Northeast Gate led to the temple area. The level of the first precinct, hard stamped earth mixed with a good deal of yellow clay, lay below forty to forty-five centimeters of earth topped by twenty of pounded poros. This raising took place at the end of the sixth century, a date determined by the lekythos of Fig. 47 which was the latest object found in the stratum of earth overlying the altar and its immediate vicinity. It is of a type found in Rhitzona graves dated by Ure around 500 and by a more recent student of the subject, Miss Haspels, about 490 B.C.²⁰

On entering the temple area one came first upon a well to the left of the road (Fig. 23). This served only the uses of the sanctuary itself, for all the rope marks are on the western edge of the curb. The priests and the worshippers, but not the townsmen, fetched their water here for their daily needs. As the level of the area rose, the curb was heightened at least twice, once with a moulded rim of poros and again with ill-matched blocks. From the depth of the well we drew the inscription *Ἀρχοντος Φίλωνος*,²¹ bits of architectural blocks and of sculptural terracottas, among them the wing No. 3 of our list (p. 443). At the eastern end of the precinct stood a rectangular enclosure marking, undoubtedly, the emplacement of an altar (length, 3.00 m.; width, 1.29-1.30 m.; cf. Fig. 22). The individual stones are smoothly finished on the upper surface. This rectangle was probably the foundation of the altar or possibly a step or narrow framework within which the vertical slabs forming the altar rose. The type is illustrated by vase paintings and indeed by extant monuments.²² The region of the altar and the surrounding earth was thickly overlaid with ashes and cinders intermingled with fragments of animal bones and broken pottery. To the south of it lay the inscription, Figs. 80 and 81. A few worked stones fixed in the earth or scattered throughout the area were all that remained in situ of bases for dedications. The most interesting of these is the one shown in Figures 24 and 27.

¹⁹ Cf. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 434; also G. M. Sears, "Oeniadae," *A.J.A.*, VIII, 1904, pp. 227-237.

²⁰ See p. 412, note 59.

²¹ *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, p. 446.

²² Pfuhl, *Mal. und Zeich.*, pls. 114, 139, for example. Further, see Addenda, No. 1.



Fig. 22. Framework of Altar; Base at Left



Fig. 23. Well, Seen from West



Fig. 24. Temple Area, First Level, from West



Fig. 25. Column Drums with Fourteen Facets (No. 2)



Fig. 26. Herm (?) from First Temple

Four thin slabs of stone were set on edge to form a frame into which was leaded a stone (now broken off at the top), slightly irregular in shape and curved at one end. To the northeast lay two adjoining stones of unequal size and to the northwest a row of stones with an angle block at their western end (Fig. 27, detail of General Plan). The earth between the leaded base and this wall was thick with clay and impregnated with colors: blue, green, and red, outlined in black, were recognizable; the stones themselves showed a band of red paint. As the air struck the colors, they vanished and no design or pattern could be recognized. These colors must have come from the crude brick wall which originally rested on the stone foundations. In that case the walls were roofed over, for paintings on crude brick could not have stood in the open. We have, therefore, in the base and its adjacent walls what remains of the first temple of Halae, enclosing the original cult statue.²³ The structure of the base, while rare, is not unique. Weikert²⁴ believes that the foundation of upright slabs in the southwest corner of the earliest temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta was the base of a statue. A base uncovered at Samos is similar in some respects to ours and is dated in the period of Rhoikos.²⁵ The statue in this case, however, rested on paving blocks within the framework of the slabs and not directly on the earth. Next to the Halae base and stained by the same colors as had mingled with the surrounding earth, lay the curious stone of Figure 26. This cannot be interpreted as a building block. While not a conventional herm—for it lacks the projecting side pieces and the phallic symbol—it is nevertheless a hermlike stone which may have been crowned by a head now lost. It is broken at both ends and has a slight projection on the upper surface to the right (preserved height, 0.865 m.; width at bottom, 0.315 m.; thickness, 0.20-0.21 m.).²⁶ It is tempting to place the stone on the adjacent base, not only because of the position in which it was found, but also because the profile of the leaded piece with rounded front corners is that of the shaft of the monument. The measurements, however, of the broken piece and the fragment still in situ do not correspond and are so divergent at the sides that one would have to postulate a base either stepped or swelling towards the bottom. For this we have the authority of vase paintings.²⁷ Athena Ἐργάνη in the form of a herm figured among the Ἐργάται of Megalopolis,²⁸

²³ It is true that it does not lie precisely in the axis of the building but in so early a building this is not important.

²⁴ Weikert, *Typen der archaischen Architektur*, p. 12.

²⁵ Buschor, *Heraion von Samos*, fig. 34, p. 70. It is very much larger than the Halae base (2.40 by 2.32 m.).

²⁶ The form of the herm does not seem to have been fixed much before the end of the sixth century. A herm dated in the lifetime of Hipparchus (Kirchner and Dow, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937, p. 2) measured 0.28 m. × 0.17 m.; other atypical herms are referred to in this article.

²⁷ Daremberg and Saglio, *s. v.*, *Hermae*, fig. 3811.

²⁸ Pausanias, VIII, 32-4. For an example of a female herm, cf. K. Schefold, *Jahrbuch*, LII, 1937, pp. 55 ff.

and our shrine would of course have had to enclose the image of the patron goddess²⁹ who is mentioned in an early sixth-century inscription with the epithet [Πολ|ῖδ|ος].

At the Argive Heraion Waldstein believed he had found "in the lower fragments of a large limestone 'pillar' — — — the very κίων which Pausanias saw and which symbolizes the first image of Hera on this ancient site."³⁰ The "Pappades" found in Boeotia certainly suggest a female goddess worshiped throughout the sixth century under a primitive form in which an unarticulated body was crowned with a naturalistic head.³¹ If we were right in our study of Halae inscriptions in supposing that some sort of robe was woven for the local Athena,³² it would strengthen the argument in favor of a cult statue of the pillarlike form usually associated with such garments.

I shall now list all the architectural blocks found either below the poros pavement (see p. 397) or imbedded in it.

ARCHITECTURAL BLOCKS BURIED IN THE EARTH

1. Capital of Doric column with fourteen facets (Figs. 30, 33). Three examples; two complete and one about half preserved. Two parallel grooves on lower surface of echinus. Work not careful. Red applied directly to surface of stone. The three examples vary slightly in measurements: height, 0.21 m.-0.25 m.; length of abacus, 0.49 m.-0.50 m.; height of abacus, 0.13 m.-0.145 m.; diameter of echinus, 0.485 m.-0.50 m.; height of echinus, 0.06 m.-0.07 m.; upper diameter of shaft, 0.325 m.-0.33 m.; width of dowel hole on base, 0.05 m.; depth of dowel hole, 0.10 m.-0.115 m.; average width of facets, 0.075 m.

2. Column drum with fourteen facets (Fig. 25). Three incomplete and one doubtful example; monolithic. Traces of red. (a) Upper surface smoothly cut off. Lower surface broken. Preserved height, 1.10 m.; upper diameter, 0.375 m.-0.38 m.; approximate lower diameter, 0.42 m.; width of facets, 0.09 m. (b) Piece on which capital rested; most of contact surfaces missing. Preserved height, 0.885 m.; diameter, about middle, 0.35 m.; width of dowel hole, 0.05 m.; depth of dowel hole, 0.105 m. (c) Broken along side near top. Height, 1.12 m.; lower diameter, 0.43 m.; width of upper facets, 0.09 m.; width of lower facets, 0.10 m. (d) Broken all round, but traces of facets suggest this system. Height, 1.14 m.



Fig. 33. Capital of Doric Column with Fourteen Facets (No. 1)

²⁹ The inscribed statue bases of Halae are our authority. *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, pp. 438 ff.

³⁰ *The Argive Heraeum*, I, pp. 42, 139.

³¹ Cf. Grace, *Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia*, p. 27, who quotes M. Guillon, *B.C.H.*, LX, 1936, p. 426, as saying that certain examples from Ptoös represent a mother goddess who held the hill before the advent of Apollo and Athena Pronaia.

³² *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, p. 448. "In the πεταμνφάντεραι — — — we have evidently women acting in an official capacity — — —. May there not have been a garment woven for the Athena of Halae such as the women of Athens made for their goddess and those of Elis for Hera at Olympia?" The word is incorporated in the new edition of Liddell and Scott with the translation "weaver of hangings."

ARCHITECTURAL BLOCKS EMBEDDED IN THE POROS PAVEMENT

3. Architrave (Fig. 29). Four fragmentary examples. (a) Broken at back, both sides and bottom. Taenia red; regula black; guttae and vertical face white stucco. Preserved length, 0.21 m.; height of taenia, 0.055 m.; height of regula, 0.051 m.; height of gutta, 0.023 m.-0.024 m.; diameter of gutta, 0.025 m.-0.026 m.; from center to center of guttae, 0.07 m.; distance between bases of guttae, 0.043 m. On top, a drafting 0.02 m. from front edge. No other dimensions preserved. (b-d) Two other fragments are very small but show the same dimensions, and a third, with only the height of taenia and some of drafting on top preserved, has a U rope-cutting on its side.

4. Triglyph (Fig. 28). One fragment. Right side of one glyph with taenia. Very careful, fine work, with beautiful undercutting. Triglyph face black; taenia red (?). Height of taenia, 0.067 m.; preserved thickness, 0.057 m.; preserved width, 0.10 m.; return of face of triglyph, 0.057 m. Incised line on top 0.075 m. from side face of block.

5. Geison (Fig. 31). Seven fair-sized pieces and a number of small fragments, including both raking and horizontal members; all incomplete. Three examples cut off smoothly at the back and no one exceeded in thickness the measurements given below. Geison not always made in one piece; one fragment, for example, represents only the red fascia. As most of the pieces were buried in the poros pavement, the colors of the moulding are well preserved. Typical Doric leaf pattern in red and blue with black dart. Spacing of leaves 0.068 m. Mutule blue. Fascia above red. No traces of stucco on any surface. Horizontal geison; broken at both sides; complete height, 0.253 m.; width, 0.082 m.-0.073 m.; greatest preserved length, 0.21 m. Raking geison—see Fig. 31: 1-2 = 0.077 m.; 1-12 = 0.253 m.; 3-5 = 0.057 m.; 4-5 = 0.004 m.; 5-8 = 0.125 m.; 6-8a = 0.082 m.; 7-8a = 0.033 m.; 7-10 = 0.053 m.; 9-11 = 0.062 m.; 10-11 = 0.004 m.; 10-13 = 0.048 m.; 12-13 = 0.071 m. Although unusually narrow the present width of the geison blocks is original. They must have been clamped against a backing block at either end.

In addition to these architectural fragments which could be salvaged there were smaller bits throughout the pavement and a great deal of color.

If we attempt to restore the dimensions of the cella of the early shrine we get a structure 5.35 m. long (outside measurement, the projecting doorsill not included). Assuming that the center of the doorsill marks the east-west axis, the width is 3.50 m., but this leaves the statue base off to one side. Placing the base centrally, the width is 4.80 m. or, assuming a second doorstone with the axis running between the two, the width may be increased to 5.20 m. In no case is the statue base in exact correspondence with the axis. The early Athena temple at Sounion,³³ which, with its statue base and the orientation of the building in relation to the altar, is very close to the Halae shrine, measures 6.80 m. long and 5.01 m. wide.

The column capital with its echinus shaped like a hassock, its almost vertical sides returning abruptly to a horizontal base, is quite different from the wide shallow curve of most archaic capitals. The awkward profile marks it as a provincial work which finds its closest parallel in the one from Aegina recently published by Dr.

³³ Stais, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1917, p. 178; cf. also the *ναῖσκος* of Phyle, 4.50 m. \times 3.90 m., Wrede, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLIX, 1924, pp. 162 ff. The temple of Hera Limenia at Perachora (*Perachora*, I, p. 85) also encloses a base interpreted by the author as an altar or hearth.

Welter.³⁴ Welter dates his example, purely on stylistic grounds, at the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century. Our capital may well be somewhat later, for it has a technical feature—the deep, well-cut dowel hole—rare in the seventh century or even at the turn of the century.³⁵ Earlier dowel holes, if they exist at all, are usually shallow. Our capital also resembles, though not so closely, that of the Apollo temple of Syracuse, of 590 B.C.³⁶ We must now consider whether the very archaic and provincial columns belong to the same building as the well-cut and stylistically correct and conventional entablature and geison. Stratigraphically they were separated: the columns and their capitals buried and preserved either complete or in large fragments in the earth, the upper members buried in small fragments in the poros of the surfacing. If we associate all with the same shrine we must then postulate two periods. In the earlier period the columns with fourteen facets supported a wooden superstructure. Sometime in the second half of the sixth century a stone entablature and cornice were added. The geison can hardly be as early as the column capitals, which I place in the first quarter of the century.³⁷ A reconstruction can be made using all the preserved blocks, as the following calculations will show, and such a remodeling of the temple in the course of about a hundred years is not in itself improbable.

The diameter of a gutta of the architrave is 0.025 m. and the distance from center to center of the guttae is 0.07 m. Assuming a normal regula of six guttae, we get $5 \times .07 + .025 +$ a slight projection of the regula beyond the guttae $= .375$ m. + (probably 0.39-0.40 m.) $=$ the width of the triglyph. The fragment from the right edge of a triglyph (No. 4) does not preserve the full width of a glyph, but its 0.10 m. represent approximately (for the break is slightly diagonal) the minimum width of a glyph and half a groove. Since there are three glyphs and three full grooves to a triglyph, we get $\pm .30 + 1\frac{1}{2}$ grooves or, assuming a glyph and a groove to be about equal, $\pm .30 + .10 = \pm 0.40$ m. for the width of the triglyph. Rough though the computations are, they indicate a triglyph unit of around .40 m.

Assuming two triglyphs and two metopes between axes and reducing a metope to the width of a triglyph, the minimum interaxis is 1.60 m. This gives an intercolumniation of over two lower diameters, most unlikely for this period (the maximum column diameter preserved is 0.43 m. and must be near the bottom as the abacus is 0.50 m. wide). If we reconstruct one triglyph and one broad metope between axes—a likely solution for such a small building—the interaxis will be a meter or more. The interaxis, computed by lower column diameters, agrees closely; taking an inter-

³⁴ Welter, "Aeginetica, I-XII," *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, pp. 15 ff.

³⁵ Weikert, *op. cit.*, p. 78, speaks of dowel holes as rare in the seventh century. Welter does not mention a dowel hole in the description of the Aegina capital nor is any shown on the drawing.

³⁶ Anderson, Spiers, Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, Chronological List; also p. 78.

³⁷ I have based my study of the geison on Miss Lucy Shoe's *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*. The date there given (p. 106) to our moulding is the third quarter of the sixth century. The evidence from the site itself has led me to date it somewhat later.

columniation of one and one-half diameters as probable for the period, we get $2\frac{1}{2} \times 0.43 \text{ m.} = 1.075 \text{ m.}$ minimum to $2\frac{1}{2} \times 0.50 \text{ m.} = 1.25 \text{ m.}$ maximum interaxis.

A tristyle in antis plan,³⁸ accounting for only the three capitals preserved, is mathematically possible, but a porch of four columns seems more probable. The minimal 3.50 m. width for the building is too narrow and may be eliminated. We should, in all likelihood, imagine the small building, almost square, with four columns along the front. If we include the entablature, four triglyphs were placed above them. My own opinion is that, although it is possible to do this, as has been demonstrated, it is highly improbable. One argument against it is the fact already noted that the columns are in the earth covering the earlier temple level, the entablature, broken into small pieces, in the pavement. Such a division is explicable only if pavement and entablature are of later date. To this must be added an argument derived from the condition of the building on Bastion I which we shall take up after describing the objects found in the earth above the early altar and shrine (see pp. 453 ff.).

Of the sculptural terracottas only the fragments of hair (Nos. 16, 17, p. 448) must belong to the earlier level, though not necessarily contemporary with the erection of the building; the manner in which the ear is placed at right angles to the head and the treatment of the hair itself are early.³⁹

OBJECTS FOUND BELOW THE UNBROKEN PAVEMENT

POTTERY

1. Fig. 34, 1-2. Five pieces (two illustrated) of a large jar with horizontal handles of circular cross section and flat, horizontal rim; ornament of a debased geometrical design consisting of groups of poorly drawn parallel lines running in divergent directions confined to a reserved band just below the neck; the rest of the base is covered with bands of glaze of varying thickness, or perhaps solidly covered with glaze. Clay pale with a reddish tinge; poor thin black glaze sometimes turning to brown with metallic luster. Width of combined pieces, 0.203 m.; height, 0.081 m. See Addenda, No. 4.
2. Fig. 34, 6. Two joining fragments with pattern of horizontal wavy line and bands of thin brown to black glaze. Height, 0.131 m.; width, 0.142 m.⁴⁰
3. Fig. 34, 7. Joining fragments of similar vase. Preserved vertical height, 0.098 m.
4. Fig. 34, 4. Three joining fragments. Similar shape, but with arched horizontal handle; design of vertical debased leaf pattern. Height, 0.421 m.; width, including handle, 0.182 m.
5. Fig. 34, 5. Fragment with spiral design. Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.139 m.⁴¹
6. Fig. 34, 9 (on side). Fragment with horizontal rising handle; wreath encircling reserved band. Clay buff-red with redder slip; thin glaze. Width, 0.09 m.; height, 0.073 m.

³⁸ While more than two columns in antis is not usual, Weickert (*op. cit.*, p. 78) lists three for the sixth-century Bouleuterion at Olympia and four in antis for the early Apollo temple at Delos.

³⁹ For the angle of the ear, cf. the Sphinx from Thebes, Pottier, *Monuments Piot*, 1899, pl. XII, dated by Payne about 550 B.C. (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 240).

⁴⁰ Cf. *Clara Rhodos*, III, pls. III, CLXV, and p. 167, fig. 159.

⁴¹ Brant, *Description of Ancient Pottery*, Leyden, pl. XIV, p. 89. "Local Early Greek or Ionic?"



Fig. 34. 1-7, 9. Fragments of Pottery (Nos. 1-6) from First Temple Area.
8, 10, 11. Fragments of Unstratified Pottery (Nos. 22, 24, 25)

With considerable local variations, but evidently forming a related stylistic group, these vases with debased geometric and floral patterns are found at Naukratis, in the islands off Asia Minor, such as Rhodes and Samos, near Greece at Delos⁴² and Eretria⁴³ in Euboea. A large number from Olynthus similar in design, but not in shape, to the Halae fragments have been published under the name of Pre-Persian pottery.⁴⁴ Mr. Mylonas in his publication of the Olynthus material rightly points out the Mycenaean elements, which indeed in his no. 69⁴⁵ with its naturalistic band of ivy as well as its use of spiral motifs is quite striking. But such fragments as our Fig. 34, 5, 6, too, are close in pattern to the less elaborate of the late Mycenaean "Granary" style.⁴⁶

7. Fig. 35. Preservation: pieces of body and foot missing. Clay: orange yellow. Broad band of black to red glaze around the body starting just below the handles, now largely flaked off; traces of thin, red glaze on foot. Height, 0.228 m.; height of foot, 0.046 m.; diameter, 0.298 m. The shape is that of a *deinos* or *lebes* on a high, flaring foot, with slightly raised edge, spouted, and with the characteristic flat rim. The handles are of circular cross section, horizontally placed, but rising. Except that it was found in the immediate vicinity of the early altar and among the charred material, there was no closer clue to the date than the archaic appearance of the vessel, but Mr. Ure informs me that a similar vessel occurred at Rhitsona and was used as the lid of a pithos burial which he dates about 570 B.C. The vessel was probably in use for some time before the interment. It would then be safe to place the type somewhere in the first quarter of the sixth century.

8. Fig. 36. Preservation: all of lower part and small pieces of the rim missing. Clay: thin, fine, buff. Thin black glaze on the inside of the bowl, on the outside of the handles, and running down the side to a point from either handle attachment. Height, *ca.* 0.132 m.; diameter, 0.202 m. A skyphos of fine Corinthian-looking clay with two flat, horizontal ribbon handles at level of rim. Restoration of bottom not certain. It may have had a ring foot like the skyphos from Rhitsona Grave 133.5.⁴⁷

9. Fig. 37. Preservation: missing pieces of body and rim. Covered inside and out with red to black, thin metallic glaze except for reserved band at level of handles and lower surface of handles. Kylix with small, offset, concave base; horizontal loop handles of circular cross section attached at greatest diameter and straight rim with lip.

10. Fig. 38. Preservation: parts of body, small pieces of rim and one handle missing. Clay: buff with reddish tinge. Covered on the inside with same type of glaze as above; on outside thin band around rim and second somewhat wider band around body below handles. Height, 0.056 m.; diameter, 0.087 m. Skyphos with two horizontal loop handles, of circular cross section, rising slightly; a small lip, flat on top, and small ring base. In addition to the example illustrated there were a great many fragments of similar pots. It is a common Boeotian type of the sixth century.

⁴² Cf. *Délos*, vol. 15, *passim*.

⁴³ *Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1903, p. 26, fig. 15.

⁴⁴ *Olynthus*, V, pp. 23 f.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pls. 37 and 38.

⁴⁶ Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, pls. XI-XII; *B.S.A.*, XXXV, pl. X e.

⁴⁷ Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, pl. VII, p. 21, Class I. The resemblance is in shape only. Our example is larger than the typical Rhitsona skyphos of this class.

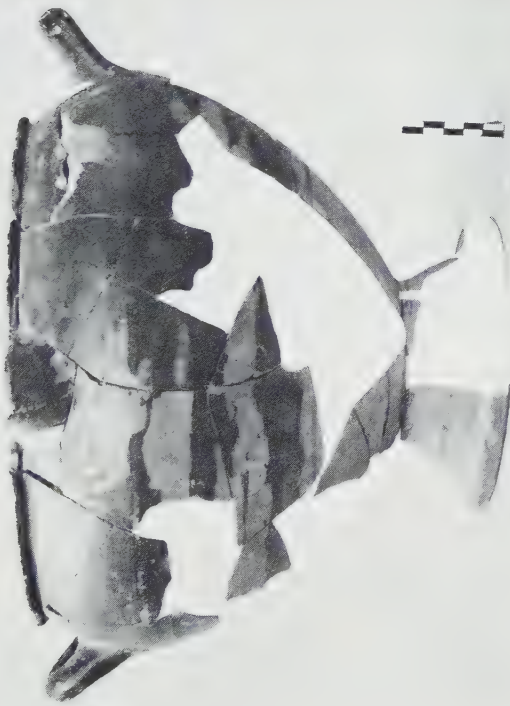


Fig. 35. Lebes (No. 7)



Fig. 36. Skyphos (No. 8). From a Water Color by P. de Jong

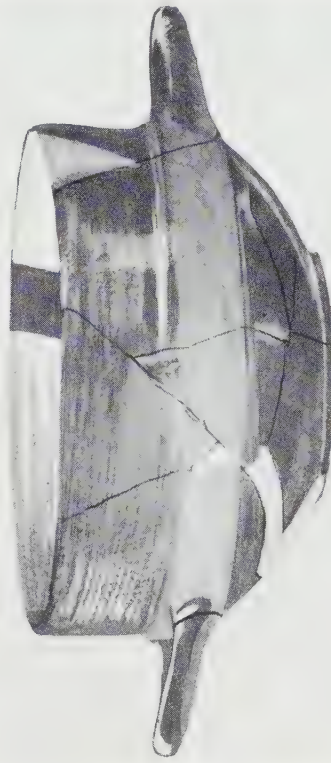


Fig. 37. Kylix (No. 9). From a Water Color by P. de Jong

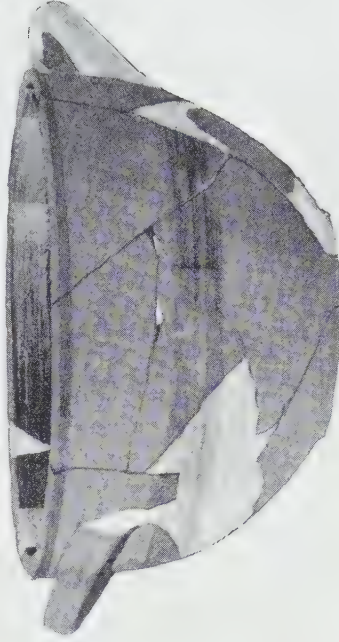


Fig. 38. Skyphos (No. 10). From a Water Color by P. de Jong

Pottery from First Temple Area

11. Fig. 39. Preservation: two fragments of rim and upper body. Clay: coarse, reddish with black particles, black at core, covered with buff-yellow slip. Height uncertain, but length of slope of bowl 0.098 m.

A large basin or shallow bowl with short upright rim and probably raised foot; no distinct lip but edge of rim somewhat thickened into a ridge; a second ridge, though not pronounced, at base of rim. On the vertical surface, a pattern of stamped pendent single lotuses and double lotuses; originally probably four plastic heads of which only one is preserved. To judge by our two fragments of rim there was no symmetrical arrangement of single and double lotus. The head, cut off at the top even with the rim, has a somewhat aquiline nose, a thin-lipped, slightly crescent mouth, long pointed chin and large eyes. The outline of the eye is a plastic ridge and the ball a round blob; the eyebrows continue the line of the nose.

The shape is unusual for Greece, though not rare in bucchero, and I can give no parallel from Corinthian vases.⁴⁸ The head is nearest that of the bronze oinochoe⁴⁹ with which it has the long chin in common; the aquiline nose, however, is quite un-Corinthian. The nearest parallel is a Janus-headed aryballos from Rhodes.⁵⁰ The lotus is of course a Corinthian motif and the double lotus is said to be a Corinthian invention.⁵¹ While plastic heads are common from Protocorinthian times on, I know no parallel for the position of our head. I judge the basin to be of Boeotian manufacture and to show both East Greek and Corinthian influence. Neither the clay nor the details of the work find exact parallel in Corinthian pottery or bronze work as far as this is known to me. But the use of the applied head is in itself a Corinthian feature and points to influence from that quarter. The bronze oinochoe which shows a certain stylistic relation to the vase under discussion is dated by Payne in the first quarter of the sixth century.

12. Fig. 44. Preservation: many pieces missing, but dimensions and shape certain. Clay: buff with reddish tinge. Height, 0.15 m.; diameter, 0.216 m. Deep spouted bowl with flat base and flat slightly rising everted rim.

13. Fig. 45. Preservation: pieces of rim and body missing. Clay: buff. Height, 0.105 m.; diameter, 0.17 m. Deep bowl in shape like above but without spout and sides of body more curving.

14. Fig. 48. Preservation: small pieces of rim and wall missing. Clay: buff with pink tone. Height, 0.08 m.; diameter, 0.22 m. Shallow bowl or stemless kylix, in shape resembling but not identical with a common Boeotian type; one flat, horizontal handle with knobs at either side projecting from edge of rim and a flat swallow-tail tab between knobs opposite.⁵²

15. Fig. 46. Preservation: handle and much of body and rim missing. Clay: dark red, badly levigated with many impurities. Height, 0.085 m.; diameter, 0.09 m. Small, round-bottomed pitcher with curving sides and slightly flaring rim; vertical ribbon handle from rim to greatest diameter.

16. Not illustrated. Preservation: Large part of body, rim and handle missing. Clay: dark grey to black with many impurities. Height, 0.088 m.; diameter, 0.09 m. Same as above. There is another pitcher, similar but larger and with a proportionately smaller mouth; handle, much of body and rim missing.

⁴⁸ It seems to me that it may well be derived from the table of offerings and have been introduced by the Phoenicians. Cf. *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 39, Oct., 1930, p. 7. Also Lamb, *J.H.S.*, LII, 1932, pl. I, 4 a, 4 b, for a bucchero example; Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, pl. VI, for Rhodian.

⁴⁹ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pls. 45, 1, and 48, 10.

⁵⁰ Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, p. 99, fig. 103. This example, however, seems more developed. Cf. Jenkins, *Dedolica*, pl. IV, 3.

⁵¹ Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 145. "This [double lotus] is an invention of the early Corinthian period which is not found on Protocorinthian or Transitional vases."

⁵² Ure, *op. cit.*, pl. V, 112.6 with only two knobs widely spaced on either side of tab.



Fig. 39. Basin (No. 11)



Fig. 40. Fragment of Krater
(No. 24)

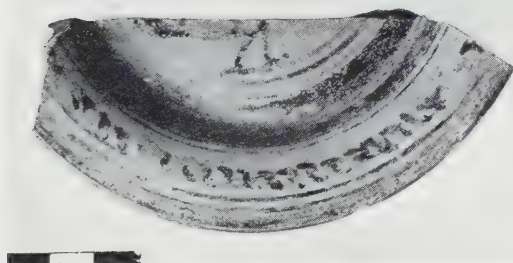


Fig. 41. Corinthian Plate (No. 22)



Fig. 42. Corinthian Kotyle
(No. 21)



Fig. 43. Fragments of Corinthian Kotyle (No. 19)

Pottery from First Temple Area

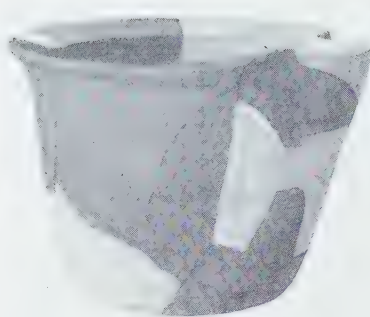


Fig. 44. Spouted Bowl (No. 12).
From a Water Color
By P. de Jong

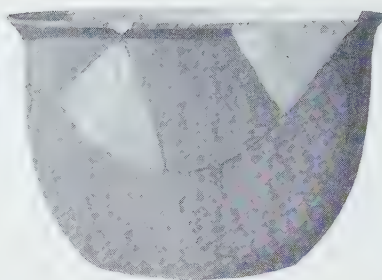


Fig. 45. Bowl (No. 13).
From a Water Color
By P. de Jong



Fig. 46. Pitcher (No. 15)



Fig. 47. B-F. Leky-
thos (No. 26)

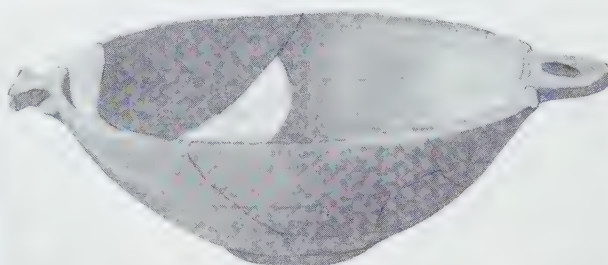


Fig. 48. Bowl (No. 14). From a Water Color
By P. de Jong

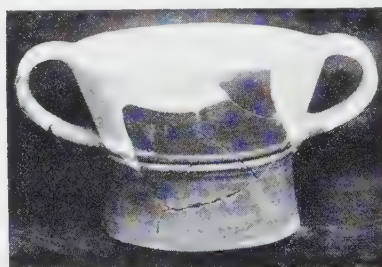


Fig. 50. Glazed Tankard
(No. 29)



Fig. 49. B-F. Leky-
thos (No. 25)

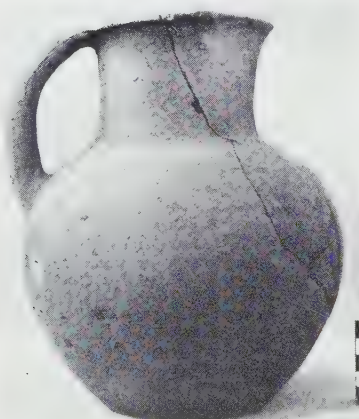


Fig. 51. Jug (No. 17)

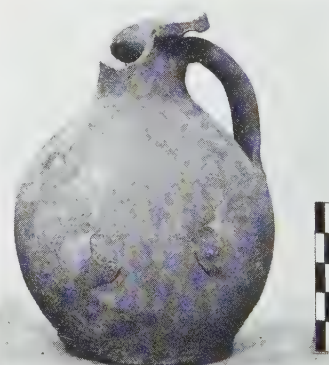


Fig. 52. Hydria (No. 18)

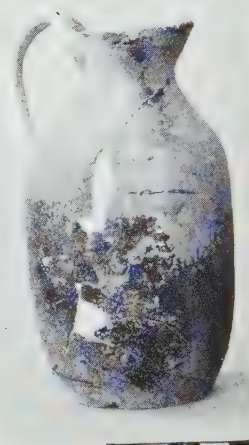


Fig. 53. Glazed Jug
(No. 27)

Pottery from First Temple Area

17. Fig. 51. Preservation: mended in five pieces, two or three small lacunae, otherwise complete. Clay: coarse yellow-pink, slipped with finer yellow clay. Height, 0.223 m.; diameter, 0.195 m. Trefoil-mouthed jug with vertical handle of circular cross section, starting from level of rim; flat base and simple curved body; neck upright and offset from body; small flaring rim.

18. Fig. 52. Preservation: horizontal handles and part of neck and rim missing. Clay: pink. Height, 0.12 m.; diameter, 0.088 m. Crudely made hydria; bottom rough and fragments of superfluous clay adhering to body. Base raised but solid; body almost globular with narrow upright neck; flat rim with pronounced lip; horizontal handles rudimentary and placed low on body. Type found frequently at Halae in burials of the second half of the sixth century and early fifth.

Only a few fragments of pottery of the Corinthian style were found in the Temple Area, though the cemetery produced a fairly large amount, chiefly kotylai and quatrefoil and cinquefoil aryballoi. Figs. 41-43 show the larger fragments.

19. Fig. 43. Parts of the same kotyle with an arrangement of pattern similar to that of group A of the Middle Corinthian period (600-575 B.C.): "Large vases with roughly drawn friezes of much elongated panthers and goats or of swans. Vertical wavy lines at the rim, fairly large rays at the base."⁵³

20. Not illustrated. Preservation: complete. Height, 0.027 m.; diameter, 0.029 m. Miniature kotyle with horizontal bands of black and red and careless zigzag pattern around the rim; inside black glaze shading to dark red. It belongs to the Late Corinthian II group of miniature kotylai without rays at the base which become common after the middle of the sixth century.

21. Fig. 42. Preservation: incomplete, about quarter missing and top broken. Height, 0.04 m.; diameter, 0.056 m. Kotyle. Pattern as above; bands red; rim pattern brownish-black.⁵⁴

22. Fig. 41. Preservation: slightly less than half. Diameter, 0.13 m.; height, 0.108 m. Clay: light yellow buff; small plate on low ring base decorated with the usual red and black glaze; on upper surface of rim band a pattern; in center bird (?). The miniature size seems to point to a late phase of Corinthian, Late Corinthian II, but the single-animal motif originates in Middle Corinthian.⁵⁵

23. Not illustrated. Two fragments. (a) Preservation: bottom only. Height, 0.017 m. (b) Lower part of main field of decoration. Height, 0.053 m.; diameter, 0.066 m. Aryballos with base ornamented with concentric circles; on body, heraldic birds facing palmette (?). Late Corinthian I (575-550).⁵⁶

24. Fig. 40. Preservation: piece of rim and upper body. Clay: light brown. Covered inside and out with a thin red glaze, not very lustrous and much worn in spots. Preserved width, 0.208 m. Part of a flat-rimmed krater. Three rills under rim. A plastic snake on body. The spots on snake carelessly indicated by incised circles and blobs of brown paint which do not always coincide. There is a well-preserved column-krater in the Thebes Museum which is similar to ours. I have myself had occasion to study it in the museum and Payne⁵⁷ notes it in his chapter on Distribution of Corinthian Pottery as "a column-crater of local make from Alalkomenai," citing too the Halae fragment.

⁵³ Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 308; cf. pl. 28.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 334. Cf. Campbell, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 591; Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, pl. 24, etc.

⁵⁵ Payne, *op. cit.*, pp. 336 and 312.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 203; cf. p. 301.

25. Fig. 49. Preservation: complete. Clay: red, Attic. Height, 0.097 m.; diameter, 0.045 m. Lekythos with raised foot; ray pattern on shoulder; on body, careless Dionysiac scene with touches of white.⁵⁸

26. Fig. 47. Preservation: complete. Clay: red, Attic. Height, 0.118 m.; diameter, 0.041 m. Lekythos without foot, but flat base; somewhat more elongated type than preceding; rays on shoulder; on body, careless palmette pattern with incised detail.⁵⁹

27. Fig. 53. Preservation: handle and parts of body missing. Clay: buff, covered with a thin black glaze which is worn off in part; surface looks eaten away. Height, 0.13 m.; diameter, 0.071 m. Jug with flat base and rather straight sides which curve in very little at the bottom; body merges into neck, no defined spout but rim rises slightly in front. Vertical handle.⁶⁰

28. Not illustrated. Preservation: handle, large part of neck and rim, and parts of body and base missing. Clay: buff-pink. Glaze thin, streaked brown-black. Solid glaze for about two thirds of body followed by thicker and then thinner band; unglazed from base of handle up. Height, 0.175 m.; diameter, 0.083 m. Type similar to above but with more slender neck.

29. Fig. 50. Preservation: missing large part of upper body and handles. Clay: yellow. Covered with thin black to red glaze. Height, 0.087 m.; diameter, 0.116 m. A two-handled cup of tankard shape with flat base; constricted just below the handles with two moulded rings encircling the narrowest point of body; vertical ribbon handles from rim to grooves. This cup resembles in general Rhitsona Black Glaze Tankards of Class A.⁶¹ This would date it around 550 B.C. But none of the Rhitsona examples has the pronounced concavity of profile of our vase. The shape is closer to Naukratite cups,⁶² except that they have a band of paint in place of the plastic band.

SCULPTURE

1. Fig. 54. Material: poros. Preservation: complete, but gashes at edge of chair and on front of body. Height, 0.21 m.; top of head to chin, 0.04 m. Very crude and completely styleless figure of a woman, probably a goddess, in frontal position seated on a high-backed chair; the feet rest on a footstool; veil (?) over head and falling to shoulders. Two seated female figures, of workmanship almost as crude as ours, were unearthed at Kyme in Asia Minor and interpreted as Cybele by the excavator.⁶³ It cannot be classified as an unfinished statue as there is no material left from which to carve the arms. The feet are excessively small; the features, such as mouth and eyes, indicated by mere gouges; the nose a vague protuberance; the body is kept in rectangular masses. I refrain from attempting to date a work so crude and obviously the product of an unskilled local hand, but the context restricts it to the sixth century and it is reasonable to believe that it belongs to the early years of the town before the inhabitants had established many outside contacts.

⁵⁸ Ure, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Lekythos of Class K. Shortly before 500 B.C. But compare with Haspels, *Black Figured Lekythoi*, pl. 30, 1 and 2, by the Marathon Painter. Should be dated a decade later—cf. *infra*, note 59—if Miss Haspels' chronology is followed.

⁵⁹ Type represented in Soros at Marathon. It is closest to type O of Ure, *op. cit.*, p. 54, and to lekythoi from end of Group B graves. Ure dates B group 530-500 B.C. Haspels, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-110, brings Group B down to 490 B.C., "perhaps even a little later." See Ure's review in *J.H.S.*, LVII, 1937, pp. 263 ff., for reply.

⁶⁰ Cf. Ure, *op. cit.*, pl. XII, 80. 229, and *infra*, North Gate Pottery, No. 1 (p. 481).

⁶¹ Ure, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁶² Cf. Naukratite cups found at Aegina; Furtwängler, *Aegina, Das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, pl. 127, 21.

⁶³ Reinach, "Statues archaïques de Cybèle découvertes à Cymé," *B.C.H.*, XIII, 1889, p. 543, pl. VIII.



Fig. 54. Seated Statue of Poros
(No. 1)



Fig. 55. Poros Statue (No. 2)



Fig. 56. Side View of Fig. 55



Fig. 57. Front and Side View of Lower Part
of Poros Statue (No. 3)



Fig. 58. Feet and Plinth of
Poros Statue (No. 4)

Sculpture from First Temple Area

2. Figs. 55-56. Material: poros. Preservation: two pieces; lacunae at neck, left side of hair; broken off just below waist in center, below right and above left elbow; end of chin and nose mutilated; gash on left cheek and top of head. Height, 1.85 m.; base of hair to base of chin, 0.054 m.; base of nose to base of chin 0.026 m.

Standing female figure with arms hanging close to side; she wears an undergarment of which only short cap-sleeves show and over it a tight-fitting, foldless chiton with belt and apoptygma. A fillet on which are traces of red paint encircles the hair which falls in a mass separated into rectangular sections by deep grooves behind and to either side of the face where it is divided horizontally: the well-known type of "etagen perücke." The work is careless and provincial, as can be seen in the unequal size of the eyes, the thick upper lip, and the crude treatment of the grooves to either side of the mouth, which forms a decided crescent. The eyes are almond-shaped and the left, which is the larger, has the boundary of the lower lid marked by a groove which is wanting in the right eye. They are unusually close set. The forehead is low and the skull recedes in front to a markedly domed top. The hair over the forehead is arranged symmetrically in freely modeled scallops and on the top of the head is somewhat vaguely criss-crossed. The ear is placed high and is large (height, 0.015 m.). In spite of obvious crudities the small statue is vigorously modeled with well-defined contours and has a pleasing animation. The foldless chiton reminds us of the costumes on the François vase and black-figured pottery of the same period, such as the Amasis vases. In style, although far less skillfully made, it is nearest such works as the Apollo of Ptoön (Thebes Museum No. 3),⁶⁴ and the Naxian Sphinx. The oval of the face of our statue, the arrangement of the hair in front, and the fillet, as well as the treatment of the ear, are in the manner of the Sphinx from Delphi. A date some time in the second quarter of the sixth century is the one best suited to the style.

3. Fig. 57. Material: poros. Preservation: plinth, feet, and lower part of a draped female statue; there are, in addition to the upper break, numerous surface injuries to plinth, drapery, and sides. The feet, however, are comparatively well preserved. Height, 0.395 m.; width, 0.37 m.; thickness, 0.26 m.; height of plinth, 0.05 m.; projection of plinth, 0.09 m.

The statue as it now exists consists of a rectangular block of stone with slightly rounded edges on which the indications of a long garment are incised on the front. This is done clumsily and without a true realization of the nature of the garment, for while the chiton ought to enclose the whole figure it is here drawn as if it were an apron falling over the front only. The feet have little volume and cling flatly to the plinth but the actual modeling of the toes is fairly good and points to a date certainly not later than 550 B.C. and not earlier, I should judge, than the second quarter of the sixth century. They are quite similar anatomically, allowing for the provincial timidity and less skilled hand of our sculptor, to those of statues of Samos grouped by Buschor around the name of Cheramyes,⁶⁵ which he attributes to the years 575-550 B.C. I judge the chiton to be of the close-fitting type. The incising of the garment is reminiscent of the surface treatment of the female statue from Auxerre, in which, however, the elaborate pattern of the garment is carried around the sides; but the anatomy of the feet is less schematized on the Halae statue and points to a later date.

4. Fig. 58. Material: poros. Preservation: plinth, feet, and garment immediately above them; the plinth is broken at the back and is badly damaged on all sides, but the original thickness is probably preserved at one point. Preserved height, 0.19 m.; height of plinth, 0.125 m.; width, 0.40 m.; complete thickness, 0.19 m.; thickness of statue inclusive of feet, 0.105 m.; projection of feet, 0.045 m. Draped female figure of *ἐόανον* type, but the articulation of the toes is fairly good and entirely different from the block-like feet of the Nikandre statue.⁶⁶ The fall of the drapery over the feet in a more pronounced arch also indicates a later date for our statue. I believe it, however, to be

⁶⁴ *B.C.H.*, XXXI, 1907, pl. XX.

⁶⁵ *Altsamische Standbilder*, II, nos. 85-89; p. 29.

⁶⁶ Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, 2nd ed., fig. 263.

earlier than No. 2. A really good parallel for our statue, except for the central folds of the garment, is a limestone statue from the precinct of the Temple of Apollo at Naukratis which Pryce calls "of mid-century date."⁶⁷ Also the boardlike draped female figure from the Apollo sanctuary at Ptoön.⁶⁸

It is difficult to date a group of statues so mutilated and so provincial in character, and greater apparent accuracy would probably only lead us farther away from the truth. The more general discussion of the dating of the beginnings of the Halae acropolis will show that none of them is likely to be earlier than 600 B.C., and for the first quarter of the sixth century there is little comparative material.⁶⁹ I do not believe that any of them can be brought down as late as 550 B.C. and I should like to suggest 580-560 B.C. as an inclusive date.

BRONZES

The whole area between the altar and the building, but more thickly just in front of the altar, was strewn with fragments of disintegrated bronze. The dampness of the soil, added to the breakage which must have taken place when the bronzes were dumped in the fill under the poros pavement, had destroyed the majority of the objects and of those salvaged only a very few are in anything but a deplorable condition.

There is great similarity between the bronze objects found at temple sites all over Greece. The parallels for Halae are chiefly taken from the finds at Olympia and the Acropolis at Athens because these publications are full and convenient, but they are not in reality limited to these sites. Both Dodona in the north and Sparta in the Peloponnesus may be drawn upon with equal success for many of the objects.⁷⁰

Handles of Cauldrons or Basins

1, 2. Fig. 59. Pair of oval handles composed of ring, knobbed in center, and pendent panther masks between conventionalized paws surmounted by bobbin. Height with ring, 0.114 m.; height of mask, 0.07 m.; length of ring, 0.081 m. The head resembles those seen full-face on Corinthian vases of the middle and late period. The panther's mask executed in low relief on the shoulder of a male statue from the temple at Ephesus resembles our bronzes, but the treatment of the paws is more naturalistic.⁷¹

Masks on handles fall into two groups:

- (a) With conventionalized paws like ours under discussion.⁷²
- (b) More naturalistic paws with indication of claws.⁷³

⁶⁷ Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, vol. I, part I, B. 453, p. 193, fig. 231; cf. p. 183: "Another type of standing woman of mid-century date is illustrated by two fragments B. 453-4 with flattened columnar bodies and East Ionic centre folds."

⁶⁸ G. Körte, "Die Antiken Skulpturen aus Boeotien," *Ath. Mitt.*, III, 1878, p. 308. Thickness of body, 0.14 m.

⁶⁹ Cf. the chronological list in Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁷⁰ Since this was written *Perachora* has appeared, and I have noted a few parallels to objects from this site.

⁷¹ *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, vol. I, part 1, p. 51, fig. 41. An example in gold from Rhodes has been published, *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII, p. 210, fig. 253.

⁷² Cf. *Olympia*, IV, pl. LV, 924.

⁷³ de Ridder, *Bronzes trouvés sur l'Acropole d'Athènes*, p. 47, fig. 18.



Fig. 59. Bronze Handles (Nos. 1 and 2) from First Temple Area



Fig. 60. Bronze Handles from First and Second Temple Area

3. Fig. 60, 6. Conventionalized palmette surmounted by a grooved bobbin; once held a movable handle; palmette broken. Height, 0.058 m.; length, 0.069 m.⁷⁴
4. Fig. 60, 4. Conventionalized seven-petaled palmette passing by long stem into faceted bobbin. Height, 0.105 m.; length, 0.117 m. An exact parallel is offered by the handle from Olympia.⁷⁵ The movable handle Fig. 60, 2 probably goes with this attachment as a similar one forms part of the Olympia example. There are numerous fragments of this type from the temple deposit.
5. Fig. 60, 5. Lower end of attachment similar to No. 4 but palmette nine-petaled and more pointed. Height, 0.051 m.; width, 0.034 m.
6. Fig. 60, 1. Fixed horizontal handle composed of twin bars; attachments heart-shaped. Length, 0.129 m.

Rings

7. Fig. 63, 2. Flat ring, possibly from bronze cauldron or prize vessel.⁷⁶ Three incised lines on face. Diameter, 0.106 m.; thickness, 0.018 m.
8. Fig. 63, 1. Ring, very much corroded and swollen. Diameter, approximately, 0.092 m.
9. Fig. 63, 3. Ring. Diameter, 0.07 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.006 m.
10. Fig. 63, 4. Ring, with four flat protrusions; possibly part of a horse's bridle. Diameter, 0.054 m.; thickness, 0.006 m. Common type at Halae.
11. Fig. 70. Heavy finger ring with oval sinking, probably for a stone. Diameter, 0.025 m.; depth of sinking, 0.013 m.
12. Not illustrated. Bezel of ring. Small square disk pierced lengthwise as if to put on ring. On the top, four circular depressions in the corners like markings on dice. Sides, 0.012 m. \times 0.012 m.; thickness, 0.004 m.

There were hundreds of plain bronze rings about the size of curtain rings (average diameter, 0.017 m.-0.02 m.) and a great many coils of bronze wire sometimes interpreted as hair ornaments.

Bracelets

The bracelets were so poorly preserved that it was difficult to classify them. Some of the circles of metal, now swollen, split, and out of shape, may once have had designs. They seem to fall into two main groups:

- A. Open circlets with overlapping ends.
- B. Closed rings.

⁷⁴ Of essentially the same type but of finer workmanship and with more closely grooved bobbin: *Olympia*, IV, p. 132, 828. Cf. *Jahrbuch*, 1937, "Olympia, Die Grabung im Frühjahr 1937," p. 74, fig. 37. Similar handle attachment from the temple of Apollo at Corinth, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, II, 1916, p. 86, fig. 20.

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, pl. L, 829.

⁷⁶ Cf. prize vessel or vase, *C.V.A.*, France 2, Louvre 2, III, Hd, pl. 18-2.

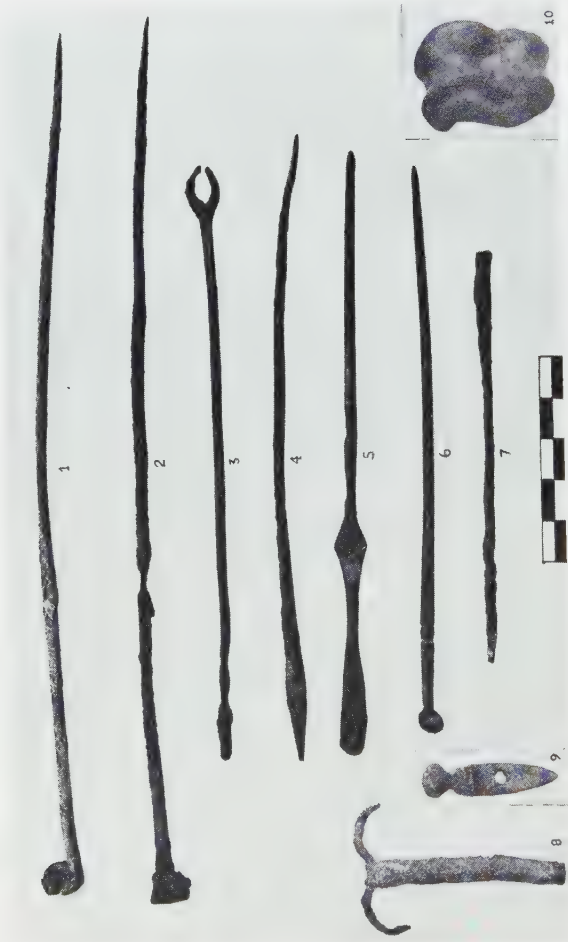


Fig. 61. Bronzes from Temple Areas and Acropolis

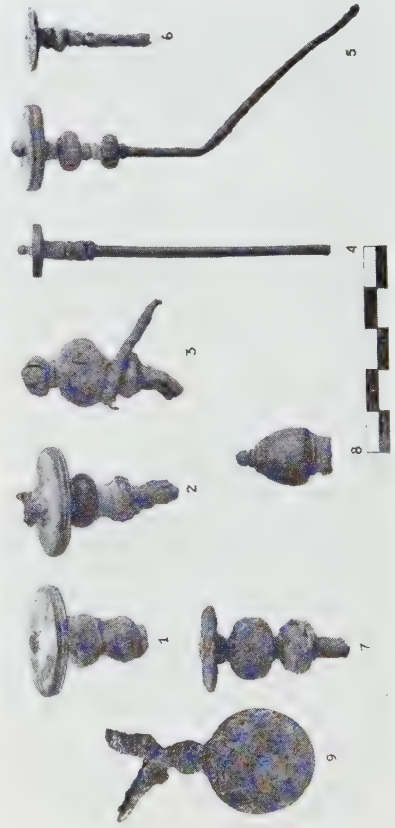


Fig. 62. Bronze Pins (Nos. 36-43) and Votive Mirror (No. 44)
from First Temple Area



Fig. 64. Bronze
Bracelets
(Nos. 13 and 14)
from First Temple
Area

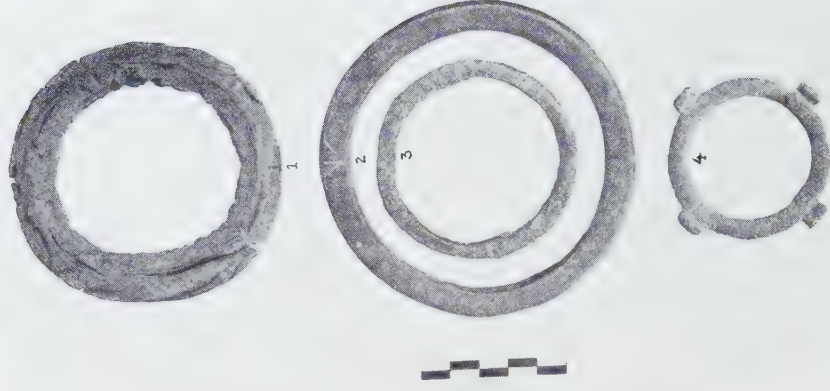


Fig. 63. Bronze Rings (Nos. 7-10)
from First Temple Area



Fig. 65. Bronze
Bracelets
(Nos. 15 and 16)
from First Temple
Area

Group A

13, 14. Fig. 64. Open circlets with snakes' heads. The best preserved of this very common type. They are composed of a thin circle of bronze ending in a flat snake's head with markings. Diameter, *ca.* 0.046 m.⁷⁷

15, 16. Fig. 65. Similar pair, but with head less flat and circular eye; heavier metal. Diameter, 0.05 m.

17-21. Not illustrated. Similar types, much corroded.

22. Not illustrated. This bracelet is at present ornamented only with knobs at the point where the circlet overlaps, but the original ends are broken off and may have been snake heads. Very much corroded.

23, 24. Fig. 66. Coiled bracelets of triple spirals ending in much corroded snakes' heads.

25. Fig. 67. Flat bracelet ending in snakes' heads. Incised lines running lengthwise on flat band, terminated by series of cross lines near tapering ends.

Group B

26. Not illustrated. Circle of bronze spirally grooved. Broken in two and very much corroded. Diameter, *ca.* 0.085 m.

27. Not illustrated. Similar to above.

28. Fig. 68. Small circlet, spirally grooved; probably child's bracelet. Diameter, 0.065 m.

Earrings or Pendants

Only two types of earrings were found at Halae.

Type 1

Spectacle of twisted wire suspended from rings made of the same kind of wire. It is not absolutely certain that they are earrings, for they were also used as pendants of fibulae and breast ornaments. This type of spectacle ornament both for pins and pendants dates back to the beginnings of the Iron Age and is quite common among the so-called Hallstatt bronzes. It has the wide ramifications of the Hallstatt types and is found extensively in the Balkans north of Greece.⁷⁸ As far as one can judge from published material the type is not common in Greece itself, but a close parallel is figured from Tegea and numerous related objects from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary at Sparta.⁷⁹ The type is, of course, early, but certainly persists into the sixth and even, in certain instances, into the fifth century.⁸⁰ It forms, for example, an

⁷⁷ The snake-head bracelet is a very common type and very widespread. There are silver examples from the Cesnola collection in the Metropolitan Museum.

⁷⁸ Hadaczik, *Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker*, p. 13, fig. 19. Earring from Bosnia from a grave of the early Iron Age.

⁷⁹ Dugas, *B.C.H.*, XLV, 1921, p. 377, fig. 39, 146. It is called a spiral fibula, but this is certainly a mistake. Dawkins, *Artemis Orthia*, pls. LXXXI ff.

⁸⁰ Cf. remarks of S. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, p. 151, note 1, on the unreliability of fibulae as dating evidence.



Fig. 66. Bronze Bracelets (Nos. 23, 24)
from First Temple Area

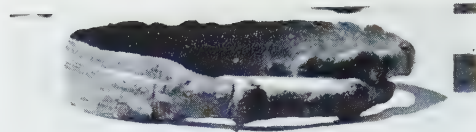
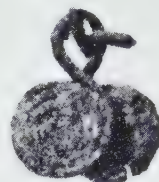


Fig. 67. Bronze Bracelet (No. 25)
from First Temple Area



Fig. 68. Bronze Bracelet
(No. 28)
from First Temple Area



1



2

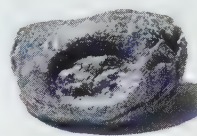
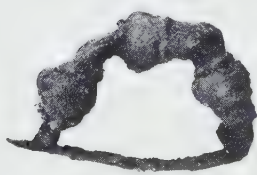


Fig. 70. Bronze
Finger Ring
(No. 11)
from First Temple Area

3



Fig. 69. Bronze Earrings (Nos. 29-31)
from First Temple Area



1



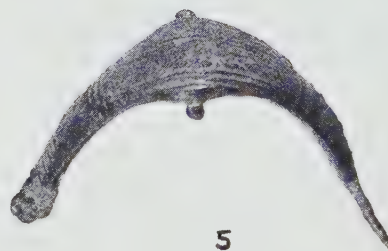
3



4



2



5



Fig. 71. Bronze Fibulae and Spoon Handle from Temple Area and Acropolis

element in the famous gold pendant with the head of Athena Parthenos found in Southern Russia.⁸¹

29-32. Fig. 69. Nos. 29 (diameter of single spiral, 0.02 m.) and 30 (diameter of spiral, 0.012 m.) are probably parts of earrings of which No. 32 (not illustrated) may be the suspension rings. No. 31 (Fig. 69, 3) seems too small to be other than the pendant of a pin or ornament; diameter of single spiral, 0.008 m.

Type 2

Represented by a single fragment from the Second Temple Area; see below p. 462, No. 5.

Fibulae and Pins

33. Fig. 71, 5. Bow fibula of which only the bow itself is preserved. Broken at both ends. Ornamented with engraved lines which run parallel to the long axis in the center and in groups at right angles towards the ends of the bow; to either side of the center a small knob. Width, 0.057 m.; height, 0.031 m. This is undoubtedly the oldest type of fibula found at Halae and, like the spectacle ornaments, is northern in origin. The shaft of the pin is usually one with the bow, and the catch in early examples ends in an elongated plaque. The small central knobs are particularly characteristic. According to Blinkenberg the type is Epirote derived from Italy.⁸² It was fully developed by the eighth century and fell into disuse gradually after the seventh. In mainland Greece there are similar but not identical examples from the Argive Heraion and Delphi.⁸³

34. Fig. 61, 2. Pin with head made by curling over end to form simple spiral. Length, 0.215 m.

35. Fig. 61, 1. Similar pin. Length, 0.21 m.

The type is very old, going back to the prehistoric Bronze Age. It is sometimes referred to as of Cypriote origin but, as a matter of fact, it has a very wide distribution throughout Anatolia and is also found in Mesopotamia. One was found in Thera in an archaic grave⁸⁴ and quite a number in the crematorium of Gorica.⁸⁵

36-43. Fig. 62, 1-8, shows a series of pins⁸⁶ with clearly defined heads. None of them is fully preserved and the majority are badly corroded. Nos. 36, 37, 40, 42 (Fig. 62, 1, 2, 5, 7) are variants of the same type, in which the head is formed by a series of balls surmounted by a disk; Nos. 39 and 41 (Fig. 62, 4 and 6) are simpler with similar though smaller disk-heads and less sharply defined balls; No. 43 (Fig. 62, 8) is the only example of the cone-head pin and No. 38 (Fig. 62, 3) ends in a series of balls, a design possibly based on the pomegranate. At Sparta similar pins are found together with Laconian II pottery and are said to be characteristic of the seventh and early sixth century.⁸⁷ They are also paralleled at other sites such as Olympia⁸⁸ and Aegina⁸⁹ where

⁸¹ Kondakof, Tolstoi, Reinach, *Antiquités de la Russie meridionale*, p. 233, fig. 207.

⁸² Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, p. 107, VIa, fig. 117. They have been found at Dodona, etc.; cf. *Perachora*, I, p. 170, where a Corinthian origin is suggested.

⁸³ Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, II, p. 241, no. 843, pl. LXXXV. *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 111, where a good many references are cited.

⁸⁴ Dragendorff, *Thera*, II, p. 302, fig. 490 a.

⁸⁵ See p. 502, note 212.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Perachora*, I, p. 172, where pins of this type are divided into two groups; the majority of the Halae examples belong to *Perachora B*.

⁸⁷ Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 200, pl. LXXXVI; *B.S.A.*, XV, 1908-1909, pl. IX.

⁸⁸ *Op. cit.*, pl. XXV, 481-489.

⁸⁹ Furtwängler, *Aegina, Das Heiligtum der Aphaia*, pp. 397 f., pl. 114.

they are attributed to the sixth century. At Halae they occur both on the lower and less frequently on the upper levels, which would assign them with certainty to the sixth century, with a possible survival into the early fifth. Owing to the disturbance of the pavement which separated the two levels, the evidence is not decisive. Their use as shoulder pins is illustrated by the garment of Atalante on the François vase of Klitias and Ergotimos.⁹⁰ Here the two are connected by a chain or cord and are pushed in from below, the sharp end protruding above.

44. Fig. 62, 9. Votive mirror (?). Height, 0.049 m. Disk surmounted by conventionalized bird perforated diagonally from center of body to below breast. These objects are found all over Greece,⁹¹ especially as votive offerings, and also in Europe in the early Iron Age.⁹² The combination of mirror and bird, possibly dove, suggests the cult of Aphrodite. Elsewhere the material associated with these objects is always geometric, but at Halae neither the acropolis nor the cemetery produced a single piece of true geometric pottery.

TERRACOTTAS

1. Fig. 72. Preservation: complete except left arm stump and left end of chain running between shoulders. Color: white ground color; base of head marked by red line; necklace red with white pendants; on double chain upper row has yellow marking, lower red; pattern on dress, as far as preserved, red. Clay: buff-orange. Height, 0.14 m. Typical geometric figure of primitive type with beaklike head and round plastic disks for eyes. The arms are rudimentary stumps, the body a flat board spreading slightly at the bottom to make a standing base. As in all such figures the ornaments are emphasized; around the neck a plastic chain with three pendent discs, between shoulders and fastened by round pins a double chain, on the head a stephane or polos with a disk. Very common Boeotian type of the sixth century.⁹³ (Cf. seated type No. 18, p. 466, Fig. 158).

2. Not illustrated. Preservation: complete. Color: some of white preserved. Clay: reddish. Height, 0.113 m. Same as above except chain across chest single.

3. Fig. 73. Standing hydrophoros. Preservation: to below arms. Color: traces of white on body. Clay: light brown-red. Height, 0.166 m. This figurine is a variant of the flat "Pappas" with the separately moulded head of more advanced type than the body. Instead of the usual stumps the arms, rudimentary and without any indication of the hands, are brought forward to below the breast; on either shoulder a large plastic disk pin; on head a high polos surmounted by a hydria; the face is long and the hair worn parted in the middle. Hydrophoroi of the "Pappas" type are rare.

4. Fig. 74. Siren? Preservation: head only with right side of neck; broken mouth of an alabastron on top. Color: none. Clay: orange. Height, 0.05 m. This may be part of a siren of the type illustrated in Winter, *Typen der fig. Terrakotten*, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 226, no. 4. Another possibility is that it comes from a standing female figure of East Greek type (Cf. *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum*, p. 107, pl. XVII, B 205).

The two terracotta figurines which remain to be discussed are both of intrinsic interest and important for the question of establishing the date at which Halae was first settled. With the possible exception of the small bronze No. 44, Fig. 62, 9, they are undoubtedly the earliest objects found here.

⁹⁰ Furtwängler-Reichhold, pl. 13.

⁹¹ Dawkins, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXX h, n; *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 47, fig. 145.

⁹² Dugas, *B.C.H.*, XLV, 1921, p. 350, fig. 10, no. 31.

⁹³ For most recent discussion, F. R. Grace, *Archaic Sculpture in Boeotia*, pp. 21 ff.



Fig. 72. Terracotta
(No. 1)



Fig. 73. Terracotta (No. 3)



Fig. 74. Terracotta
(No. 4)



Fig. 75. Bobbin



Fig. 76. Terracotta Mask (No. 5)

Terracottas from First Temple Area

5. Fig. 76. Preservation: broken top, bottom, and back except for a small piece at the present base. Color: none preserved. Clay: brown with slight tinge of dark red. Height, 0.104 m. Figurine wearing low polos (?)⁹⁴ broken from neck of vase. It shows the distinctive features of a Cretan group of which the most important examples are the bronze statue from Delphi,⁹⁵ and the vase of Arkhanes.⁹⁶ Jenkins mentions our head with the words "allowing for some provincialism natural in a Boeotian work of that date (640-630 B.C.) the head has a distinct resemblance to the Arkhanes head." The Halae protome is indeed less than half the size of the Arkhanes head and the treatment of the hair is very summary and even careless compared to the minute stylization of such detail in the Cretan example but the modeling of the face is highly individual and sensitive and shows great mastery. I draw attention to the forehead, the region of the temples and the mouth and chin. Indeed those features which are generally held to be specifically Cretan, such as the narrow face, the angle of the nose in relation to the forehead, the slightly protruding, rather almond-shaped eye, are so marked in our head that I think it may well be an original Cretan work. But what of the date, Middle Dedalic third phase, to which Jenkins assigns our terracotta (640-630 B.C.)? With the possible exception of the bronze mentioned above there is not a single object from this first Temple Area that must be put earlier than 600 B.C. and the bulk of the pottery indeed points to a slightly later date. This is true of the pottery from the graves as well. No Protocorinthian except the late small skyphoi, no Transitional, no Early Corinthian pottery was found in the Halae necropolis.⁹⁷ Miss Lamb places the Delphi statue in the last years of the seventh century or early in the sixth,⁹⁸ and the Halae head is, I believe, somewhat later; for the modeling of the lips appears fuller and softer, passing almost imperceptibly into the cheeks, and the forehead is higher. Indeed, judged from the point of view of depth of face alone the parallel for our head is the statue from Eleutherna used by Jenkins to illustrate Late Dedalic,⁹⁹ while the forehead is even higher. I should like to propose a date around 600 B.C. with a leeway of about ten years in either direction for this terracotta.¹⁰⁰

6. Fig. 77. This figurine has already been published and I refer to the article for all details.¹⁰¹ The question of date should, however, be reconsidered, for in the meantime it has been studied by P. Knoblauch¹⁰² and F. R. Grace,¹⁰³ who place it, one in the first quarter of the seventh century, the other in the third. The first I believe to be intrinsically impossible, the latter improbable, on account of the later character of the general body of temple offerings and also because the forehead

⁹⁴ Cf. Jenkins, *Dedolica*, pl. IV, 6. Bronze head in Karlsruhe.

⁹⁵ Perdrizet, *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 35, pl. III.

⁹⁶ Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 46, pl. VI, 1.

⁹⁷ A number of archaeologists feel that the dates for late Protocorinthian and Early Corinthian should be lowered, but the Halae evidence, slight as it is, throws its weight on the side of Payne's dating. The chief critics of Johansen and Payne's dating are mentioned in P. Amandry, "Vases, Bronzes et Terrecuites de Delphes," *B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, pp. 322 ff., and include Langlotz, *Gnomon*, X, 1934, pp. 418 ff.; Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, p. 131, and Byvanck, *Mnemosyne*, IV, 1937, pp. 181-225.

⁹⁸ W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, p. 75.

⁹⁹ Jenkins, *op. cit.*, pl. X.

¹⁰⁰ Dating terracottas and small bronzes of the seventh century B.C., where we are without a single fixed date to anchor our chronology, by decades and even periods of five years, should be classified, I think, under the heading of archaeological sport, harmless as long as it is recognized as such.

¹⁰¹ H. Goldman, "Some Votive Offerings from the Acropolis of Halae," *Festschrift für James Loeb*, pp. 70 ff. (with color plate).

¹⁰² *Studien zur archaisch-griechischen Tonbildnerei*, p. 192. I have not seen this dissertation and take the date as quoted by Grace.

¹⁰³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 50 ff.

of this particular terracotta is very different from that of the figures on the stamped Rhodian amphora¹⁰⁴ to which Mr. Grace compares it. The latter, very low and cut off horizontally by the line of stylized hair, certainly represents an older convention. As for the arrangement of curls over the forehead which he cites in favor of an early date, that seems to be an unsafe criterion; for it remains in use for a long time, as one may see in studying the plates of Mr. Grace's book and particularly the stele of the late sixth century in the Boston Museum.¹⁰⁵ Other features of our figurine, however, are early, such as the shallowness of the face. It is particularly difficult to date a work of this kind, a lingering example of a type long outmoded, but judged by its least archaic features it seems to me to fit into the years around 600 B.C.



Fig. 77. Terracotta (No. 6) from First Temple Area

BONE

1-12. Fig. 78, 1-12. The most numerous dedicated objects of bone (seventy-five in all, if fragments be included; the photograph gives only the complete examples) were implements with one shovel-like and one more or less pointed end.¹⁰⁶ It is the scribe's or schoolboy's stylus. What more appropriate dedication to Athena, who may be seen deep in thought on a Panathenaic amphora holding her tablets and stylus?¹⁰⁷ Some of them are pierced so that they could be carried or suspended from a string. But that evidently was not always necessary, for another god, Hermes this time, shows us how the stylus may be carried tucked under the strings which tie up the tablets.¹⁰⁸ They range in length from 0.048 m. to 0.115 m. No. 6 seems to imitate the more elaborately ornamented shaft of a bronze stylus. The more carefully worked pieces are finely polished, sharply pointed at one end, and the flat end beveled to a smooth but not sharp edge.

¹⁰⁴ *Ib'd.*, fig. 10.

¹⁰⁵ R. Lullies, *Zur frühen boiotischen Plastik*, p. 150, Abb. 13.

¹⁰⁶ They were found both below and above the pavement of the Temple Area and seem to belong to the late sixth and early fifth centuries.

¹⁰⁷ Munich 2314; Hoppin, *Handbook of Red-Figured Pottery*, II, p. 160, no. 9 (Gerhard, *Auserlesene Gr. Vasenbilder*, vol. IV, pl. CCXLIV). Other illustrations on vases are: Berlin 2285, Hoppin, *op. cit.*, I, p. 214; Berlin 3139, Pfuhl, *Mal. und Zeich.*, fig. 408.

¹⁰⁸ Leningrad 627, Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums*, p. 117, fig. 74.

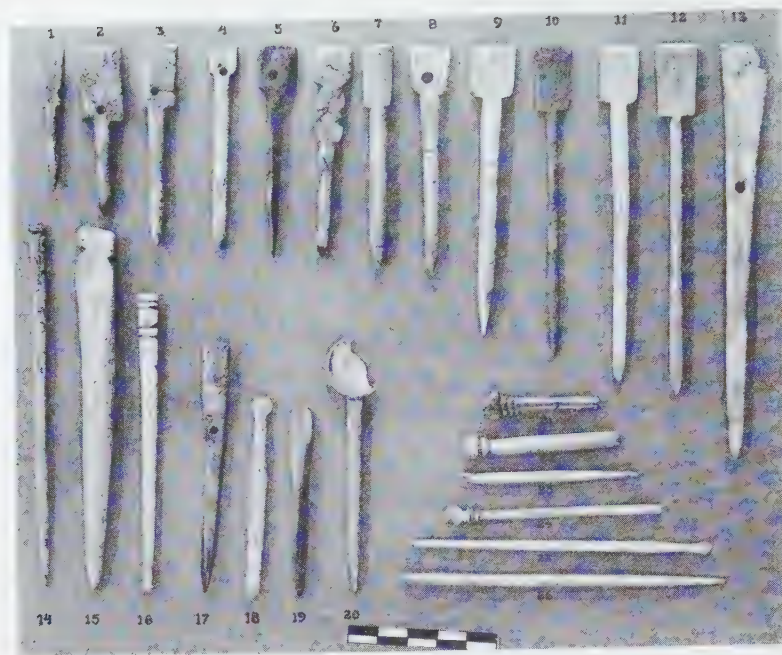


Fig. 78. Bone Objects from First Temple Area
and Other Parts of Acropolis

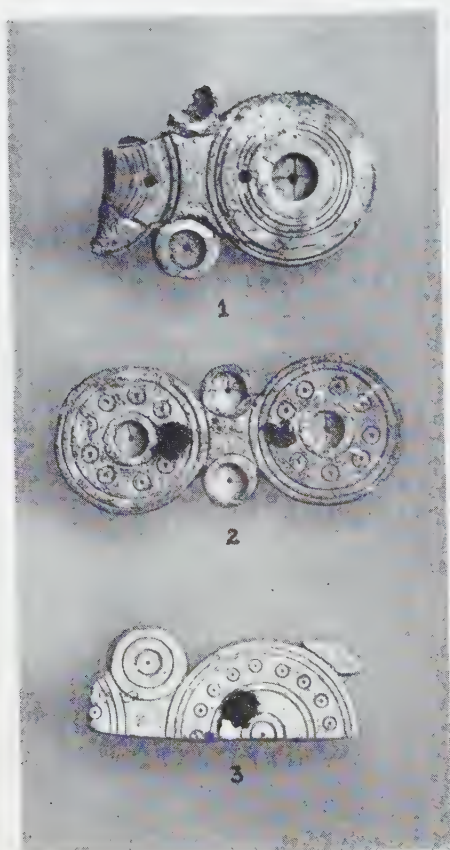


Fig. 79. Bone Pins (Nos. 16-18)
from First Temple Area

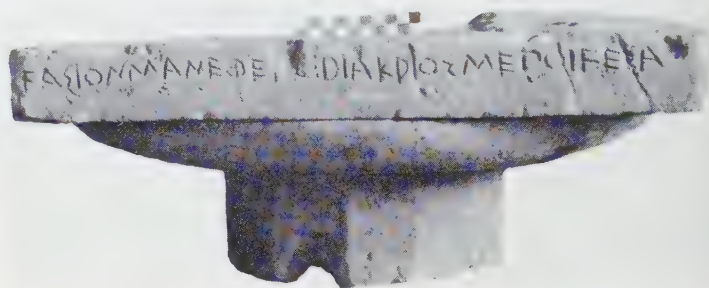


Fig. 80. Inscribed Capital from First Temple Area

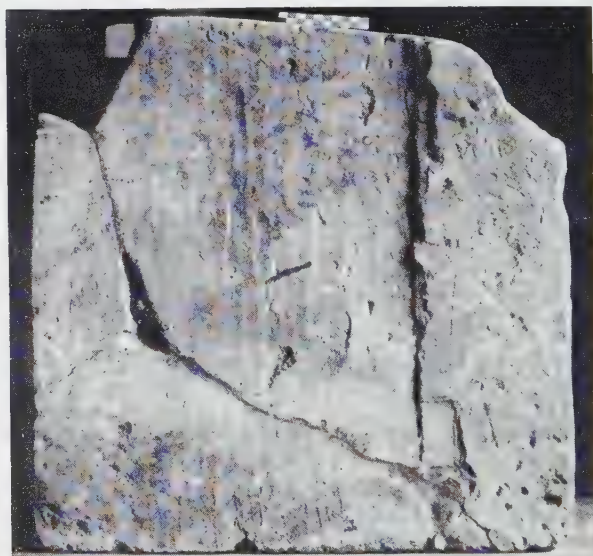


Fig. 81. Top of Fig. 80

13-15. Fig. 78, 13, 15, 17. Styli or awls. Two have string-holes and the third has the upper end notched to hold a string. It is not possible to determine exactly what they were used for. They may be careless examples of the stylus.

No. 13: length, 0.138 m.

No. 15: length, 0.121 m.

No. 17: length, 0.082 m.

16-18. Fig. 79. Bone spectacle pins of a type found in great quantities in both bone and ivory at Sparta¹⁰⁹ and somewhat less abundantly at other sites. Although there are slight variations of detail, the Halae examples all belong to the same type consisting of two large circular discs connected by a narrow plain surface with two smaller discs placed at either end. The pin and catch were of iron and fastened by small nails or rivets to the larger discs. On No. 16 (Fig. 79, 1) the rivet holes can be seen; on the other two examples they survive in the form of corroded iron on the surface.

(16) Fig. 79, 1. Large discs ornamented with fine concentric incisions; at center of these as well as of smaller disc are sinkings for amber inlays; when the pin was found particles were still adhering; the surface of the sinking is scarified, in order to make the amber adhere better and there is a small nail hole in the center. Preserved: slightly over half. Length, 0.04 m.

(17) Fig. 79, 2. Similar sinkings for amber inlay; the large discs ornamented with small circles arranged around the amber inlay and contained within concentric circles. Preservation complete except for loss of amber. Length, 0.051 m.

(18) Fig. 79, 3. Without amber inlay; larger discs, ornamented with small circles arranged as above, and concentric circles; on the outer edge a small winglike ornament probably repeated four times; smaller discs only with concentric circles. Preserved: one small disc and parts of two larger. Length, 0.04 m.

BOBBIN

Fig. 75. Preservation: one end complete, the other partially broken. Clay: yellow. Red brown glaze. Length, 0.072 m.; width, at preserved end, 0.039 m.; thickness, 0.007 m. A thin piece of clay widening towards the ends. On the one side a design of recumbent, crossed, double volutes, enclosing seven-petaled palmettes, is reserved in the glazed background. The glaze covers the back of the bobbin. Similar, but not identical, designs of much greater elaboration are found in Attic red-figured vases where they occur, for the first time, in the years just before 480 B.C. On terracotta simas of the Acropolis they appear somewhat later, according to Buschor's classification.¹¹⁰ In none of these patterns do the volutes cross. Frequently vertical palmettes branch out from the point of closest contact.

As the bobbin was found in the earth under the poros basement of the temple area, it cannot be dated as late as the first occurrence of this design in Attica. Indeed, the greater simplicity of the Halae example, and the shape of the palmette, which with its more upright, less curving, petals resembles those found on the shoulders of late black-figured lekythoi, would in themselves point to a somewhat earlier date. I class it with the latest group of objects underlying the pavement.

¹⁰⁹ Dawkins, *op. cit.*, pls, CXXXII, CXXXIII, pp. 224-225. Here they range in size from 0.05 m. to 0.16 m. but smaller ones more numerous. "In date these fibulae range from early in the purely Geometric deposit down to the period of Laconian I or even II, and two were found in the Laconian III and IV deposit of the sixth century." See p. 476, note 153.

¹¹⁰ *Die Tondächer der Akropolis*, p. 37, fig. 41, and p. 38.

INSCRIPTIONS

After the publication of the inscriptions from Halae in 1915,¹¹¹ an inscribed base in the form of a Doric capital (Figs. 80, 81) was found directly south of the altar and among the burned débris and ashes. It must originally have supported an offering the nature of which we can no longer determine.

Material: poros.
 Total height, 0.245 m.
 Height of shaft, 0.105 m.
 Preserved height of abacus, 0.06 m.
 Length of abacus, 0.571 m.
 Width of abacus, 0.565 m.
 Diameter of shaft, 0.26 m.
 The flat facets of the shaft vary in diameter,
 0.06 m.-0.075 m. There are fourteen.
 Height of letters, 0.01 m.-0.024 m.
 Spacing of letters through middle uniformly
 .05 m., except at punctuation mark.

The bottom of the shaft is hollow and originally rested on a pillar,¹¹² similar to the shaft attached to the capital. The base was found in two pieces and there are parts missing at the back. The inscribed surface has a number of gouges and the top of the abacus has been chiseled off in part (Fig. 81). Some of the original upper surface seems to be preserved to the right up to the edge of the cutting and a narrow band to the left. The inscription consists of a single line:

ΦΑΣΙΟΝΜΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ: ΔΙΑΚΡΙΟΣΞΜΕΤΤΟΙΦΕΞΑ

Brief as it is, the interpretation is by no means easy. According to the most common formula we might read: *φασίον μ' ἀνέθεκε: Διάκριος μ' ἐποίησα* "φασίον dedicated me; Διάκριος made me." Obviously the alpha at the end of the last word must then be due to an error, for in spite of the frequent dialectic interchange of *α* for *ε* in West Greek, there is no grammatical or dialectical justification for such a substitution of alpha for epsilon in the third person singular aorist. The error may be in a certain sense psychological, for if Διάκριος was the sculptor of whatever stood on the base as well as the stonecutter of the inscription he might have written in the pride of his accomplishment "I, Diakrios, made it" forgetting that he had already used the word *μ.ε*. In that case Διάκριος would be a name like *Θηβαῖος* or *Παράλιος*,¹¹³ derived from the ethnic. The *Διάκριοι ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ* are mentioned in the Athenian tribute lists.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, pp. 438 ff.

¹¹² Cf. Anton Raubitschek, "Zur Technik und Form der Altattischen Statuenbasen," *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare*, XII, pp. 131-181. I wish to express my great indebtedness to Dr. Meritt and to Dr. Raubitschek for their generous assistance in the study of this inscription.

¹¹³ *I.G.*, II, 660 (dated 398-390 B.C.).

¹¹⁴ Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 480; also *Διάκριοι ἐν Ῥόδῳ*

Ἀσίων is known from various periods.¹¹⁵ A second possibility and a tempting one, would be to make Διάκριος an ethnic in apposition to φασίον, in which case μ' ἐποίεσσα must be read μὲ ποιέσα[s], a participle with final sigma either omitted or blotted out by the gouge immediately to the right of the final alpha. There are certainly no traces of it on the stone. But there are serious objections to this reading. One would expect ὁ before the name and the omission of the second μέ as in the inscription from Delos:

Εὐθικαρτίδης μ' ἀνέθεκε ἡο Νάησιος ποιέσας¹¹⁶

Furthermore, if the line is intended to be metrical and a hexameter both of the proposed readings show irregularities in the second half.

There is quite a different interpretation suggested to me by Meritt as possible, but he and I both agree that it seems less satisfactory:

φασίον μ' ἀνέθεκε Δι<ι> Ἀκριος μ' ἐποίησ<ε>.

Δι<ι> is read as a dissyllabic dative¹¹⁷ followed by a proper name Ἀκριος otherwise unknown, thus making the offering one to Zeus. An alternate reading:

φασίον μ' ἀνέθεκε Δία Κρίος μ' ἐποίησ<ε>.

makes the object dedicated a Zeus statue and the artist Κρίος or Κρίός, a name known from other sources.¹¹⁸

We must now look at the top of the abacus, which presents almost as many problems as the inscription itself. If, as I believe, the original surface is preserved to the right, the chiseled area can hardly represent a cutting for a secondary use, for it is exceedingly shallow and levels off towards the left where again, towards the edge, we seem to have a thin strip of original surface. Whatever the offering was, it must have been set on and not into the abacus.¹¹⁹ Looked at from the front (Fig. 80), it can be seen that the top to the right was somewhat convex. The chiseling may have been done after the capital was set up in order to improve the balance and security of the offering. I think we must definitely reject the possibility that the column itself was the dedicated object and never supported anything, for in that case it would have been quite unnecessary to dress the upper surface.¹²⁰ If the top had

¹¹⁵ Lys. Frag. 21 (5th century B.C.). Cf. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen*, p. 85, under φασι. The name is also found in numerous late papyri from Egypt, *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Museen zu Berlin*, I, no. 141, col. II, 2; II, no. 539, 4.

¹¹⁶ *I.G.*, XII, 5, no. 1425 a.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Blegen, *A.J.A.*, XXXI, 1927, p. 433, and Peek, *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 103; Robert, *Collection Froehner*, no. 34.

¹¹⁸ Pausanias, X, 17, 2, a Euboean. Herodotus, VIII, 92, an Aeginetan. For the formula as a whole one may compare the dedication of Euandros at Halae, *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, p. 438; also Kaibel, *Epigrammata*, 828 a.

¹¹⁹ This is true of the recumbent figure of the Geneleos group at Samos. *Altsamische Standbilder*, figs. 90, 100, p. 28.

¹²⁰ The inscribed capital from Corcyra is probably a grave monument of this type. *Tiryns*, I, p. 13, fig. 11.

been chiseled in order to remove an offering with the intention of preserving it while the base was to be thrown away, the work would not have been executed with such care. A rectangular cutting may be seen on the top of a circular base found at Samos. It is very shallow on two sides and seems to level off on the other two.¹²¹ It offers a very close parallel to our base in that the cutting is far too slight to have held another stone in place; it could only have served to steady it. The back of the abacus is cut off somewhat on a slant and the surface here appears to be original. Possibly the dedication was set up against a wall which ran diagonally and the capital was trimmed off in this way in order to preserve the proper alignment of the inscribed surface.

The capital with its shallow wide-spreading abacus can hardly be later than the middle of the sixth century and may be considerably earlier.¹²² It is of course not excluded that a dedication to Zeus was set up in the shrine of Athena, although it would be unusual, or that the dedicated object was a statue of the god himself. But that this should have been the case at a small provincial shrine seems to me improbable.¹²³ It would be possible to suggest other uses to which the column might have been put without, however, coming any nearer to a definite explanation.¹²⁴ In view of the crudeness of much of the early work at Halae, the capitals of the shrine for example and the sculpture, I feel that, in spite of the faltering hexameter, the first reading suggested may be the true one.

Nothing found at the early shrine need take us back much beyond the year 600 B.C. I should like to suggest therefore that the circuit wall was built at approximately the turn of the century and the temple itself in the early years of the sixth. Such few objects as appear with some probability to have been actually made before 600 B.C. may very well have been dedicated some years later.

PART III—THE SECOND TEMPLE AREA

When, at the close of the sixth century, the ruins of the first precinct, with its shrine, had been buried, a new position was chosen for the temple of Athena. A portion of the circuit wall was removed to make way for a shallow bastion (Bastion I) destined for the support of the western end of the building. Under the eastern edge the lowest course of the inner face of System I can still be seen. This bastion was

¹²¹ *Ath. Mitt.*, LV, 1930, p. 47, fig. 22. I have not seen the original and have been able to judge of the base only from the photograph. It is, however, sufficiently clear.

¹²² Cf. Wiegand, *Die Poros-Architektur der Akropolis*, p. 171, fig. 173.

¹²³ As far as I was able to examine the dedications of Ptoön, Delphi, Artemis Orthia at Sparta, the Argive Heraion, and the Zeus precinct of Olympia, they were exclusively to the deities of the temple. At Dodona a dedication to Aphrodite was found within the temenos near an altar which Carapanos thinks, for this reason, must belong to Aphrodite; Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, p. 23, p. 47, no. 19, and pl. XXVI, 1.

¹²⁴ Such columns were sometimes used as central supports for tripods, but if that had been the case, one would expect a concave cutting on the top.

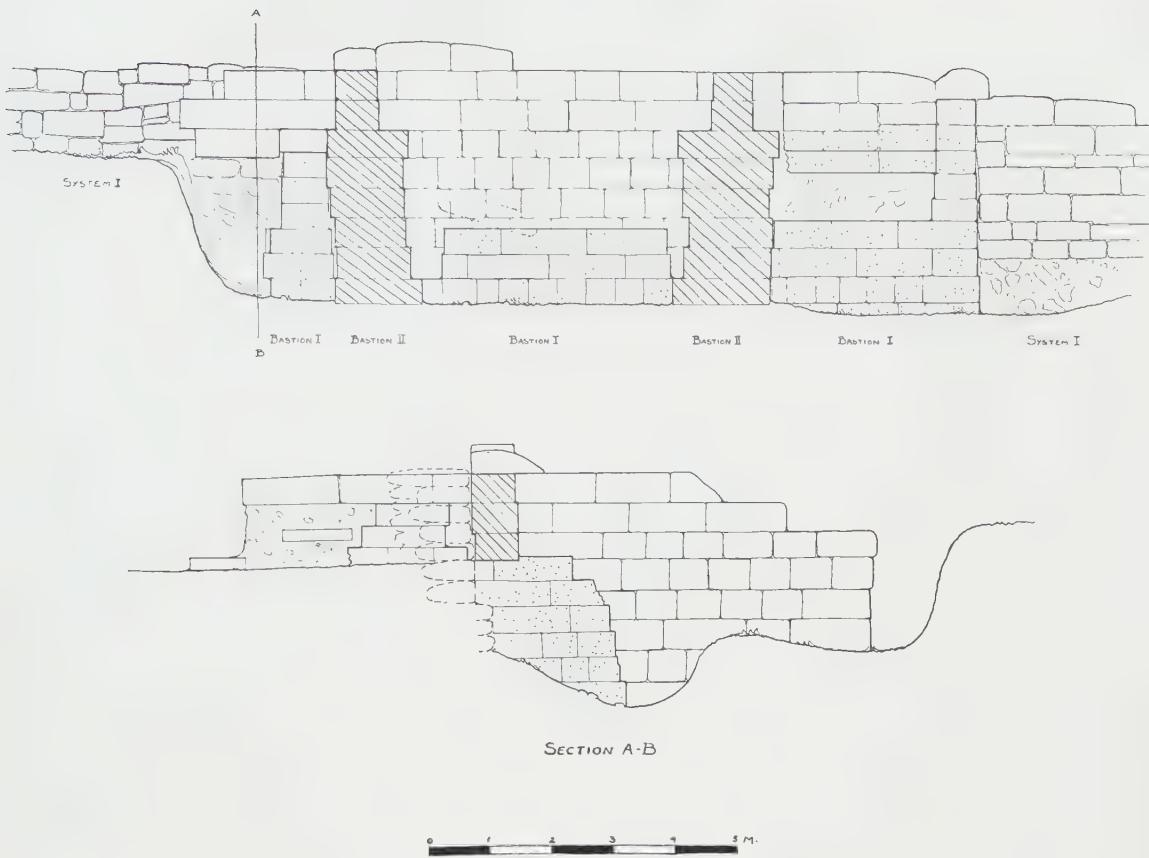


Fig. 82. West Elevation of Bastion I with Cross Section of Bastion II

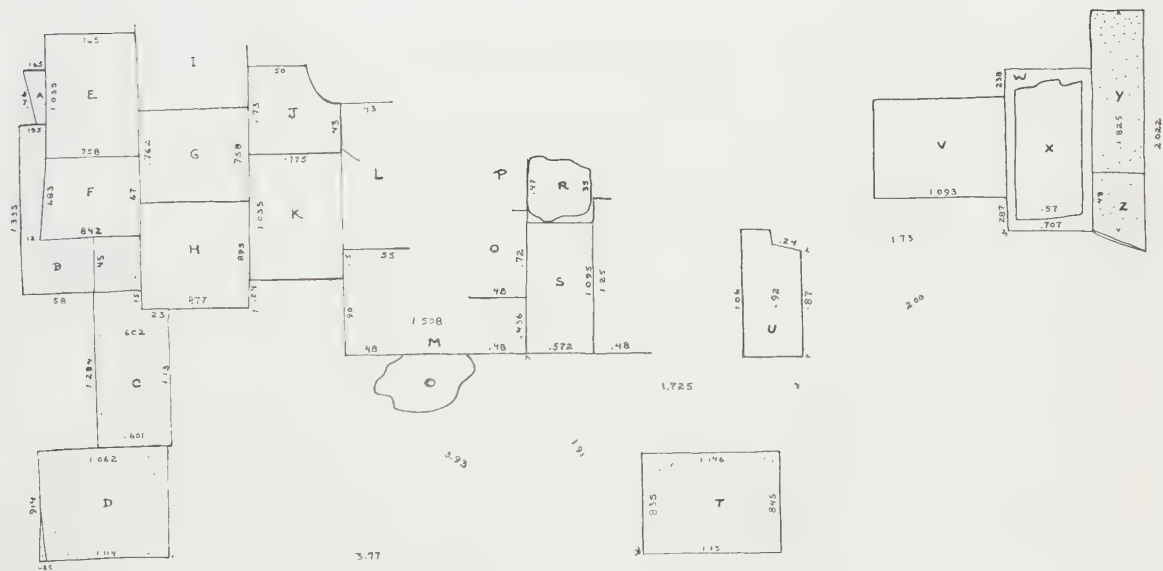


Fig. 83. Blocks of Building on Bastion I from East

only in part destroyed by the tower-like structure (Bastion II) which took its place when the Second System of walls was built (Fig. 84). Figure 82 shows the west elevation with the later structure removed and a profile taken along the line A-B. If we exclude the protruding foundation courses, the bastion has a length of 11.10 m. On the north it abuts partly on the old circuit wall, partly on the acropolis hill itself, while to the south the old wall has been removed in such a way that the upper courses of the bastion pass inside the break in the wall. The bastion was not solidly built against the acropolis hill but formed a hollow rectangle filled in with earth and stone (Fig. 84). To the south it now has a height of 3.60 m., to the north 2.40 m., and inside the tower 1.66 m. In front of the fill of the bastion a platform can still be seen, a circular depression and a part of a circular wall to the right. Here again, as at



Fig. 84. West Wall of Bastion I inside Bastion II

ground at all times sloped down to the sea, there was one more course to the south than to the north. The individual blocks of the bastion are carefully cut out of poros stone with picked vertical face framed by a smooth band or drafting along the lower horizontal joint and as a rule, but not invariably, along the vertical ones as well; in the latter case however the drafting is usually narrower.

The north edge of the building passed well within that of the bastion in order to avoid the remaining stones of Wall I which still rise a meter higher than the euthynteria of the temple. The poros pavement of the sanctuary area abuts on the euthynteria blocks of the north and east sides, marking the limits of the building in these directions. The eastern boundary thus determined coincides with the inner face of the circuit wall north of the building (see below, p. 455); the poros pavement is also brought up to the wall face. There is no evidence for the western limit of the

Tower 3-II, a limekiln was placed in later times (diameter, 2.37 m.), and into this went doubtless not only wall and temple blocks but much of the votive statuary which once stood in the later precinct. As the modern village of Theologou has never had as much as a dozen houses and those at some distance from the acropolis, while in Byzantine times the acropolis itself was covered with quite a network of buildings, the limekilns probably date back to that period.¹²⁵

Towards the north, three courses of the bastion originally served as foundation and were covered with earth, and, as the

¹²⁵ The outline of the Byzantine church can be seen on the plan as well as that of the smaller one dating back to the days of Turkish occupation. Both were in ruins when excavation started.

temple, but the proportions of the building—which in any case is exceptionally shallow—are much more normal if we assume that this edge coincided with the west wall of the bastion.

Blocks A-D, T, Y, Z (Figs. 83, 85, 86) belong to the same building course; not only does the poros pavement abut on that level, but the absolute levels (given on the General Plan) agree within fifteen centimeters—a negligible difference for a demolished building known to have suffered earthquake shocks. This, then, is the



Fig. 85. Platform of Building on Bastion I, Southwest End (Man's Feet on Blocks I and J; Blocks of Later Building to Right)

euthynteria and from it we may measure the outer dimensions of the temple—6.80 m. (measuring to the west edge of the bastion) \times 9.20 m.

There seems to have been only one step above the euthynteria, as will be shown below, represented by blocks E and F to the south and block W to the north, which lie in situ. As can be seen in the photograph (Fig. 85) blocks I, G, H, etc., are about 0.07 m. lower than E and F; they are worn from exposure and use and form the inner pavement of the building. Blocks E and F, therefore, must have supported wall blocks. The outer edges of E and F are slightly higher than the rest of the surface and form a kind of lip against which the superimposed block was set; the inner edges show wear and exposure, while the rest of the surface is striated (Fig. 85). Deducting about 0.12 m. for each of these edges from the maximum width of F, we get about 0.60 m. as the maximum width of the wall block. This is sufficiently close to the 0.57 m.

width of block X, at the north end, which lies in situ on W and which from its position in relation to W suggests a wall block. The north-south dimensions from outer wall to outer wall are therefore 8.50 m.



Fig. 86. Blocks V-Z of Second Temple

We must now see what material is at hand for reconstruction. The different architectural members, which were recovered chiefly from the area directly in front of the building, appear in the following catalogue. There are, as we shall see, blocks of two distinct periods which can be assigned only to this temple because they were found, with one exception, well below the level of the second bastion and again, as in the case of the earlier shrine, no other foundation is available.

Further material for reconstruction is offered by the architectural terracotta members, simas, antefixes, and edge tiles, and by the terracotta sculpture, fragmentary but of exquisite quality. While the stones, on account of their weight, were never moved far from the site of the building, the terracottas were scattered all over the acropolis and were embedded in walls ranging from the fourth century B.C. to the Byzantine period. Provenance is given only where it is significant for the reconstruction or dating of the building.

The orientation of the building presents difficulties. The entrance was obviously not to the west, nor could it have been to the south, for here there was no adequate step. In fact the south edge of the building was outside the limit of the *temenos* as marked by the pavement. The wall block X lies in the middle of the northern end and the high stones of the old System I wall are additional obstructions to an approach from this quarter. The entrance must have been on the east side, making a normal orientation but an abnormal building plan. (The long axis of the building actually runs NE-SW.)



Fig. 87. Inner Face of West Circuit Wall

ARCHITECTURAL BLOCKS FROM SECOND TEMPLE AREA

1. Capital of Doric column with sixteen flutes (Figs. 88, 94). One example. Surface very much pitted and worn. No remnants of either paint or stucco. Of the annulets and flutings only traces remain. Height, 0.375 m.; length of abacus, 0.775 m.; height of abacus, 0.14 m.; height of echinus, 0.155 m.; diameter of column shaft, 0.44 m.; width of dowel hole, 0.06 m.; depth of dowel hole, 0.04 m.

2. Column drum with sixteen flutes. Two incomplete examples. (a) Drum broken; surface very much weathered. Eight arrises partially preserved. Red color. Height, 1.22 m. (b, Fig. 97). The lower end of the drum shows that it was sawed off. Broken at top. On one side cutting, probably for metal grill, very badly weathered. Red applied directly to surface of stone. Height, 0.775 m.; upper diameter, 0.415 m.; lower diameter, 0.475 m.; cutting for grill *ca.* 0.05 m. \times 0.05 m.

Some small fragments of flutes with red paint were found and probably belong to this system as the surface of the twenty-flute columns was stuccoed. The fourteen-flute system, on the other hand, had flat facets.

3. Capital of Doric column with twenty flutes (Figs. 90, 95). Two examples. (a) Only about one half preserved. Surface covered with very fine white marble stucco. The work on this capital is much better than that on the others. The diameter is marked by a fine incised line. Height, 0.2425 m.; length of abacus, 0.63 m.; height of abacus, 0.09 m.; height of echinus, 0.075 m.; diameter of base, 0.45 m.; diameter of dowel hole on abacus, 0.047 + m.; diameter of dowel hole for column drum, 0.075 m.; width of flute, 0.071 m. (b) Broken all around.

4. Column drum with twenty flutes. Nine, none complete, and numerous fragments which are also stuccoed and seem to belong to this system.

(a) One end with finished surface and characteristic fine line marking diameter, the other end broken. As the preserved contact surface has no dowel hole it may be lowest drum. Height, *ca.* 0.50 m.; diameter, 0.52 m.; width of flute, 0.08 m.

(b) Broken at both ends. Height, 0.29 m.; diameter, 0.54 m.; width of flutes varies, 0.082 m.-0.085 m.

(c) Broken at both ends and also at sides. Height, 0.525 m.; width of flutes diminishes from 0.081 m. to 0.078 m. in 0.387 m.

(d) One end broken; the other has dowel hole. Height, 0.50 m.; diameter, 0.58 m.; dowel hole, 0.07 m. \times 0.05 m.; depth of dowel hole, 0.025 m.

(e) Broken at both ends; one side cut off to facilitate reuse of block. Height, 0.35 m.; diameter, 0.53 m.-0.54 m.; width of flute, 0.085 m.

(f) Fragment with seven arrises. Width of flute, 0.076 m.

(g) Fragment with six arrises. Height, 0.27 m.; width of flute, 0.075 m.-0.078 m.

(h) Fragment with seven arrises and one end with dowel hole; horizontal surface striated. Height, 0.385 m.; dowel hole, 0.06 m. \times 0.07 m.; depth of dowel hole, 0.04 m.; width of flute, 0.08 m.-0.082 m.

(i) Only two arrises, but the surface treatment of finished end with fine incised line marking diameter shows that it probably belongs to this system. Height, 0.13 m.; width of flute, 0.08 m.

5. Architrave. Two examples and a possible third.

(a, Fig. 93.) Broken at both ends and bottom; back hacked. Top surface shows both dowel hole and lewis hole. Two draft lines parallel to the front edge and set back 0.039 m. and 0.078 m. from it. Of this surface 0.35 m. is carefully smoothed and what remains of the rest is more roughly picked and somewhat higher. Height of taenia, 0.05 m.; projection of taenia, 0.036 m.; height of regula, 0.035 m.; projection of regula, 0.025 m.; height of gutta, 0.015 m.-0.016 m.; diameter of gutta, 0.025 m.; distance between guttae, 0.041 m.; lewis hole, 0.10 m. \times 0.05 m.; depth of lewis hole, 0.16 m.; dowel hole, 0.015 m. \times 0.02 m.; depth of dowel hole, 0.02 m.

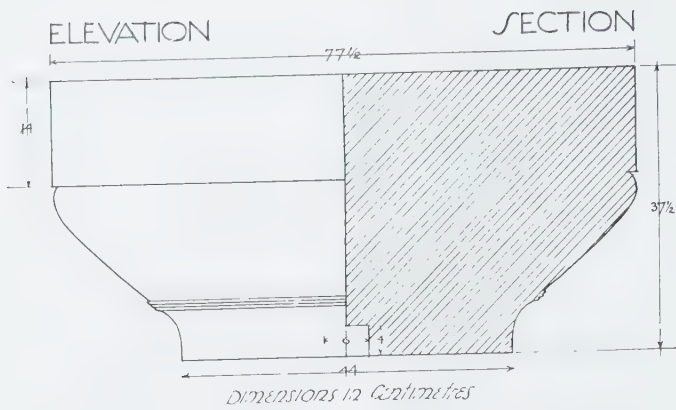


Fig. 88. Capital of Doric Column with Sixteen Flutes (No. 1)

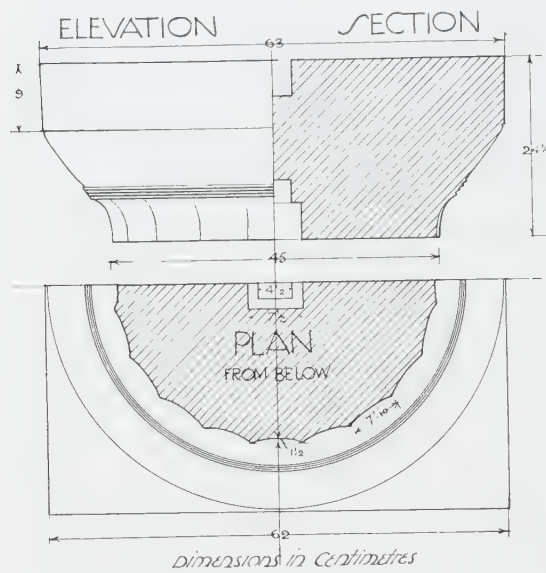


Fig. 90. Capital of Doric Column with Twenty Flutes (No. 3)

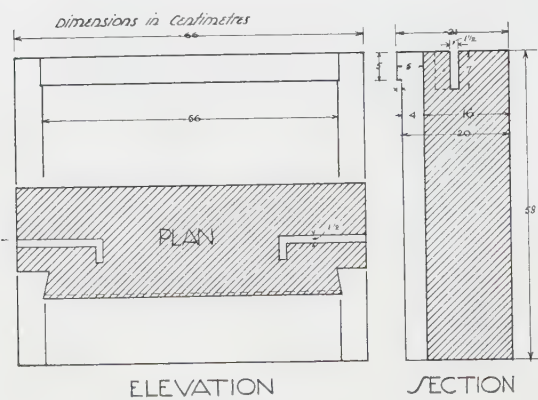


Fig. 92. Metope (No. 7a)

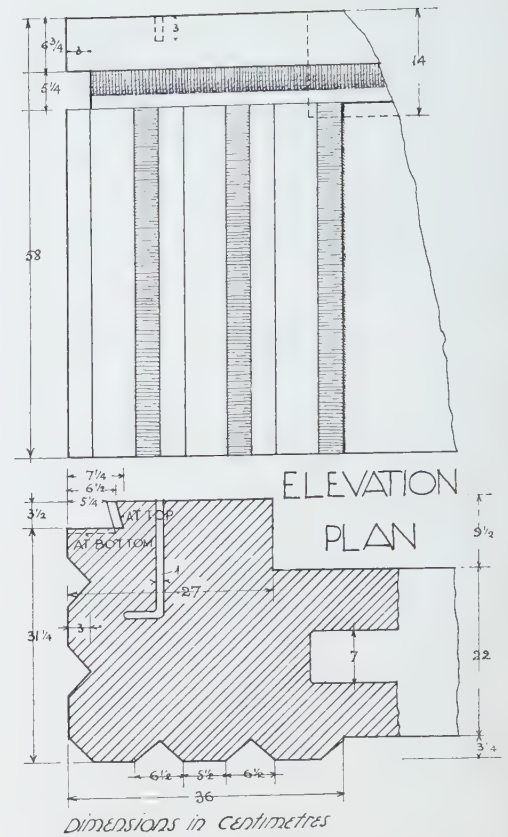


Fig. 89. Triglyph and Metope (No. 8a)

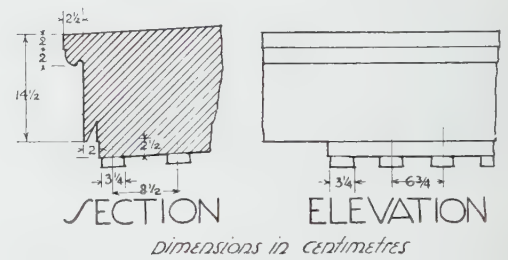


Fig. 91. Geison (No. 9a)

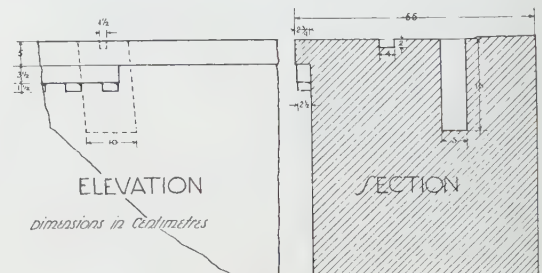


Fig. 93. Architrave (No. 5a)

Architectural Blocks from the Second Temple

(b) Top preserved and small piece of bottom; taenia broken but height complete. To right cutting, obviously for mend. Dimensions of cutting suggest that regula and guttae were inserted here. Left side broken; right side slopes back as if for join of right-angle corner. Complete height, 0.533 m.; height of taenia, 0.05 m.; length of mend cutting, 0.125 m.; on right contact side, anathyrosis, 0.065 m. wide; Z clamp, 0.165 m. \times 0.08 m., very shallow, placed 0.21 m. back of front vertical face of block.

(c) Probably the same system as above. The slight variations in measurement, especially the contraction in spacing the guttae, are normal for a corner block. Fragment of corner, broken at left; all other sides smooth. Preserved: regula with three guttae. Height of regula, 0.034 m.; height of gutta, 0.012 m.; diameter of gutta, 0.024 m.; distance between guttae, 0.035 m.-0.036 m.

6. Triglyph. Fragment of one glyph, smooth at back and bottom. Nail hole at right edge. Undoubtedly a mend piece for same type of triglyphs as that of combined frieze members. Blue when found. Height of taenia, 0.09 m.; width of triglyph face, 0.056 m.; preserved width of fragment, 0.115 m.; preserved thickness, 0.035 m.; return of face of triglyph to right, 0.045 m.

7. Metope. Four, of which one is complete.

(a, Fig. 92.) Complete. Traces of white stucco. Height, 0.58 m.; complete width, 0.66 m.; width of face, 0.56 m.; thickness, 0.21 m.; height of taenia, 0.05 m.; projection of taenia, 0.0075 m.; cutting recessed 0.06 m. \times 0.0525 m., forming acute angle; Z clamp, 0.17 m. \times 0.045 m.; width of Z clamp, 0.015 m.; depth of Z clamp, 0.07 m.

(b) Both sides broken. Top, bottom, and back original. Height, 0.585 m.; thickness, 0.22 m.; height of taenia, 0.053 m.; projection of taenia, 0.01 m. On top, two shallow depressions, probably pry holes, 0.06 m. and 0.16 m. from face of block. Front edge of top slightly beveled, 0.01 m. Setting line 0.038 m. from front.

(c, Fig. 98.) Broken at left side. Traces of white stucco. Height, 0.583 m.; thickness, 0.213 m.; height of taenia, 0.052 m.; projection of taenia, 0.01 m.; depth of side cutting, 0.059 m.; Z clamp, 0.175 m. \times 0.04 m.; depth of Z clamp, 0.03 m.; top front edge beveled, 0.011 m.; setting line 0.036 m. from front.

(d) Left side broken, apparently along line of recess, and bottom. Traces of two coats of stucco: lower, hard white marble stucco; upper more yellow. Complete height, 0.584 m.; height of taenia, 0.051 m.; extension of taenia, 0.01 m.; side cutting, 0.046 m. \times 0.065 m.; pry hole, on top, 0.06 m. from front and 0.48 m. from right side of block; Z clamp, 0.16 m. \times 0.05 m., set 0.08 m. from front edge.

8. Metope and triglyphs combined. Two; neither complete. (a, Fig. 89). Corner block; broken diagonally across the metope face. The cuttings between taenia and triglyphs and on the left vertical edge are both for mends. It is therefore not certain that we have the true height of either triglyphs or taenia. The upper part of the cutting is deeper than the part directly over the triglyph. Complete height, 0.58 m.; preserved height of triglyphs, 0.46 m.; complete width of triglyphs, 0.36 m.; width of face of single triglyph member, 0.055 m.; interspacing of triglyphs, 0.065 m.; preserved height of taenia, 0.067 m.; projection of taenia, 0.03 m.; Z clamp, 0.155 m. \times 0.05 m.; depth of Z clamp, 0.03 m.; width of lewis hole, 0.07 m.; depth of lewis hole, 0.14 m.; dowel, 0.065 m. \times 0.035 m. (b) Fragment of two triglyphs and part of metope. Broken on all sides except bottom. A drafted line, 0.01 m. from front edge of bottom. Traces of blue paint on triglyph.

9. Geison. Two, incomplete, and two small fragments of mutules and guttae.

(a, Fig. 91). Horizontal geison, broken at back and both sides. Height, 0.175 m.; preserved length, 0.30 m.; preserved thickness, 0.207 m.; height of hawksbeak moulding, 0.04 m.; projection of hawksbeak moulding, 0.025 m.; height of mutule, 0.023 m.; dimensions of mutule, 0.364 m. \times 0.204 m.; via, 0.103 m.; height of guttae, 0.014 m.; diameter of guttae, 0.0325 m.; number of guttae preserved, 8.

(b) Fragment with one original side to right. T clamp, 0.14 m. long, set 0.083 m. from front. Anathyrosis, 0.04 m. wide.

(c) Fragment of mutule with two guttae.

(d) Fragment of mutule with one gutta.

10. Geison (Fig. 99). Piece of corner geison (broken at both sides and back), the corner soffit, and parts of adjoining mutules (three guttae to left; eight to right). Originally probably two rows

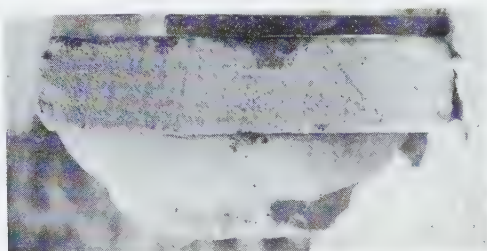


Fig. 94. Capital of Doric Column with Sixteen Flutes (No. 1)

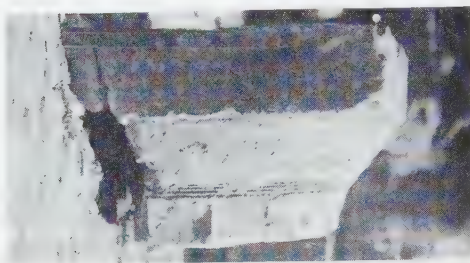


Fig. 95. Capital of Doric Column with Twenty Flutes (No. 3)

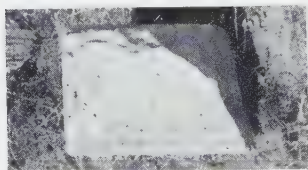


Fig. 96. Step Block (No. 11)



Fig. 97. Column Drum with Sixteen Flutes and Grill Cutting (No. 2b)



Fig. 98. Metope (No. 7c)

Architectural Blocks from the Second Temple

of guttae with six in a row on one side, single row of six on other. The stone disappeared before it could be properly drawn or photographed. I reproduce a drawing of my own of the geison viewed from below. Measurements of corner soffit without moulding: 0.22 m. \times 0.21 m. Maximum preserved length, right, 0.564 m.; maximum preserved length, left, 0.20 m.; projection of moulding, 0.053 m.; diameter of guttae, 0.032 m.; guttae spaced, 0.034 m.; first row of guttae 0.073 m. from base of moulding; distance between two rows of guttae, 0.065 m. Found at higher level than other architectural blocks.

11. Step blocks (Fig. 96)? Six examples; none complete.

(a) Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.77 m. The contact side has an anathyrosis, 0.09 m. wide on vertical sides and 0.07 m. on horizontal. Z clamp (0.007 m.-0.009 m. wide) measuring 0.12 m. \times 0.04 m. Upper surface weathered for 0.29 m.-0.31 m. from front surface. Narrow, smooth band at base of front vertical face; height, 0.025 m.

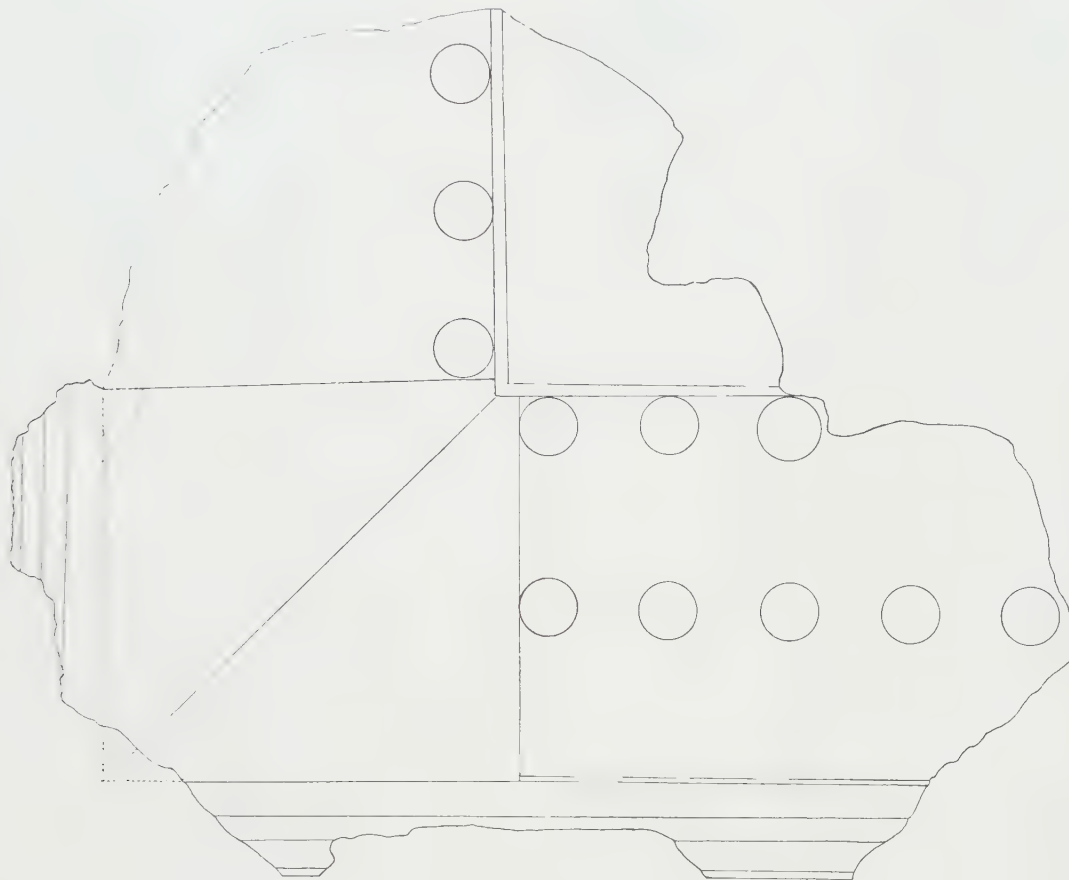


Fig. 99. Corner Geison (No. 10)

(b) Same as above but with slight relief line on bottom.

(c) Same as *a* with Z clamp, 0.19 m. \times 0.04 m. Top completely roughened.

(d) Same as above so far as preserved, but draft line 0.105 m. from front. Probably for setting of another stone.

(e) Same dimensions as above but with ledge at back (height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.035 m.). On upper surface, two cuttings one of which may have been for setting of stele, 0.25 m. \times 0.25 m.

(f) Fragment of similar height to above examples.

TERRACOTTA ARCHITECTURAL MEMBERS FROM SECOND TEMPLE AREA¹²⁶

1. Eave tiles with cable pattern (Fig. 102). Fourteen; some very fragmentary, none complete. The number of preserved fragments does not, of course, represent a corresponding number of individual tiles. Clay pink. Cable pattern, alternating black and dark red, stands out against background of fine yellow, slightly polished slip; eye of cable black. Gabled rise at contact edge, dark red; yellow slip on top surface; no color on under side. Incised lines outline the cable pattern. A shallow horizontal incised line marks the center of the pattern and a compass was used for drawing the eye. On top, front and contact edges are slightly beveled. One example has hole for nail 0.165 m. from front edge. Length not completely preserved in any examples. Greatest preserved length, 0.28 m.; height where tiles meet, 0.075 m.; height elsewhere, 0.05 m.-0.051 m.; width not completely preserved in any example, but only that of actual contact edge—0.135 m.
2. Eave tile. Meander pattern almost entirely effaced but probably like raking cornice No. 9. One example; broken at right side and back. Bottom of slab covered with cream yellow slip with one carelessly painted black band. On top, 0.15 m. from front edge and 0.07 m. from contact edge, is an iron nail set in lead. Length, 0.29 m.; height, 0.056 m. The edge of the top surface is beveled back about 0.04 m. and much worn. Contact edge to left with typical well.
3. Combination antefix and eave tile (Fig. 103). Two incomplete examples. Contact of eave tile and antefix horizontal, instead of gabled. The measurements, such as could be ascertained, differ slightly from those of separate tile and antefix. Width of antefix at base, 0.196 m.; height of eave tile, 0.062 m.
4. Antefix (Fig. 102) with seven-petaled palmette rising from tendriled stems which curve out and down to lower corners of base of tile and are held together by band; below band, a dart. Twenty-one fragments, some very small. Black and red on yellow, slightly polished slip. Red: four alternate leaves, heart of palmette, eye of volute, central band, dart between tendrils. Red band around edge. The palmette is executed in low relief. Height at center, 0.215 m.; width, 0.193 m. (these measurements vary in the different examples within 0.002 m.); length of cover tile not preserved; greatest preserved length, 0.33 m.
5. Ridge palmette I (Fig. 104). Same general scheme as antefix, with addition of petals between stem and volutes which take place of tendrils. Volute has no eye; stem thick and curves out, but not down, to base. Five; two fairly complete, other small fragments; none of attached ridge tile preserved. Same color scheme as that of antefix; additional petals at side red. No relief; design executed in paint only and with less sureness and delicacy than that of antefix. Only obtainable measurement: width across volutes, 0.216 m.
6. Ridge Palmette II (Fig. 105). Eleven-petaled palmette. One incomplete; broken diagonally. Clay red. Cream yellow slip. Petals black; center of palmette red. Pattern partially effaced. Careless work. Preserved height, 0.144 m.; greatest width, 0.112 m.
7. Raking Cornice, Type I-1 (Fig. 100) consisting of narrow upper torus with vertical bands; torus and fascia with double design of alternating five-petaled palmette and lotus connected by curving stems. Three; no complete examples.

¹²⁶ The terracottas both architectural and sculptural are described in Van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments*, but the complete material was not at the disposal of the author, and certain fragments are wrongly interpreted. She was misinformed when she attributed (p. 40, no. 165, fig. 98) a cornice with "double-paired papyrus" to Halae. Error repeated by Buschor, *Tondächer der Akropolis*, I, p. 24.



Fig. 100. Raking Cornice (No. 7)



Fig. 101. Raking Cornice (No. 9)



Fig. 102. Eave Tile (No. 1) and Antefix (No. 4)



Fig. 103. Antefix and Eave Tile Combined (No. 3)

Terracotta Architectural Fragments from Second Temple Area

(a) Broken at left side. Black: alternating vertical bands on upper torus, calyx of lotus, connecting stems, alternating petals of palmette (two), and arc of palmette base. Red: alternating vertical bands of upper torus, center of lotus, alternating leaves of palmette (three). Incised lines, made before painting the ornament, mark the horizontal and vertical axes of the pattern as well as the arcs of the lotus petals. Preserved length, 0.46 m.; complete height, 0.083 m.; height of upper torus, 0.03 m.; height of principal torus, 0.072 m.; height of fascia, 0.091 m.; distance between points of lotus calyx varies, 0.107 m.-0.11 m.; width of vertical bands on upper torus, 0.056 m.-0.059 m.



Fig. 104. Ridge Palmette (No. 5)

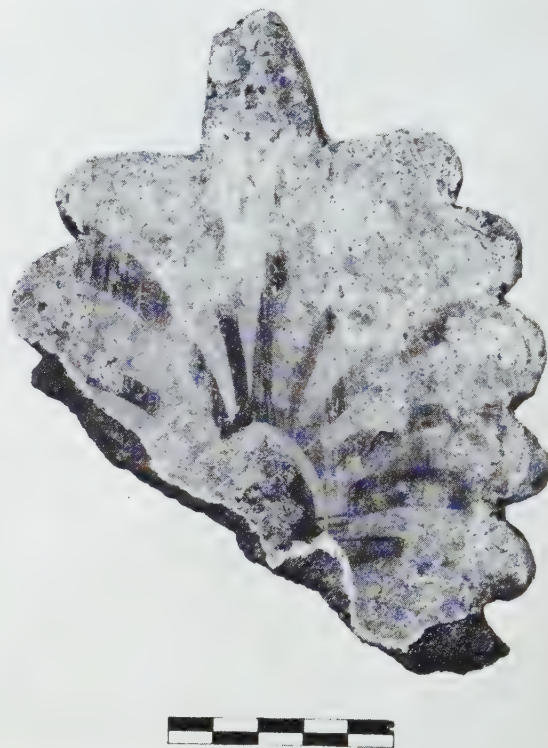


Fig. 105. Ridge Palmette (No. 6)

(b) Upper torus broken and right side. Found embedded in cement of Byzantine wall; all colors obliterated.

(c) Piece of fascia. Preserved length, 0.16 m.

8. Raking Cornice, Type I-2. Thirteen examples; none complete. Color and pattern as No. 7. The measurements as reconstructed from different pieces are the same as in 7 except that distance between points of lotus calyx sometimes is 0.101 m. and width of vertical bands of upper torus is 0.03 m.

(a) Left end broken; fascia only partially preserved. On top, letter B incised. Length, 0.176 m.

(b) Left end broken and fascia partially broken. On back, in red paint, letter E. Length, 0.265 m.

(c) Most of fascia missing. Letter D incised on upper surface. Length, 0.29 m.

(d-m) Fragments varying from 0.057 m. to 0.29 m. in preserved length.

9. Raking Cornice, Type II (Fig. 101). Double stopped meander enclosing checkerboard. One example; broken at top, both sides, and back. Cream-yellow slip. Black: lines of meander; band along edge of under surface. Red: checkerboard; band on under surface next to black band. The clay core rises above meander pattern and curves out, showing that something has been broken off. This must have been the upper part of the cornice probably in the form of the cyma reversa. (Cf. Hill, *Corinth*, IV, i, *Decorated Architectural Terracottas*, pl. V.) Height, 0.07 m.; length, 0.115 m.; height of meander, 0.055 m.; width of meander, 0.08 m.; width of band next to edge, 0.01 m.; width of adjoining band, 0.018 m.

FRAGMENTS OF TERRACOTTA SCULPTURE FROM SECOND TEMPLE AREA

A finely polished buff slip from 0.002-0.006 m. thick and a pink to red core is common to all the pieces, although the slip is not preserved in all cases.

SPHINXES

1. Fig. 106. Preservation: one side of rump, upper part of legs and tail missing. Surface worn and slip partially missing; legs joined together by a band painted brown-black. Length, 0.19 m.; height, 0.12 m.; length of foreleg, 0.15 m.
2. Fig. 107. Preservation: one side of rump, upper part of one leg, tail missing. Well-preserved surface, somewhat blackened. The tail must have been brought forward; the point of attachment can still be seen on the broken edge of the stump of the leg. Length, 0.24 m.; height, 0.23 m.; length of foreleg, 0.19 m.
3. Fig. 114. Preservation: fragment of upper part of wing. Broken at both vertical edges and chipped at lower edge. Inner side of wing is the red clay with a somewhat rough surface without slip or paint. Slip, yellow; paint black (latter not very deep in tone; tending to a brownish to purple tinge in spots). Length, 0.192 m.; height, 0.194 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.-0.036 m.
4. Figs. 112-113. Preservation: broken piece of lower part of wing with small piece of adjacent back. Only the thickness of the wing complete. Surface and colors well preserved; black for feathers; scale pattern divided from feathers by one red, one black line; scales outlined in brown-black with alternating black and red centers; plain red band at inner base of wing. Height, 0.16 m.; length, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.039 m.
5. Fig. 115. Preservation: part of breast and beginning of neck. Scales outlined in black without colored centers; at base of neck two bands, of which the upper shows traces of red color and the lower is now without paint; part of the scale pattern chipped off, but the space between scales and plain slipped surface represents approximately the beginning of the hair and wing; the head presented full face. Height, 0.195 m.; length, 0.18 m.; thickness of clay, *ca.* 0.05 m.
6. Fig. 116, left. Preservation: part of foreleg, broken at both ends. In two pieces; slip well preserved except at one point of join. Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.063 m.; thickness, 0.049 m.
7. Fig. 108. Preservation: neck and part of breast. Broken at all the edges; at top about middle of throat; at left a bit of hair preserved (black), at bottom and left a few scales (outlined against breast, black, scale centers alternately black and dark red), around base of throat a plain plastic necklace (red). Height, 0.099 m.; width, 0.083 m.; thickness of necklace, 0.009 m.
8. Preservation: Fragment of top of polos. Piece with central hole; no yellow clay slip preserved. This piece is lost at present. Not illustrated, but similar to Theban sphinx: *Monuments Piot*, 1899, pl. XII; also Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 49, 3-4.

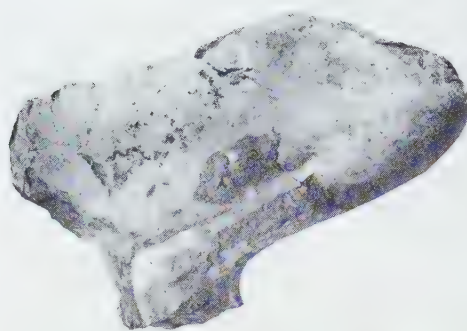


Fig. 106. Rump (No. 1)

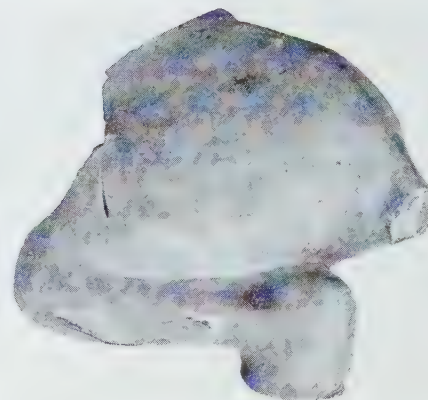


Fig. 107. Rump (No. 2)



Fig. 108. Neck (No. 7)



Fig. 109. Head (No. 12)



Fig. 110. Polos (No. 10)

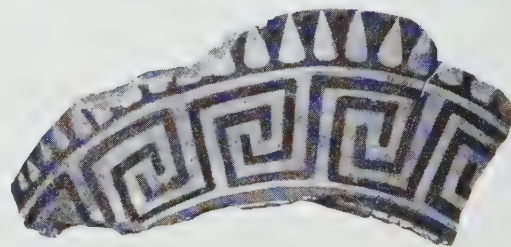


Fig. 111. Polos (No. 11)

Fragments of Terracotta Sphinxes from Second Temple Area

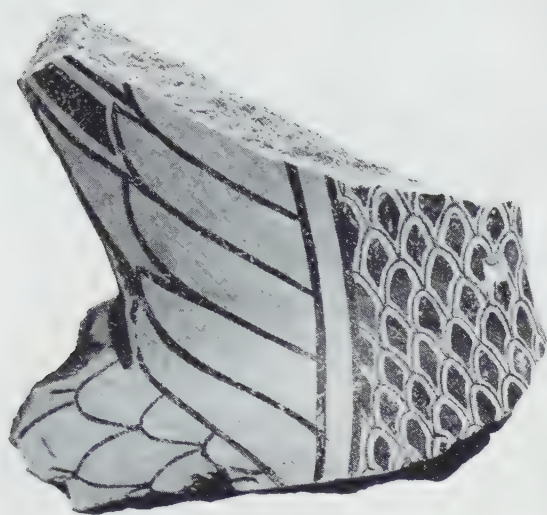


Fig. 112. Wing (No. 4)

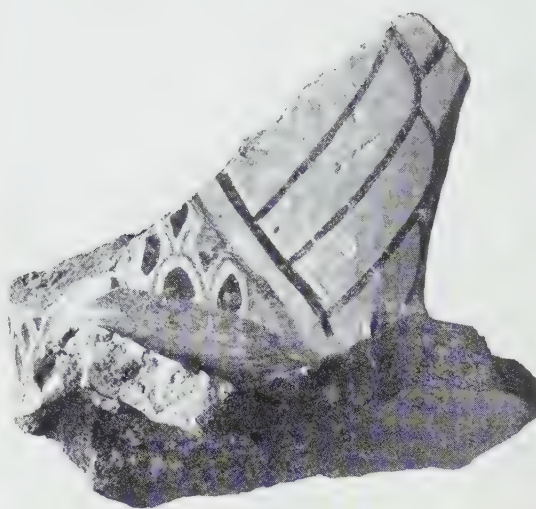


Fig. 113. Wing (No. 4)

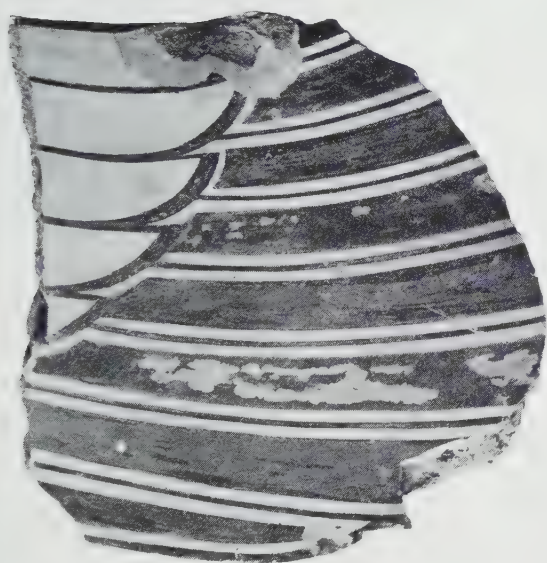


Fig. 114. Wing (No. 3)

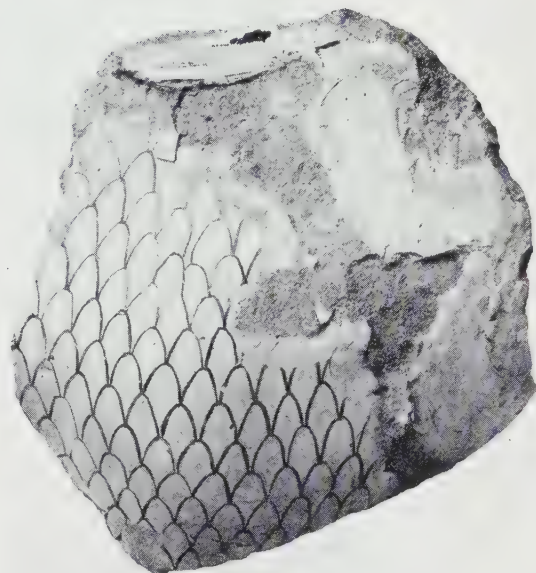


Fig. 115. Body (No. 5)

Fragments of Terracotta Sphinxes from Second Temple Area



Fig. 116. Legs of Sphinx (No. 6) and Horse (No. 28)

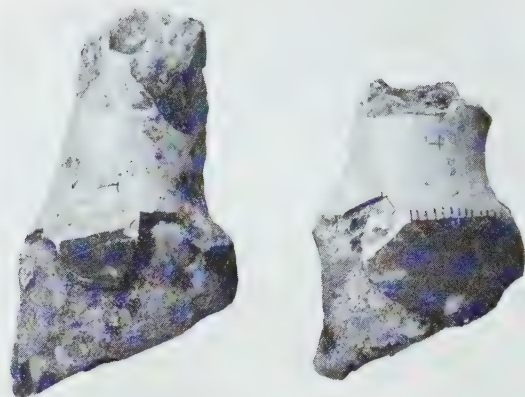


Fig. 117. Horses' Hooves (Nos. 24, 25)

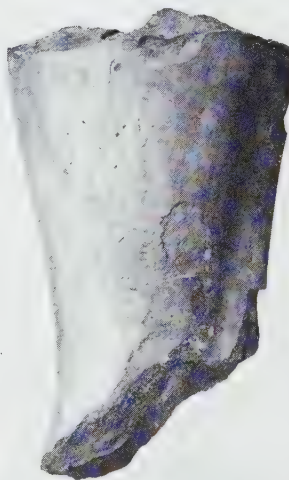


Fig. 119. Hind Leg of Horse (No. 26)



Fig. 120. Horses' Tails (Nos. 20, 21)

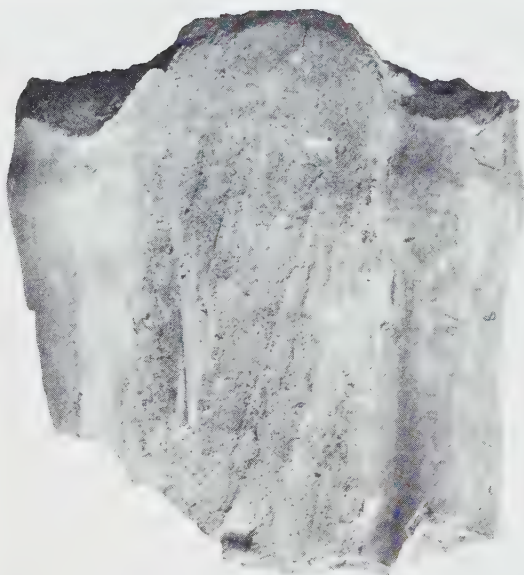


Fig. 118. Forelegs of Horse or Sphinx (No. 30)



Fig. 121. Horse's Mane (No. 18)

Fragments of Terracotta Sculpture from Second Temple Area

9. Not illustrated. Preservation: nondescript piece with very worn surface due to the action of water; slip preserved only in small area and there worn very thin. In color and texture it resembles sphinx No. 1 and may be part of the breast just above legs. Height, 0.122 m.; width, 0.096 m.

10. Fig. 110. Preservation: fragment of polos. Curved band broken at both ends and at bottom, chipped at top; thickens towards base, widens at middle. Made of the fine yellow clay of the slip,



Fig. 122. Terracotta Head (No. 13)
From Second Temple Area

slightly rose-colored at core. Pattern carried out in dark red and black-brown used alternately; red band at upper rim. Two parallel crenelations (upper black, lower red) enclosing four-petaled rosettes reserved in clay on an alternately black and red ground; below crenelations, parallel red and black bands. Height, 0.0421 m.; preserved length, 0.114 m.

11. Fig. 111. Preservation: fragment of polos. Curved band thickening towards base and widening at the center; broken at both ends and bottom, chipped at top. Clay as above but more rose-tinted at core. Colors: black and pale yellow-brown. Upper edge, rays reserved in clay against black background; broken fret of alternating black and yellow-brown; below, yellow-brown band. Height, 0.044 m.; preserved length, 0.102 m.

FEMALE HEADS

12. Figs. 109. Preservation: head. (On account of flatness of face undoubtedly a sphinx.) Traces of burning. Broken off at back, at top of head just above edge of hair, below at throat; most of nose and all of mouth missing; surface very much injured with much of yellow slip gone. Eyes large with pupils indicated in black, eyelashes drawn with fine lines on both lids (cf. No. 13); hair scalloped over forehead and parted in center. Height, 0.128 m.; width, 0.095 m.; base of hair (center) to base of chin, 0.105 m.; bridge of nose to base of chin, 0.07 m.; distance between eyes, 0.019 m.; length of eye, 0.019 m.; height of eye, 0.009 m.; space between eyes, 0.021 m.; inner edge of ear to tip (approximate) of nose, *ca.* 0.06 m.

13. Figs. 122, 123. Preservation: three pieces; broken off at back, over left eye and bridge of nose, and below top of right ear; all but small piece of neck missing. Hair and details of eye, band behind broken polos black and dull purple; lips light red, traces of same

color on circular earring; eye outlined; lashes indicated by short delicate lines; iris solid. Hair brought forward in front of ear in triangular arrangement of strands of which only the outer one is distinctly rippled; scalloped over forehead. In two places—above right eye and behind polos—surface worked smooth around square sinkings, possibly for repairs. Height, 0.122 m.; width, 0.110 m.; thickness, 0.091 m.; bridge of nose to base of chin, 0.077 m.; base of nose to base of chin, 0.045 m.; from inner edge of ear to tip of nose, 0.07 m.; distance between eyes, 0.017 m.; length of eye (inner measurements), 0.023 m.; height of eye, 0.011 m.; width of mouth, 0.032 m.

14. Not illustrated. Preservation: from side of head; broken all round and most of surface gone. Where preserved shows black hair arranged in parallel ripples with individual strands indicated in front by short vertical incisions. Height, 0.132 m.; width, 0.85 m.

15. Fig. 124. Preservation: part of neck, cheek, hair and complete ear. Hair (black) drawn down on cheek in front of ear in four rippled strands,

below ear falls in plain strands, lobe of ear enlarged and probably originally had a circular earring painted on it. Beginning of polos above ear. Height, 0.08 m.; width, 0.08 m.

16. Fig. 128. Preservation: piece of hair and ear, broken all round. The ear must have stood at right angles to the face; the hair lying flat against the side of the head is divided into parallel rows of rectangles. Traces of red paint on ear and hair. Red clay; no slip. Height, 0.187 m.; width, 0.12 m.

17. Not illustrated. Preservation: piece of similar hair; probably from back of head. Height, 0.155 m.

HORSES

18. Figs. 121, 129. Preservation: piece of mane and adjacent head; broken at all edges except top and part of front edge, showing the position of ear (now missing) and traces of the bridle; mane dark red-brown, bridle lighter red.



Fig. 123. Side View of Fig. 122



Fig. 124. Fragment of Toe (No. 34)
Fragment of Head (No. 15)



Fig. 125. Fragment of Arm (No. 32) and
Hand (No. 33)



Fig. 126. Fragment of Drapery (No. 35)

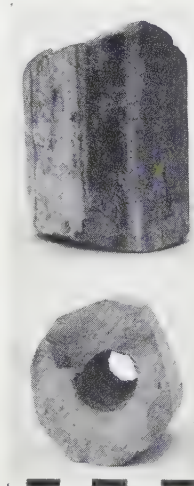


Fig. 127.
Fragment of
Support
(No. 31)



Fig. 128. Fragment of Hair
(No. 16)

Fragments of Terracotta Sculpture from Second Temple Area

19. Not illustrated. Preservation: small piece of mane; surface very much mutilated. Height, 0.055 m.; width, 0.10 m.
20. Figs. 120, 130. Preservation: end of tail, chipped at ends. Cross section forms an arc. Color dark red. Length, 0.15 m.; width, 0.047 m.
21. Fig. 120. Preservation: piece of tail broken only at top where an inserted piece of lead indicates ancient break; end cut off straight. Length, 0.128 m.; width, 0.045 m.
22. Fig. 129. Preservation: fragment of neck; broken at all edges; surface very much worn. Height, 0.10 m.
23. Fig. 130. Preservation: piece of hind fetlock; surface damaged. Height, 0.103 m.; width, 0.057 m.
24. Figs. 117, 132. Preservation: hoof and bit of leg; broken only on top. Much of slip missing; fine yellow slip on bottom of hoof. Hoof black with black radiating lines at upper edge indicating hairs. Height, 0.08 m.; width, at top of hoof, 0.047 m.; width at bottom of hoof, 0.062 m.
25. Fig. 117. Preservation: hoof with part of leg; surface damaged, much of slip missing; bottom of hoof has very thin yellow slip. Height, 0.11 m.; width at bottom of hoof, 0.065 m.
26. Figs. 119, 130. Preservation: part of hind leg; surface damaged, most of slip gone; broken at both ends. On top, tubular depression, 0.06 m. deep. Height, 0.135 m.; width at top, 0.09 m.; width at bottom, 0.61 m.; thickness, 0.063 m.
- 26a. Not illustrated. Preservation: hock with adjacent leg; broken at both ends; surface damaged. Height, 0.126 m.; width at top, 0.055 m.; width at bottom, 0.044 m.; thickness, 0.042 m.
27. Not illustrated. Preservation: piece of leg broken at both ends. Height, 0.048 m.; width, 0.052 m.
28. Figs. 116 (right), 132. Preservation: part of leg above knee; broken at both ends; slip flaked in spots and on whole in poor condition. Height, 0.171 m.; width at top, 0.082 m.; width at bottom, 0.052 m.
29. Not illustrated. Preservation: piece of leg including portion of fetlock (?). No slip. Height, 0.085 m.; width, 0.058 m.
30. Fig. 118. Preservation: portion of forelegs from above knees to different points above ankles; broken on all sides; legs made in one and connected by flat piece of clay of rather rough surface with a thin smear of yellow slip. At knees two lines of brown-black paint. Height of right leg, 0.173 m.; height of left leg, 0.12 m.; width across knees, 0.18 m. Identification uncertain, possibly sphinx.
31. Fig. 127. Central support.¹²⁷ Preservation: broken section of irregularly octagonal hollow rod. Originally painted red. Height, 0.07 m.; maximum diameter, 0.049 m.

FEMALE (?) FIGURES

32. Figs. 125 (right), 131. Elbow (probably female), slightly bent. Preservation: two joining fragments; broken at ends. Much of slip missing. Length of upper arm, 0.085 m. (inner measurement), 0.115 m. (outer measurement); length of lower arm, 0.05 m. (inner measurement), 0.065 m. (outer measurement); width of upper arm, 0.053 m.; width of lower arm, 0.048 m.

¹²⁷ Cf. H. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, pls. 137-138, no. 700.



Fig. 129. Nos. 18 and 22



Fig. 130. Nos. 20, 23, and 26

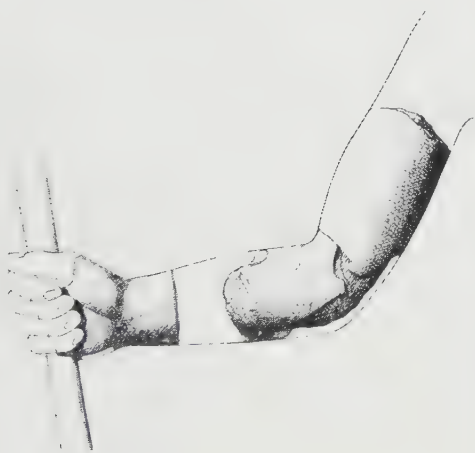


Fig. 131. Nos. 32 and 33



Fig. 132. Nos. 24 and 28

Reconstructions of Terracotta Sculpture Fragments by Piet de Jong

33. Figs. 125 (left), 131. Part of hand and wrist. Preservation: broken at top slightly above wrist, below at start of fingers. Much of slip gone and what remains shows signs of burning or at least of contact with burned material. Inside of hand never slipped; shows a smooth somewhat hollowed surface. Length, 0.073 m.; width at wrist, 0.038 m.

MISCELLANEOUS

34. Fig. 124 (top). Toe. Preservation: outer edge original, other broken off; end with finely marked nail complete. Length, 0.05 m.

35. Fig. 127. Drapery. Preservation: three joining pieces broken at top, bottom and inner side, but outer zigzag edge complete; at upper end, piece of snake, the body marked by black center line and spots consisting of arcs and solid blotches. Broad black stripe between narrow black ones on edge of garment; a small piece of inner diagonal parallel folds preserved to right. Height, 0.215 m.; width, 0.105 m.

36. Not illustrated. Drapery. Preservation: fragment, possibly the diagonal folds of cloak from back of a draped figure. Coating of fine yellow clay very thin. Dimensions, 0.157 m. by 0.54 m.

This exhausts the material available for reconstruction of the building. Of columns we have one of sixteen flutes (No. 2) with a very pronounced tapering of the shaft and the capital with broad abacus. The profile of the echinus and the relation of echinus to abacus is that of buildings of the last quarter of the sixth and early fifth centuries, such as the treasuries of Megara and Sikyon at Olympia. There is also a certain resemblance to the capital of the Aphaia temple at Aegina. The only geison block, on the other hand, assignable to this level (No. 9) has the T clamp and a profile of the end of the fifth century.¹²⁸ The terracotta sima is similar to that of the Megarian treasury at Olympia except that the calyx of the Halae lotus is formed by an open circle and omits the solid base for the palmette, whereas on the Megarian pattern the lotus springs directly from the connecting stems and the base of the palmette is solid. This gives an added grace and lightness to the Halae sima perhaps at the cost of vigor. The Halae antefix, however, is somewhat simpler than the Megarian, for it omits entirely the lotus in reverse. The palmette of the ridge tiles is a less graceful variant of the antefix. Although we have none of the attachments of akroteria, at least some of the fragmentary terracotta sculpture, presumably the sphinxes, must have been placed at the angles of the gable. A group of two horses, each with one forefoot raised, may be composed of the fragments Nos. 18-31. The type is that of the Acropolis marble no. 700. There is no evidence that these two horses served as akroteria figures but, as Mrs. van Buren has already pointed out,¹²⁹ parallels can be found in Magna Graecia if not in Greece itself.

The drapery (No. 35) with serpent must belong to an Athena statue, and with it I should like to associate the hand and arm, restoring, as shown in Fig. 131, a spear. This, on the analogy of the Athena of the Aegina pediments, may have been carried

¹²⁸ L. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, pls. LIV, 2, and LXXIII, 25, dated 415 B.C. "The Halae piece is to be dated between the Argive Heraeum temple and the Delphi Tholos."

¹²⁹ Van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments*, p. 41.

diagonally across the body rather than as restored. If Athena carried a spear in one hand, the other may very well have supported her helmet, but for this we have no evidence. The exquisite head, Figs. 122-123, with the piece of neck (Fig. 108) must be that of a sphinx. The two pieces do not actually join, but very probably belong together.

The rumps of two sphinx bodies were found, but they differ in size, while all three fragmentary heads are of the same scale, well suited to the smaller body, but not to the larger one for which they seem too small. We must, therefore, assume that two sphinx bodies are entirely lost and that there is no head for No. 2. The pieces Nos. 3, 4, and 5, on account of their size, I should like to assign to No. 1.

The headdresses Nos. 10 and 11 cannot be definitely placed. No. 11 may, however, belong to head 13 if we suppose the lower line under the fret pattern to have disappeared as the band narrowed to the side. No. 10 cannot be assigned with certainty but would be suitable in style to any one of the three heads. These are all very similar, although No. 12, on account of its damaged surface, looks even flatter and therefore more archaic than it is in reality. The arrangement of the hair is identical, as well as the drawing of the eyelashes. Except for Nos. 16 and 17, which are more archaic and have already been assigned to the lower level, all our fragments are of the late archaic period and may very well belong to a building contemporary with or only slightly later than the Megarian treasury. I have always thought of these terracottas as of Corinthian origin, and one gladly accepts the confirmation of so great a student of Corinthian art as Payne.¹³⁰ The workmanship, although not of equal excellence in all the pieces, is of a very high order and the vibrant energy of the sphinx (No. 2), the freshness and delicacy of modeling of the head (No. 13) with its lingering archaic smile, the skill in rendering the sense of delicate flesh in the hand and arm mark these as masterpieces of their genre.

In discussing the first temple it was pointed out that while the entablature and geison blocks of which the poros pavement was largely composed could be associated with a second phase of that building, the circumstances of their finding suggested that they might very well have been buried at a later date than the earliest columns. If we look over these architectural blocks, I think it will be evident that in style and in color scheme they would go excellently with a building of the end of the sixth century, a date suggested by the parallels we have cited above for the column (Figs. 88, 94), for the architectural terracottas, for the akroteria figures, and sustained by the date of the latest objects found in the layer of earth which covered the altar (see p. 397). It will be seen too that the preserved measurements of the first list of entablature members (pp. 401 ff.) and those of the second (pp. 435 ff.) are in some instances identical and in others show only slight variations. The color scheme is,

¹³⁰ Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 239 and p. 262, note 6: "I have seen the head of the sphinx, it was certainly made at Corinth."

however, different, for the triglyphs of the first list were black and those of the second blue. We have too no geison block to associate with the earlier column of the second level (No. 1), unless we take the one buried in the pavement; for Fig. 91, found at a higher level, is obviously of later date. I should therefore like to suggest the following history for the two buildings. The earliest building, which never had a stone entablature or cornice, was razed and buried sometime after 510 B.C., together with its altar, under a thick covering of earth. Then the new building placed on the bastion took the place of the early shrine, and to this period belong the blocks of Figs. 28, 29, 31, 88, 94, 96-97 and all the architectural terracottas and the sculpture of the same material with the exceptions of Nos. 16 and 17 (see p. 448). In the great earthquakes of 426 and 425, the latter accompanied by catastrophic inundations, which were recorded by ancient authors¹³¹ as of such exceptional violence that they tore the island of Atalante across the bay from Halae in two, the superstructure of the building collapsed, and the temple area was strewn with blocks. Probably more in order to dispose of the débris than for any other reason they were pounded up, a few bits escaping complete disintegration, and smoothed over the temenos in the form of a pavement; the amount of color in the poros shows that it was composed perhaps entirely of architectural material. Then on the original basement the columns of Figs. 90, 95 were erected and the entablature of the second list including geison No. 9 (Fig. 91). The diameters of capitals Nos. 1 and 3 differ by only one centimeter, and in view of the worn condition of the surface of No. 1 and the fact that we have only half of No. 3, they may in reality have been identical. It is even possible that some of the entablature consisted of blocks which survived the earthquake and were recut (Nos. 7-8). This would account for the numerous mends and difference in the style of clamps used here and in the later geison (No. 9). The capital No. 3 and the geison are very close in style to those of the Argive Heraion, and if we accept for the second temple of Hera the date proposed by Professor Dinsmoor—423 B.C.—the Halae building, which is slightly later in style,¹³² was rebuilt not long after the disastrous earthquakes. It seems unlikely that all the terracotta simas and tiles could be reused after they had fallen from the roof. The meander type Nos. 2 and 9 and the ridge palmette No. 6 may belong here, but more probably belong to the later building erected on Bastion II. In general they are more characteristic of the fourth century, although early types like our sima have been placed in the fifth.¹³³ (Further, see Addenda, No. 2.)

Although we can restore the order of our building and get some inkling of the brilliance of its original decoration, it is hardly possible to reconstitute the actual plan.

¹³¹ Thucydides, III, 89; Diodorus, XII, 59; Strabo, I, 60, quoting Demetrius of Callatis.

¹³² Shoe, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

¹³³ Van Buren, *op. cit.*, p. 40, "Black stopped meander of unusual type --- apparently the artist was still experimenting with the meander pattern which had not yet assumed the rigid uniformity afterwards imposed upon it"; cf. *ibid.*, p. 165, no. 27, assigned to the fourth century; *Corinth*, IV, i, p. 18, fig. 16.

The interaxial distance (1.84 m., the sum of two triglyphs and two metopes) would fit a tetrastyle prostyle or a distyle in antis façade along the north side. But the wall block X precludes even the possibility of a porch which was entered from the eastern corner. None of the eastern stylobate is preserved to indicate the emplacement for columns. The length of 8.50 m. corresponds exactly to four interaxial spaces ($4 \times 1.84 \text{ m.} = 7.36 \text{ m.}$) plus twice the width of the wall block ($1.14 \text{ m.} + 7.36 \text{ m.} = 8.50 \text{ m.}$), but this is perhaps pure coincidence. Four interaxial spaces bring a column directly in the center of the façade and the remainder, after deducting the interaxial spaces, should equal an anta or a lower diameter; it is unlikely that an anta would be twice the width of the wall block. Lack of evidence prevents us from determining a plan which must have been atypical. It resembles in shape far less a temple than such buildings as the ex-voto of Krateros at Delphi or the Lesche of the Cnicians,¹³⁴ and may not have been completely open at the front. Evidence for a grill between columns for whatever space was open is furnished by fragment No. 2, Fig. 98. I believe, however, that it contained the cult statue, for the heavy base inscribed *Ἥαλεες ἀνέθεν τ' Ἀθάναι*, although no longer in situ, was found on the floor of the building.¹³⁵ In the buildings of Halae we see reflected the evolution of the small Greek town during the sixth century: at the beginning provincial isolation expressed in the crude sculpture and awkward capitals of the first level, at the end participation in a common standard of excellence open to all who could afford to pay for its products.

To the north, and in line with the front of the temple, runs a wall of ashlar masonry (Fig. 87 and General Plan). It is undoubtedly contemporary with the building, for the poros pavement, wherever preserved, runs up to the base of the lowest course of the wall. The second course is slightly set back, the individual stones have a broad band of drafting on three sides. The upper surface of the second course is not horizontal and could hardly have carried another layer of blocks, but may have supported a crude brick superstructure, or simply an embankment of earth. This ashlar masonry seems to have replaced the inner face of the circuit wall, for directly behind it was a fill typical of the older system.

At the same time a narrow barrier was erected at the eastern end of the temenos (Plate III). The foundation, still in situ, consists of alternating thin stones and slightly heavier ones. This must have carried some kind of balustrade possibly with pilasters on the broader foundations connected by bars of wood or metal.¹³⁶ The heavier stones farther east follow the same general direction and, although at the same level, are of later date.¹³⁷ No traces of an altar were found above the pavement. It may very well

¹³⁴ *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, 1-2, p. 237; Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XX, 1896, pp. 633-9.

¹³⁵ *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, p. 442, fig. 5.

¹³⁶ Cf. Ernst Buschor, "Heraion von Samos," *Ath. Mitt.*, LV, 1930, p. 53, Abb. 24, for a balustrade or fence marking the temenos boundary.

¹³⁷ The southern limit of the pavement is marked by a broken line on the General Plan.

have been destroyed by the network of Byzantine walls which covered the eastern end of the temenos reaching down in many instances below the pavement itself.

Of the building which replaced the second temple in the fourth century when the system of fortifications was enlarged and Bastion II erected, little remains except a few straps of stone, which were in part above ground before the excavation began. They may in a general way indicate lines of wall and suggest a temple in antis approximately 7.00 m. by 10.00 m. I have already said that the corner geison No. 10 and the sima and eave tile Nos. 9 and 2 as well as the ridge palmette No. 6 probably belong here.

OBJECTS FROM ABOVE POROS PAVEMENT AND FROM BROKEN AREAS¹³⁸

POTTERY

Red Figure¹³⁹

1. Fig. 133. Fragments of a column-krater. From a vase like the one by the Syriskos painter in Würzburg (no. 527: Langlotz, *Gr. Vas. in Würzburg*, pl. 212; pl. 135 shows the neck wrongly restored). Beazley (*Att. Vas.*, p. 158, no. 6) considers it to be a stamnos but, as Langlotz points out, rays are not found on stamnoi of the fifth century. The single line under the scene, although found occasionally on stamnoi, is far commoner on kraters.

A. Bacchic scene. Glaze imperfect; relief contours around face and neck; some use of diluted glaze for details. Traces of preliminary sketch. Maenad striding to left with thyrsos held horizontally in right hand at level of head: she wears a sakkos and a chiton, with kolpos; over her left arm, which is stretched forward, a panther's skin. Small circular earring. Part of right hand of a second figure, facing the first, at latter's right elbow. Vigorous, but not careful work. The second fragment on this side should be farther down on the photograph: the bulge at the bottom of the big fragment is the kolpos formed by the maenad's girdle.

B. Mantle figures. Probably from same krater. If fragment *E* joins the lower right edge of *D*, as it appears to (join made with photographs only), the resultant figure is an unusual one: chitons are rare on mantle figures when the figures are male; women do not use staves; and gods are infrequent on the backs of kraters of this sort.

There are five figures. A bit of the fourth, counting from the left, shows to right of *C*; it cannot be part of the fifth, for the angle is wrong. Fragment *B* can go above either the first or second figure.

Ca. 470 B.C. In the manner of the Syriskos painter; hardly by the Syriskos painter himself, as nothing of his so far published can equal this in the carelessness of the hands and drapery, or compare with the markings of the maenad's skin.

2. Fragments of bell-krater. Fig. 134.

A. Symposium. At right, behind the man's shoulder, are the ovules round the base of the handle. White on the wreath.

For an illustration of the scene, see *Compte-Rendu*, 1868, p. 219, with the figure at the right playing kottabos, as on this vase. A bell-krater in Athens (1380) shows the probable relation of

¹³⁸ Through disturbance of the stratification much of the material originally from below the pavement was found at the higher level.

¹³⁹ The commentary on Nos. 1-3 is extracted from a report by Miss Mary Zelia Pease of Bryn Mawr College who very kindly studied the sherds.



Fig. 133. Red-Figure Column-krater from Temple Area

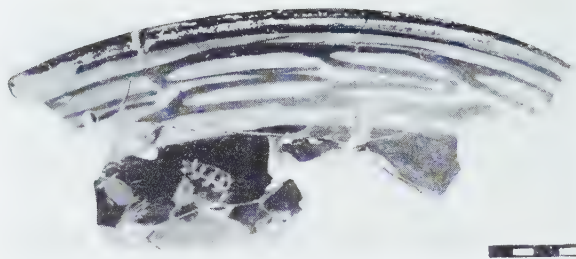


Fig. 134. Fragments of a R.-F. Krater (No. 2)



Fig. 135.
R.-F. Fragment
(No. 3)



Fig. 136. Pyxis (No. 5)



Fig. 137. Lid (No. 6)

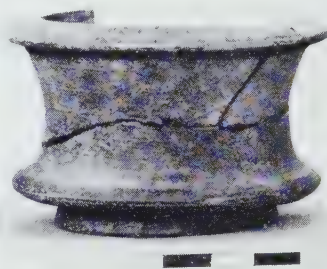


Fig. 138. Glazed Pyxis
(No. 7)



Fig. 139. Glazed Jug
(No. 8)



Fig. 140. Glazed Kantharos (No. 9)



Fig. 141. Glazed
Lekythos (No. 10)

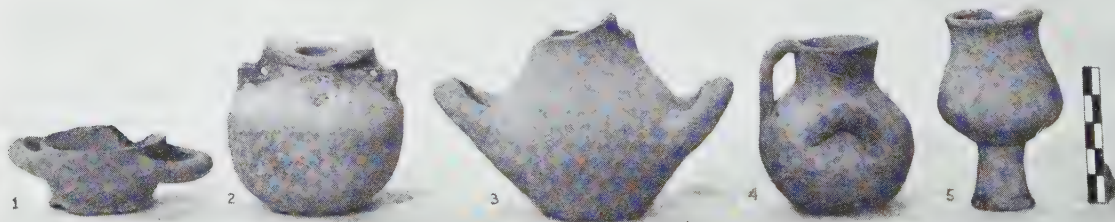


Fig. 142. Miniature Vases (Nos. 11-13, 15-16)

Pottery from Temple Area

the frieze to the vase and of the figure at the right to the handle. Both examples are later. There are countless scenes of kottabos: for a collection of the literature on the subject see *Kottabos* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, pp. 1528 ff. Two fragments in Oxford (*C.V.A.*, Oxford, 2, III I, pl. 67, 8, and *ibid.*, 1, pl. 50, 15; "ca. 410 and 420," respectively) are recently illustrated examples of the scene. The second is the better comparison of the two.

Ca. 430-420 B.C.

3. Fig. 135. Fragment (of bell-krater?). Height, 0.054 m.; width, 0.045 m. Man proceeding to the right. Traces of something at the left. It can hardly be an arm and is too low to be a tail.

Early fourth century B.C.

4. Not illustrated. Fragment. Height, 0.069 m.; width, 0.054 m. Female head, to right, and upper body; mirror or fan held in left hand; all but hand executed in white paint. Work of the fourth century of the general character of the Kertsch Vases.¹⁴⁰

Black Glazed

5. Fig. 136. Preservation: complete. Clay: buff. Glaze very metallic. Height without cover, 0.05 m.; height with cover, 0.075 m.; diameter, 0.09 m. Covered bowl or pyxis. Upper body almost vertical, lower curving abruptly to small base which is raised and hollow and has an angular profile. Lower body covered with glaze, upper with careless, rather thick, vertical strokes; inside completely glazed. Bowl has a grooved edge to receive cover. Cover has a thick, elaborately profiled knob; glazed, except for a reserved band on which a pattern of wavy line with dots punctuating the curves.

6. Fig. 137. Preservation: slightly over half missing; knob broken. Clay: buff. Glaze shading from black to red. Diameter, 0.09 m.; height, 0.03 m. Cover of jar or pyxis. Outer rim and knob glazed; on reserved surface a poorly drawn wave pattern with an outer circle of dots.¹⁴¹ Early fourth century.

7. Fig. 138. Preservation: part of rim and body missing. Clay: buff. Covered with fairly good black glaze. Height, 0.046 m.; diameter, 0.072 m. Small jar or pyxis; sides of body pronouncedly concave; small raised base; rim slopes slightly downward. Probably late fifth century and fourth.

8. Fig. 139. Preservation: rim broken. Clay: grey, fine grained. Completely covered with black metallic glaze on outside and also on inside of neck. Height, 0.153 m.; diameter, 0.112 m. Jug with solid, but clearly defined base; ovoid body with broad, pronounced shoulder merging into narrow grooved neck; rim flaring but no defined spout; vertical handle of circular cross section from base of rim to top of shoulder.

9. Fig. 140. Preservation: complete except for small pieces of rim and base. Clay: buff-red, fine textured. Good, but somewhat thin, black glaze. Height, 0.09 m.; diameter, 0.154 m. Small kantharos with spurred handles and moulded base of a type which makes its appearance towards the end of the fifth century and survives into the third.¹⁴² Reserved band on base.

10. Fig. 141. Preservation: handle missing. Clay: buff. Glaze thin, brown-black. Height, 0.09 m.; diameter, 0.058 m. Small squat lekythos with raised base, globular body and narrow neck flaring somewhat at rim; vertical handle.

¹⁴⁰ K. Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, *passim*. For pose compare with Schefold's pls. 3 and 13.

¹⁴¹ Ure, "Floral Black-figured Cups at Schimatari," *J.H.S.*, XLVI, 1926, pl. 4, 34.

¹⁴² Ure, *loc. cit.*, p. 37. Breccia, *Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes (Musée d'Alexandrie)*, *La Necropoli di Sciathbi*, pl. LIV, 109; in Rhodes (*Clara Rhodos*, II, p. 147, fig. 27) found in grave together with early form of unguentarium. Cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 444-445.

Miniature Vases

Miniature votive vases were naturally very numerous. Fig. 142 is representative of the chief types. They were all made on the wheel. Their crude appearance is largely due to the disproportionate handles and poor material.

11. Fig. 142, 1. Crude imitation of a Corinthian miniature skyphos; made of very poor brownish clay on the wheel, but surface never smoothed. Height, 0.025 m.; diameter, 0.047 m.
12. Fig. 142, 2. Imitation Corinthian aryballos in shape, but originally covered with a thin black glaze. Height, 0.064 m.; diameter, 0.066 m.
13. Fig. 142, 3. Small hydria of coarse unglazed clay, broken at neck; originally a third vertical handle in addition to the two disproportionately large ones preserved. Height, 0.075 m.; diameter, 0.074 m.
14. Not illustrated. Small hydria with three handles, flat base and upright rim; buff clay, originally covered with white slip; rather better work than the majority of this class. Height, 0.049 m.; diameter, 0.038 m.
15. Fig. 142, 4. Same type, but unglazed. Height, 0.064 m.; diameter, 0.057 m.
16. Fig. 142, 5. Small psykter of yellow, unglazed clay. Height, 0.072 m.; diameter, 0.043 m.

SCULPTURE

1. Fig. 143. Material: poros. Preservation: right hand and small piece of adjacent arm; numerous surface gashes; thumb mutilated, broken and mended in antiquity with iron and lead. Preserved length, 0.175 m. Piece of the hanging right arm and clenched fist of a late archaic figure, probably kouros. The hand was not attached to the body.
2. Fig. 144. Material: poros. Preservation: upper arm with part of shoulder and bent elbow of figure of undetermined sex; surface very much mutilated. The deep cutting around the upper arm may be intended for the edge of an upper sleeve. Maximum length, 0.233 m.; maximum width, 0.058 m.
3. Fig. 148. Material: poros. Preservation: plinth, feet and supporting pilaster, the whole broken off just above the ankle and at the edge of the garment; several of the toes are broken. Preserved height, 0.135 m.; plinth, 0.295 m. by 0.41 m., height, 0.06 m.; pilaster, 0.075 m. by 0.075 m.; length of foot, 0.26 m. The feet are long and delicate in the style characteristic of statues of the late sixth century;¹⁴³ they are encased in sandals; traces of red on the straps; probably from a female figure of the kore type, though it may in this case have been a cult statue of Athena herself.

BRONZES

1. Fig. 60, 3. Small movable handle consisting of central arch and upturned ends composed of a series of knobs.¹⁴⁴ Height, 0.027 m.; length, 0.048 m.
2. Fig. 150. Thin bronze finger ring, rectangular plaque with design of rude incisions of no co-ordinated pattern. Diameter, 0.022 m. Plaque, 0.011 m. \times 0.008 m.
3. Fig. 71, 4. Fibula of bronze with iron shaft; catch attached to the bow by means of two ball-headed rivets; end opposite the catch palmette-shaped; bow ornamented with five fluted bands.

¹⁴³ Cf. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture*, Acropolis 618, pl. 117; also p. 29, no. 136.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *Olympia*, IV, p. 138, 865, where a date fifth century or later is suggested.



Fig. 143. Poros Hand
(No. 1)



Fig. 144. Fragment of Poros Arm
(No. 2)

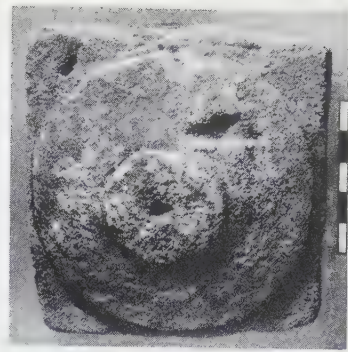


Fig. 145. Miniature Doric
Capital

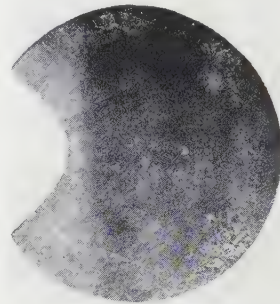


Fig. 146. Bronze
(No. 6)



Fig. 147. Silver Ornaments from Second Temple Area



Fig. 148. Plinth and Feet
of Poros Statue (No. 3)

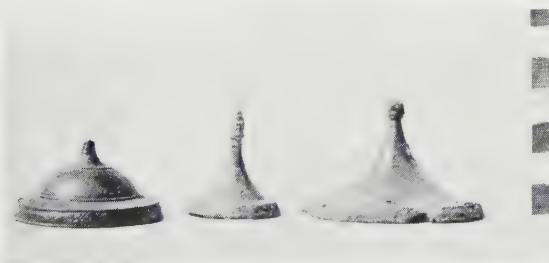
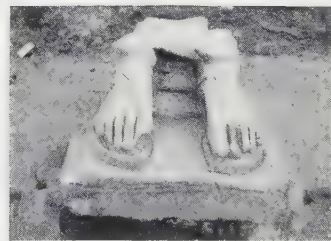


Fig. 149. Bronze Bosses (see Nos. 7-12)



Fig. 150. Bronze
Ring (No. 2)



Fig. 151. Recumbent Ram;
Soapstone

Material from Temple Area

Length, 0.051 m.; height of bow, 0.035 m. There are a number of additional incomplete examples of this type.¹⁴⁵

4. Fig. 71, 1. Like No. 3 but much simpler. The shaft is of bronze and twisted at the point where it is attached to the bow; bow ornamented with three bands. Length, 0.032 m.

5. Not illustrated. The second type of earring found on the Halae acropolis (see above, p. 421) represented only by this fragment. Part of a bronze earring of spiral form ending in conventionalized snake or bird head of the same type as one found at Halae in the grave cited in footnote 145. This would date it approximately to the last years of the fifth century.

6. Fig. 146. Bronze disk of rather heavy metal; crescent shaped at top. Use unknown.

7-12. Fig. 149. Ornamental nail heads or bosses of more or less conical shape.¹⁴⁶ They have been found at many Greek sites and it is difficult to determine their exact use. Some were undoubtedly shield bosses, others may have been nails used decoratively on wood.¹⁴⁷ Average height, 0.039 m.

13. Fig. 61, 9. Small ornamental nail or votive dagger (?) with knob head.¹⁴⁸ Length, 0.034 m.

TERRACOTTAS¹⁴⁹

Female Masks

1. Fig. 155, 3. Preservation: broken off around oval of face. Color: much of white preserved. Clay: buff-orange. Height, 0.077 m. Fairly high stephane; hair parted and rippled. Very individual type with long narrow face, slanting eyes, smiling mouth and fine modeling of the transition from mouth to cheeks; reminiscent of both the so-called Chian and Aeginetan type in sculpture. Probably from the last quarter of the sixth century.

2. Not illustrated. Preservation: nine pieces; missing, lower part of veil and breast broken off diagonally from left to right; lacunae and mutilations on forehead, hair, eyes, and chin. Color: much of white preserved but has turned a velvety black. Clay: orange; unusually thick. Height, 0.128 m. Veil worn directly over hair; ears very large; chiton plastically offset from neck. Archaic type.

3. Fig. 152, 3. Preservation: hair and veil missing at left side. Color: none. Clay: buff-orange. Height, 0.136 m. Fine face with rather pointed chin; hair worn in vaguely indicated strands parted in the middle; offset stephane and veil. Late archaic type. It lacks the sharp definition and emphatic modeling of many archaic masks.

¹⁴⁵ This type is considered northern in origin. *Catalogue of the Jewelry in the British Museum*, pl. LXVII, nos. 2845 and 2846. Silver. The catalogue notes that a similar fibula has been dated fourth century. Silver ones were found at Halae in the grave with a Meidias-style vase. Walker and Goldman, "Excavations at Halae," *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, p. 425, fig. 2. Very elaborate pins of gold are now in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum, *Bulletin*, 1937, pp. 290 ff.

¹⁴⁶ They fall into two groups: (A) with concave sides tapering to one or more knobs; (B) hemispherical.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Daremberg and Saglio, article *Umbo*; also Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan in the British Museum*, p. 353, nos. 2899-2906; Furtwängler, *Aegina*, pls. 115, 117; found with nails through top.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. 'Αρχ. Δελτ., I, 1915, Παράρτημα, p. 30, fig. 31 e.

¹⁴⁹ Parallels for many of the Halae terracottas can be found in Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, but specific reference to this book is made only where it provides pertinent information.



Fig. 152. Masks (Nos. 3, 8, 11)



Fig. 153. Masks (Nos. 5, 17)



Fig. 154. Mask (No. 9)



Fig. 155. Masks (Nos. 1, 4, 6, 13) and Head (No. 63)

Terracottas from Temple Area

4. Fig. 155, 1. Preservation: eight pieces; missing, right side of veil and part of bosom below, part of right cheek. Color: none. Clay: buff. Height, 0.098 m. Hair arranged in rather indistinct band of knobs; stephane; veil plastically offset from neck and shoulders; ear and earring clearly indicated.
5. Fig. 153, 1. Preservation: part of bottom and veil at right side missing. Color: traces of white. Height, 0.05 m. No raised headdress, but probably veil falling over shoulders. Late archaic type.
6. Fig. 155, 2. Preservation: three pieces; missing are all of left side, chin, and part of left cheek; all of neck and breast except small piece at right side. Color: none. Clay: buff-orange. Height, 0.124 m. Fairly high, offset stephane; hair arranged in two beaded bands over forehead. Developed archaic type.
7. Figs. 156, 157. Preservation: five pieces; broken off at lower part of back of head, at base of neck and above; some of hair preserved over forehead and to left. Color: none preserved. Clay: orange, black at core. Height, 0.15 m. Very finely modeled face of the early fifth century transitional between the archaic and the severe style. The full lips still have a trace of the archaic smile; the hair is treated in conventional parallel waves but free of archaic tightness.
8. Fig. 152, 2. Preservation: two pieces missing, left side below chin. Color: traces of white to right. Clay: buff-orange. Height, 0.095 m. Veil and low stephane; hair bulges over forehead in parallel rows of beaded strands. The fine nose and straight line of the mouth are characteristic of the early fifth century.
9. Fig. 154. Preservation: all of veil and breast missing. Color: none. Clay: orange with a pink tinge. Height, 0.062 m. Stephane, sharply offset from the hair by a slight forward inclination, has plastic band at base; hair parted in middle with a few freely modeled waving strands. Type of the early fifth century.
10. Not illustrated. Preservation: seven pieces; face complete except for small lacunae at breaks and mutilation of tip of nose; broken at both sides and bottom around outline of face except for small portion of veil or hair to right. Color: none. Clay: pinkish-orange. Height, 0.085 m. Type as above, but features slightly less heavy and no band at base of stephane.
11. Fig. 152, 1. Preservation: broken off at base of neck, bit of veil missing at left side of jaw. Color: traces of white all over the surface. Clay: orange. Height, 0.044 m. Offset stephane and veil.
12. Not illustrated. Preservation: from bridge of nose downward. Color: slight traces of white. Clay: buff. Height, 0.053 m. Hair falls in plastically undifferentiated mass to either side of face. Type of the first half of the fifth century.
13. Fig. 155, 4. Preservation: two pieces, preserving only upper right quarter—hair, stephane, veil, eye, nose, and part of cheek. Color: none. Clay: buff-orange. Height, 0.102 m. Hair parted in middle and arranged in loose parallel waves; above it a low stephane and veil; two suspension holes on top of head. The fragment is a fine type of the time of the Olympia sculpture; the modeling is careful. The plastic indication of the almond-shaped eyelids is somewhat unusual.
14. Not illustrated. Preservation: four pieces; broken off around oval of face; small part of left of chin missing. Color: none. Clay: buff. Height, 0.055 m. Offset stephane above hair. Similar to No. 3. Fifth-century type, after the first quarter.
15. Fig. 182. Preservation: left side of veil and bosom, portion of bottom missing. Color: none. earth incrustation. Clay: buff-orange. Height, 0.068 m. Low stephane and veil; hair an undifferentiated band, frames forehead. Type of the developed fifth century with small uninteresting features.



Fig. 156. Terracotta Mask (No. 7) from Temple Area

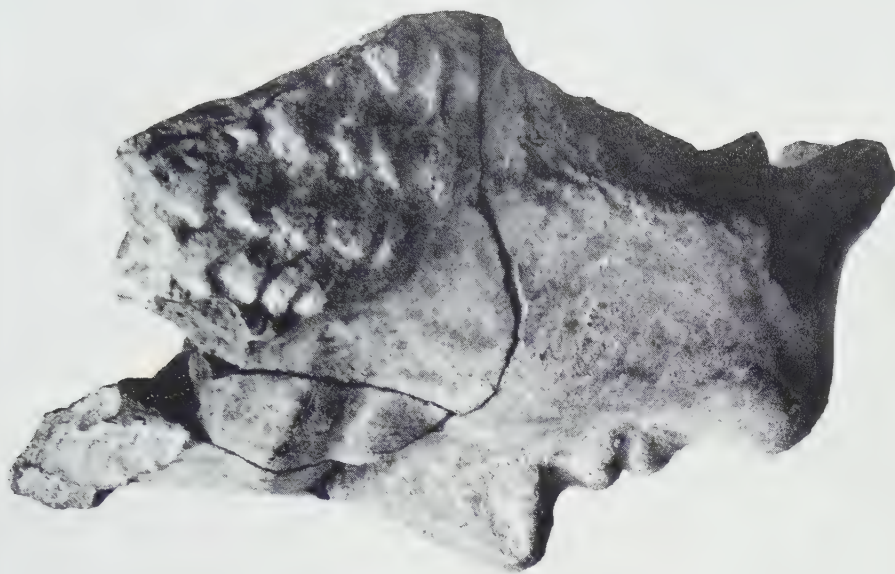


Fig. 157. Side View of Fig. 156

16. Not illustrated. Preservation: breast and veil broken off diagonally from lower right corner to just below hair. Clay: buff-orange. Color: none; earth incrustation. Height, 0.07 m. Same type as No. 15.

17. Fig. 153, 2. Preservation: broken at all sides, only a portion of the face preserved from just above eyebrows to slightly below chin. Color: none. Clay: buff. Height, 0.049 m. The identification as a mask is not certain but probable. The face with the strongly marked eyebrows and full, well-modeled mouth is interesting and individual. It is a developed fifth-century type.

In addition to the masks described above, there were fragments of eleven others.

Seated Female Figures

The seated female type of figurine early becomes stereotyped into a closely draped figure wearing a long chiton, veil over the head, falling almost to the feet, with either stephane or polos; the hands are placed on the knees and the feet held close together on a low footstool. The individual terracottas will not be described unless they show some interesting divergence.

18. Fig. 158. Preservation: missing, arms, one foot, legs of chair. Color: traces of white slip. Clay: light brown. Height, *ca.* 0.13 m. Hand-made geometric figure of the Boeotian type with head pinched to produce a beaklike profile; eyes, two round plastic blobs; disk above forehead; body a thin board; feet barely indicated under the long garment; supported by the front of the figure and the rear legs of the chair. The emphasis is upon the jewelry which consists of a necklace with round pendants, and a double chain across the breast fastened on the shoulders by disk-shaped pins. Figurines of this type were found in large numbers in the graves of Rhitsona dating from the second quarter of the sixth century into the first years of the fifth century.

19. Not illustrated. Preservation: head, neck, and most of arms missing. Color: traces of white slip. Clay: light brown. Same type as above.

20. Fig. 160, 1. Preservation: complete. Color: white traces under heavy earth incrustation. Clay: light. Height, 0.125 m. Fairly careful work; edge of veil falling over shoulders and breast is plastically indicated; also rudimentary modeling of the arms and hands.

21. Fig. 160, 3. Preservation: two pieces; missing, head and neck, part of base and lower garment in front and left side of figure and chair below knees. Color: none. Clay: buff-pink. Height, 0.125 m. The treatment of the drapery is more studied than usual in this type. The apophygma of the chiton is plain in the center and falls in a few symmetrical folds to either side; a deep kolpos



Fig. 158. Seated Terracotta (No. 18)

falls to just below the knees and all of the chiton except the apodygma is arranged in regular folds which have a rounded surface like corrugations. The deep kolpos appears in the Athena of Endoios of the end of the sixth century and the style of our terracotta suggests the same period.

22. Fig. 160, 2. Preservation: two pieces; missing, piece of veil at left shoulder, bottom of chair at right and upper ends of back of chair. Color: none. Clay: buff-red. Height, 0.159 m. The rather round face with the straight, clearly marked lips, the hair arranged in parallel rows of bead curls and the offset stephane are all characteristic of the terracottas of the second half of the sixth century found on the Acropolis at Athens and foreign to the Boeotian type.

23. Fig. 159. Preservation: from slightly below breasts all missing. Color: none. Clay: orange. Slight modeling of breasts and edge of veil over shoulders; garment without folds. Late archaic type. Height, 0.093 m.

24. Fig. 170. Preservation: complete. Color: white. Clay: red. Height, 0.085 m.

25. Fig. 171. Preservation: complete. Color: faint traces of white. Clay: orange. Height, 0.075 m. Very summary treatment; almost no modeling in features or body.

26-28. Not illustrated. Similar to No. 25 and of about the same dimensions.

29. Fig. 172. Preservation: complete. Color: white turned black: red lines across base of neck, lap, hem of garment, also outlining edge of chair; dots for eyes and breasts. Clay: buff. Height, 0.084 m. Wears polos, the less usual headdress among the Boeotian seated figures.

30. Fig. 173. Preservation: complete. Color: none. Clay: reddish. Height, 0.083 m. Ornamental chair ends indicated.

31. Not illustrated; cf. No. 24. Preservation: complete. Color: traces of white slip. Clay: buff. Height, 0.079 m. Fairly careful modeling. Type of the first half of the fifth century.

32. Not illustrated; cf. No. 25. Preservation: complete. Color: traces of white slip. Clay: buff. Height, 0.085 m. Very rude modeling; the face is distorted.

33. Not illustrated. Preservation: complete. Color: chiton, cheeks, and chair red; rest white. Clay: orange-buff. Height, 0.075 m. Stephane plastically indicated.

34. Not illustrated. Preservation: missing, entire right half of body and most of breast. Color: none. Clay: orange. Height, 0.122 m. Fifth-century type. Cf. No. 21, which is slightly earlier.

35. Not illustrated. Preservation: complete. Color: white ground now turned velvety black; details in red; edge of chiton, band below breast, waist, three bands around chiton below knees, feet, edge of chair. Clay: light buff. Height, 0.081 m. While the modeling in general is summary, the breasts and feet are clearly indicated and the eyes are small round blobs added to the moulded figure. Cf. illustration of No. 25.

36. Not illustrated. Same type as above.



Fig. 159. Seated Terracotta
(No. 23)

Standing Female Figures

37. Fig. 161. Lower part of "Pappas"; head and right stump of arm missing. Color: traces of white. Clay: orange-red. Height, 0.146 m.

38. Not illustrated. Part of body of similar figure. Color: traces of powdery white and bright red. Height, 0.10 m.



Fig. 160. Seated Terracottas (Nos. 20-22)

39. Fig. 169, 4. Preservation: right side of lower body including right hand and both feet with base; portion of left foot and adjoining base broken off. Color: red on front of garment. Clay: buff; burned very hard. Height, 0.13 m. Base solid; figure hollow with thin walls. Archaic figure with weight evenly distributed; garment smooth over lower body, but gathered by right hand in one broad, flat, diagonal fold, which falls vertically from hand to hem, and a few very shallow radiating folds; toes of feet modeled separately. Related to boardlike or "Sanis" type of archaic sculpture; found more frequently in the islands although there are examples also from Thebes and the mainland.



Fig. 161. No. 37.



Fig. 162 A. No. 48,
Front View



Fig. 162 B



Fig. 163. No. 42



Fig. 164. No. 52



Fig. 165. No. 53

Terracottas from Temple Area

40. Fig. 167. Preservation: complete except for pieces missing along edge of himation below left hand. Color: none. Clay: orange-pink. Height, 0.18 m. Weight evenly distributed; left hand at side holding drapery; right hand at breast holding long-stemmed lily. Archaic type, wearing Ionic chiton and himation, in the style of the Kore No. 673 from the Acropolis at Athens; himation fastened at both shoulders, but instead of falling to points at either side, it is longest at center. Hair parted in middle, a stephane on head and veil falling over the shoulders.

41. Not illustrated. Preservation: missing head, right shoulder, and upper arm, everything from ankles down. Color: none. Clay: orange-pink. Height, 0.107 m. Pose as above; drapery probably similar, but very indistinctly modeled.

42. Fig. 163. Preservation: four pieces; missing, head and body above breasts, corners of base. Color: none. Clay: orange-pink. Height, 0.217 m. Pose as above, without flower. Very heavy flat figure of almost solid clay; only small tubular vertical hollow in upper part; base solid. Right hand of exaggerated size and only thumb carefully modeled; left arm not modeled at all and barely indicated under the drapery; edges of the drapery indicated by incision. The costume is the long Ionic chiton and himation pinned on one shoulder such as is worn, for example, by Kore No. 672 from the Acropolis.

43. Not illustrated. Figure from the same mould. Preservation: two pieces; missing head and everything below knees. Color: none. Clay: orange-pink. Height, 0.18 m.

44. Fig. 169, 2. Preservation: complete except for mutilation of the left eye and part of nose. Color: traces of white slip over whole figure. Clay: orange; baked hard. The figure appears to be solid except for vertical knife cut in base. Height, 0.179 m. Pose as above; drapery as for No. 42 with details in relief rather than incision; headdress as for No. 40.

45. Fig. 168, 1. Preservation: missing, from knees downward. Color: traces of white. Clay: orange-buff. Height, 0.115 m. Figure flat and solid at broken edge. Pose, drapery and headdress as above. The features are serious, of the late archaic style of early fifth century.

46. Fig. 168, 2. Preservation: head, neck, and lower legs missing. Color: traces of white slip. Clay: fine buff. Height, 0.07 m. Pose as above except that the left hand is bent and holds the edge of the garment gathered up into folds. Folds of overhang of himation do not form a regular zigzag but are free and natural. Somewhat less archaic type than preceding.

47. Fig. 166. Preservation: right foot and most of base missing. Color: none. Clay: orange. Height, 0.129 m. Pose as for Nos. 42-45. Stephane and veil (?) over parted hair; long, rather heavy garment, probably of wool, with apodygma falling to points in free diagonal folds to either side. Type of the first half of the fifth century.

48. Fig. 162. Preservation: missing, head, some of adjacent upper body, arms, all of lower right side in front, and much of rear on same side; other lacunae. Color: much of white slip under earth incrustation. Clay: orange. Height, 0.255 m. Weight on right leg, left leg flexed. Broad folds at sides of apodygma, narrower folds for kolpos and back of skirt, lower front of garment smooth. The peculiarity of the figurine is that it is as carefully modeled in back as in front. The low round base on which it stands is also unusual, for by the second quarter of the fifth century, to which our figurine belongs, the base was usually somewhat higher. Probably copy of a statue.

49. Fig. 169, 1. Preservation: parts above waist missing. Color: white slip with earth incrustation. Clay: buff. Height, 0.149 m.; height of base, 0.027 m. Hands hanging at sides; weight on left foot, right flexed. Chiton with kolpos or apodygma. The height of the hollow base and the attitude show that this is one of the characteristic Boeotian female figures in vogue towards the end of the fifth century.¹⁵⁰

¹⁵⁰ Winter, *op. cit.*, III, part 1, p. 65.



Fig. 166. No. 47



Fig. 167. No. 40



Fig. 168. Nos. 45 and 46



Fig. 169. Nos. 39, 44, 49, 51

Terracottas from Temple Area

50. Not illustrated. Preservation: head and part of neck missing. Clay: buff. Height, 0.0875 m. Figure with hands hanging at sides, weight evenly distributed, wearing chiton with apoptygma. Boeotian type of the fifth century, somewhat earlier than preceding.
51. Fig. 169, 3. Preservation: three pieces; from hips downward; lacunae and breaks in base. Color: none. Clay: buff. Height, 0.108 m. Uncertain whether female or male type; might be some variant of boy holding cock or strigil. If male, only terracotta of that sex, since all other offerings to Athena of female types.
52. Fig. 164. Preservation: only head, neck, right arm, and all but mouth of jar. Color: traces of white slip. Clay: buff-red. Height, 0.08 m. Hydrophoros supporting jar with right arm and hand; hair parted and falling to the shoulders in tresses; between arm and head a solid background; type of late fifth or first half of fourth century.
53. Fig. 165. Preservation: head and neck only. Color: traces of white slip. Clay: buff. Height, 0.054 m. Stephane and voluminous veil. This is a well-known type of the early fourth century.

There were fragments of at least twenty other terracottas of the standing female type.

Miscellaneous Types

54. Fig. 179. Preservation: head, neck and upper part of back only. Color: none. Clay: orange. Height, 0.068 m. Female figure with veiled head supporting false mouth of alabastron; late archaic type of the eastern group; probably a standing figure.
55. Fig. 178. Preservation: upper part of body almost to waist. Color: none. Clay: buff. Height, 0.062 m. Female figure of the severe fifth-century style wearing polos over parted hair. Type uncertain.
56. Fig. 176. Head of Athena. Preservation: complete to base of neck. Color: none. Clay: buff-red. Height, 0.074 m. The hair is parted in the middle and arranged in large waves on which the individual strands are incised with fine lines over the forehead and then fall to the shoulders in tresses. The goddess wears a high-crested helmet. The head recalls, though not at all closely, the Giustiniani type of Hestia but is somewhat less severe, the chin less of a pronounced long oval. It dates from about the beginning of the third quarter of the fifth century.
57. Fig. 181. Preservation: missing, arms and all of body from slightly below waist. Color: none. Clay: orange. Height, 0.092 m. Female figure wearing polos over parted hair and chiton with kolpos; head bent forward and looking down.
58. Not illustrated. Preservation: head and neck only. Color: none. Clay: buff. Height, 0.049 m. Female wearing low stephane over parted hair; unusually long neck. Late fifth early fourth century type.
59. Fig. 174. Head and neck, probably from a standing female figure. Preservation: six pieces; small lacunae in front and top of headdress. Color: none. Clay: buff-red. Height, 0.082 m. Face of a very full round type with eyes placed wide apart; mass of hair stands out over forehead and falls in loose free curls over shoulders; kalathos.
60. Fig. 177. Head and neck, probably from a standing female figure. Preservation: no breaks. Color: none. Clay: dark red. Height, 0.065 m. Rather individual type with full oval face; hair falls to shoulders; high headdress, probably kalathos, with leaves originally indicated in color; head turned slightly to right.



Fig. 170. Seated
Figure
(No. 24)



Fig. 171.
Seated Figure
(No. 25)



Fig. 172.
Seated Figure
(No. 29)

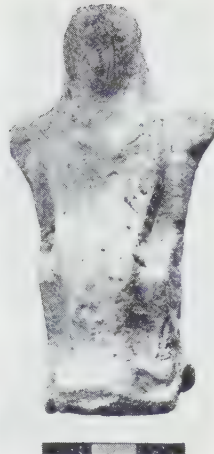


Fig. 173.
Seated Figure
(No. 30)



Fig. 174. Head
(No. 59)



Fig. 175. Head
(No. 61)



Fig. 176. Head of
Athena (No. 56)



Fig. 177. Head
(No. 60)



Fig. 178. Head
and Upper Body
(No. 55)



Fig. 179. Head
Supporting False
Neck of Alabastron
(No. 54)



Fig. 180. Amazon?
(No. 62)



Fig. 181. Head and
Upper Body (No. 57)

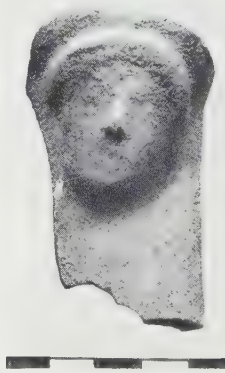


Fig. 182. Mask
(No. 15)

Terracottas from Temple Area

The heads of Nos. 59 and 60 resemble those of figurines of Tiryns¹⁵¹ wearing the kalathos and with similar arrangement of hair. The contours of the Halae faces are heavier and fuller, the neck thicker, the lower lid of the eye less distinctly drawn, and they are undoubtedly of later date. They are, however, quite different from any other terracottas found at the site and may very well be importations from Argos. As far as one may judge from the description, the character of the clay is not dissimilar.

61. Fig. 175. Preservation: head and part of neck only. Color: none. Clay: warm buff. Height, 0.034 m. Typical feminine head of the early Tanagra period with parted wavy hair with incised melon bands; leaves (?) above ears. Latter part of the fourth century to early third.

62. Fig. 180. Artemis or Amazon? Preservation: head, left arm, and both legs from different points above knee missing. Color: none. Clay: red. Height, 0.062 m. Small figure with splendid freedom of movement, wearing a short, close-fitting tunic and a cloak wrapped about the waist and right hand which holds it at the hip; a baldric passes over the left shoulder; the right leg was advanced and left arm raised.

63. Fig. 155, 5. Female head. Preservation: upper right cheek and right eye, forehead and portion of hair. Color: none. Clay: buff-orange. Height, 0.083 m. Hair worn in wavy strands; eye very long and narrow and elongated at inner corner; the eyelids are carefully modeled and the brow plastically indicated. This is probably part of a relief rather than of a mask; the clay is too thick (0.012 m.) for a mask; the edge of the cheek is finished so that there could never have been a veil or hair falling to the side. The head was meant, I think, to be seen in three-quarter view and formed part of a relief in the style of the fifth-century grave reliefs.

64. Fig. 188. Part of relief group of standing youth with dog. Preservation: only lower left leg of youth and all but haunches of dog. Color: none. Height, 0.12 m.; thickness of clay, 0.009-0.01 m. The dog looks upward towards his master and seems to be straining after some object. Subject is that of the grave reliefs.

65. Fig. 184. Athena or Hygeia. Preservation: upper right arm and upper body from about base of neck to slightly below waist. Color: traces of white slip, red on upper edge of garment. Clay: buff-red. Height, 0.11 m. Female figure wearing a peplos with apotygmata which falls straight except for one large symmetrically arranged fold to either side; on the upper right arm is a plastic snake, and just below it the surface is broken in a way to suggest that there was once a shield here. The position of the snake on the arm is, however, more characteristic of Hygeia¹⁵² than of Athena and the identity of the goddess therefore remains uncertain.

66. Fig. 183. Figure, probably female. Preservation: only a fragment of the draped upper part of the legs. Color: traces of a pink on the drapery. Clay: orange-pink. Height, 0.07 m. Very fine treatment of the drapery which is drawn diagonally upwards over the bent right knee and falls in a few divergent folds at the left side. A fold of the drapery seems to be drawn across the hips. The fragment is distinguished by its statuesque quality, and the position of the knee and arrangement of the drapery suggest an Aphrodite in the pose of the one from Arles or the Themis of Chairestratos, which would place our fragment somewhere towards the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century.

67. Fig. 185. Preservation: only right arm, from shoulder to forearm, and right breast. Color: traces of white slip; earth incrustation. Clay: buff. Height, 0.072 m. Portion of well-modeled figure of the fifth century with chiton pinned at the shoulder and falling to either side in loose vertical folds; suggests Cybele type.

¹⁵¹ Frickenhaus, *Tiryns*, II, p. 57, pl. III, etc.; he connects the figurines wearing kalathoi with Hera.

¹⁵² Reinach, *Répertoire*, II, pp. 298 ff.

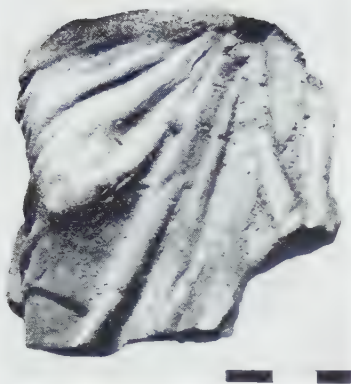


Fig. 183. Fragment of Draped Figure (No. 66)



Fig. 184. Athena or Hygeia (No. 65)



Fig. 185. Fragment of Female Figure (No. 67)

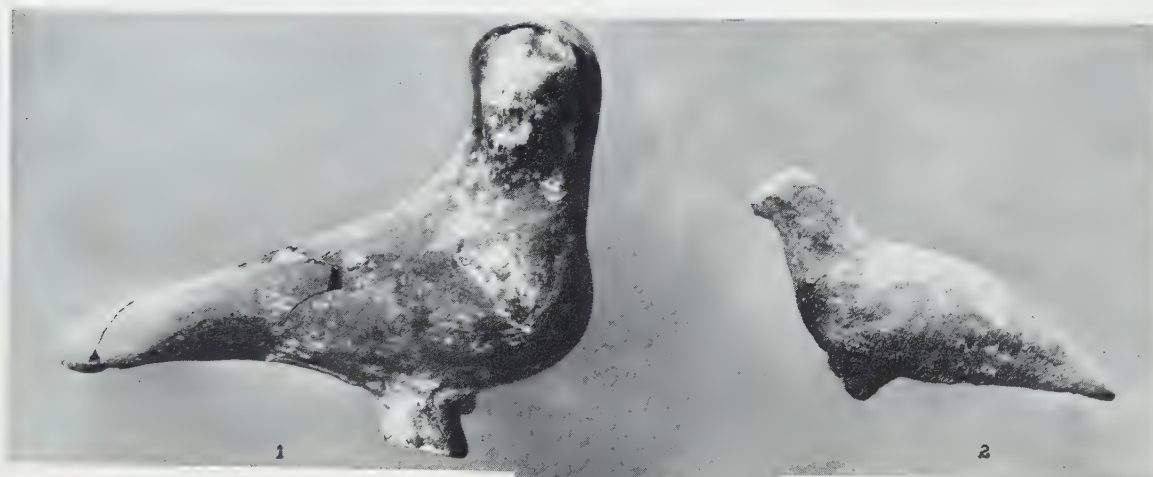


Fig. 186.
Siren (No. 72) and
Birds (Nos. 69, 70)

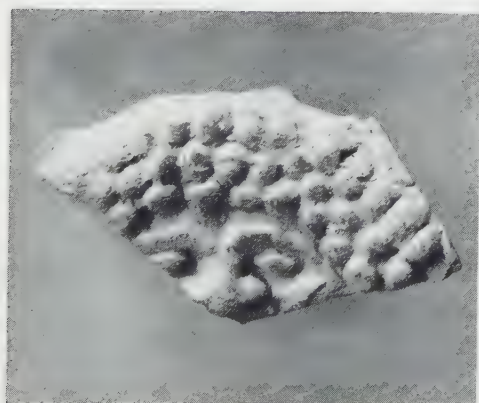


Fig. 187. Gorgoneion (No. 73)



Fig. 188. Relief (No. 64)

Terracottas from Temple Area

68. Not illustrated. Geometric horse. Preservation: missing, head and part of neck, tail, part of hind legs. Color: none. Clay: buff. Height, 0.04 m.; length, 0.046 m. Geometric horse of a type common in Boeotia in graves of the second half of the sixth century and surviving into the first years of the fifth.
69. Fig. 186, 3. Bird. Preservation: ends of wings broken off. Color: white over whole body preserved. Clay: buff. Length, 0.059 m.; spread of wings, 0.055 m. Bird in flight with spread wings and head turned to right.
70. Fig. 186, 2. Bird. Preservation: tip of beak missing. Color: white under earth incrustation. Clay: buff. Length, 0.099 m. Bird with folded wings and short stumpy legs.
71. Not illustrated. Satyr. Preservation: all but part of body, and upper legs missing. Color: faint traces of white slip. Clay: buff-orange. Height, 0.077 m. The stump of the tail shows that this fragment belongs to the Boeotian type of satyr supported on tail and feet. There is another fragment of a similar satyr on a somewhat larger scale (not illustrated).
72. Fig. 186, 1. Preservation: four pieces; complete except for small lacunae at joins. Color: none. Clay: orange. Length, 0.118 m.; height, 0.097 m. Type of siren with body in profile and head fronting; low stephane and veil; faint indication of hair falling in tresses over front of shoulders.
73. Fig. 187. Gorgoneion. Preservation: broken all around the edge; missing, all but a piece of the hair, forehead, nose and eyes; right eye not complete. Color: none. Clay: buff-orange. Height, 0.059 m.; width, 0.09 m. The hair is represented by a triple row of bead curls; nose broad and flat, eyes narrow. It is probable that the gorgoneion formed part of a large terracotta statuette of Athena and was on the breast of the figure.

MISCELLANEOUS

- 1-3. Fig. 147, 1-3. Silver earrings ornamented with three rings of balls which are soldered on. In addition to the three illustrated there were at least two other fragmentary examples. They measure 0.016 m.-0.018 m. across, but this is only approximate as they are very bent. The technique is the same as that of the silver fibulae from the cemetery and they probably are of the same date: late fifth century B.C. to early fourth.
4. Fig. 147, 4. Part of the bow of a silver fibula of the same type as those of bronze; cf. Fig. 71, 1 and 4. There are additional fragments. Preserved length, 0.03 m.
5. Fig. 147, 5. Pendant or earring in the shape of a small vase broken at top and bottom; the neck is pierced for the passage of a ring or thread. Height, 0.035 m.; diameter, 0.017 m. The body is divided into sections like the so-called pomegranate or poppy bud pendants of Sparta found together with Laconian II pottery.¹⁵³ Our example, however, has a less archaic appearance and seems closer in shape to a pendant from Olympia, although the surface treatment is different. The latter is stippled with fine dots.
6. Fig. 147, 6. Spiral silver earring forming an oval with overlapping ends in the form of serpents' heads; somewhat below the heads pyramids of balls soldered onto the hoop. Diameter, 0.04 m. There seems to be no very good evidence for dating these earrings. The circular rings with pyramids

¹⁵³ *B.S.A.*, XV, 1908-09, pl. VIII, 9, and p. 142. Also *Olympia*, IV, pl. XXIV, no. 431. For the dates of Laconian pottery cf. Droop, *Artemis Orthia*, pp. 109 ff.; Laconian II is there dated 635-600. Protocorinthian is found with Laconian I and a few sherds occur with Laconian II; Corinthian is in Laconian I and II context. The dates should be somewhat lowered (end of Protocorinthian placed at ca. 660 B.C.; see Droop, *ibid.*, p. 232).

of balls are found on sixth century vase paintings.¹⁵⁴ The closest parallel I have been able to find is a silver earring with snake-heads and pyramids of granulation from the Nelidow collection dated in the catalogue fifth century.¹⁵⁵ The resemblance in technique of our earring to the jewelry from a late fifth-century grave makes the date probable. A similar earring, without the balls, was found with this one.

7. Fig. 151. Recumbent ram carved out of soapstone. Body to right with head facing front; attached to thin base of which one half is missing; pierced transversely just below belly. Length, 0.0325 m. Simple but effective work with good sense of mass and careful indication of horns and hooves. Similar animal carvings have been found among Greek temple deposits notably at Sparta where they abound in bone and ivory.¹⁵⁶ The Spartan ones frequently have designs on the flat base and this suggests that they developed from seals. The Spartan examples, however, never were anything but ornaments or possibly amulets. At both Tegea¹⁵⁷ and Olympia¹⁵⁸ similar but cruder figures of bronze were found in the Geometric deposit. The Spartan examples are said to range in date from the end of the ninth to the seventh century, and barely to touch the sixth.¹⁵⁹ Our Halae example, in which the significance of the base has entirely disappeared and in which the figure is executed with greater realism, may belong to the early years of the sixth.

8. Not illustrated. Two fragments of a votive shield of clay which originally measured about forty centimeters in diameter. Upon the yellow of the clay are painted in alternating bands of black and red whorls of a conventionalized polyp design. The inside is painted red with groups of incised lines, four to six in number, which represent tassels.¹⁶⁰

9. Two fragments of a Gorgoneion possibly from a shield.¹⁶¹

10. Not illustrated. Fragment probably from a votive shield with the same whorl pattern on the outside; on inside a poorly executed palmette on red-glazed surface.

11. Fig. 145. Doric capital of poros. Poorly executed miniature capital. Probably a votive offering. Surface injured. The echinus is low and spreading. A hole drilled in base. Abacus, 0.096 m. \times 0.095 m.; complete height, 0.059 m.

12. Not illustrated. Doric capital of poros. Surface mutilated. Echinus high with only slight curve. Abacus, 0.037 m. \times 0.037 m.; complete height, 0.032 m.

13. Not illustrated. Poros revetment. Possibly crude imitation of Doric frieze; triglyphs represented by incised lines. Length, 0.201 m.; height, 0.101 m.

14. Not illustrated. Model of a Doric frieze block. Careful workmanship. Height, 0.092 m.; length, 0.138 m.; thickness, 0.078 m.; height of taenia, 0.018 m.; length of metope, 0.082 m.¹⁶²

15-16. Fig. 247, 6 and 7. Lamps Nos. 9 and 10; see p. 504.

¹⁵⁴ For general discussion of this type, Hadaczek, *Der Ohrschmuck der Griechen und Etrusker*, p. 18, fig. 32, vase by Amasis.

¹⁵⁵ Pollak, *Klassisch-antike Goldschmiedearbeiten*, pl. X, 211.

¹⁵⁶ *Artemis Orthia*, pls. CXLVIII-CLIV.

¹⁵⁷ Dugas, *B.C.H.*, XLV, 1921, p. 343, fig. 6, nos. 1-6. ¹⁵⁸ *Olympia*, IV, pl. XIII, no. 214.

¹⁵⁹ *Artemis Orthia*, pp. 230 f. Thirty percent were found in purely Geometric strata; fifty percent in Geometric and Laconian I; twenty percent in Laconian I (only four examples in later deposits). The fifty-percent group accompanied by Protocorinthian and dated 740-660; the twenty-percent group dated 660-635. As indicated above, the dates should be lowered. The animals easily reach the turn of the century.

¹⁶⁰ For detailed publication see H. Goldman, *Festschrift für James Loeb*, pp. 67 ff.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pl. VII.

¹⁶² For similar votive architectural models, *Artemis Orthia*, p. 194, pl. LXXII.

PART IV—THE NORTH GATE STREET

The street leading from the North Gate to the main thoroughfare of the acropolis is 20.00 m. long and is lined on either side by rows of dwellings or shops (Fig. 3 and General Plan). It is quite impossible to determine either by their shape or content what purpose they served. Each room formed an isolated unit as far as one may judge from the cross walls still standing, which show an unbroken line without any indication of a doorway connecting adjoining rooms. The permanent structure of the building consisted for the most part of a poros socle of varying width bedded on a foundation of rough limestone blocks similar to those used in the early acropolis wall. The socle in turn supported a row of rather heavy orthostates, which average 0.63 m. in height and 0.35 m. in width; the stones were used with economy and a number of them were pieced together. Some of the inner walls consisted of orthostates without foundation of any kind. All the walls were originally completed in unbaked brick and the outer one was crowned by a regular Doric architrave one block of which, a very broken piece, was found built into a late wall crossing room A of the building to the east of the gate. One may take for granted that the two buildings, which were evidently put up at the same time and according to the same plan, were also similar in detail.

THE EAST BUILDING. Between it and the neighboring fortification wall to the north there is a space of some 0.50 m. The building is divided into five chambers. Only one cross wall is completely preserved with its orthostates and the south wall of E, fronting on the main street, is missing completely. In room B the broken bottom of a pithos was found in situ under the stones of a later wall, and in A, the broken architrave member. Otherwise they contained nothing but the usual miscellaneous pottery.

Room A. 2.70 m. \times 3.65 m. No door sill preserved, but cutting for door jamb in orthostate.

Room B. 3.50 m. \times 4.10 m. No door sill, but central stone of socle probably marks its position; width, 0.68 m.

Room C. 3.10 m. \times 4.25 m.

Room D. 3.10 m. \times 4.20 m. Narrow door 0.67 m. wide. Cutting in orthostate for jamb.

Room E. Dimensions not accurately obtainable, but probably correspond to those of E' in West Building.

THE WEST BUILDING. It is somewhat less well preserved than the one opposite but is similarly constructed and divided. Of room A' and B' little but the rough stone foundation of the socle to north and east remains, and only the measurements of E', 3.10 m. \times 5.00 m., can be given with any accuracy. The wall running through D' (shaded on the Plan) is of a later date and on the level of the tops of the orthostates (a stone of this wall, which was removed, is seen standing upright in Fig. 3). It abuts

on the original doorway of D'. The present back or west wall of the building was not the original one but was put in as party wall when the long chamber F', facing on the main street, was added. The short wall in Room C' doubtless marks the position of the first west wall, as it gives the building a width of about 4.20 m. which corresponds to that of the East Building. This is also the width indicated for Room A' of our building by the west return of the rough foundation. This building contained less pottery than the one opposite. Room F', which may originally have been subdivided (10.40 m. \times 4.20 m.), contained immense numbers of loomweights of the flat disk type. A coin of Euboea of 369-336 B.C.¹⁶³ lay among them. It was doubtless here that the *πεταμνφάντειραι* superintended the weaving.¹⁶⁴ In Roman or possibly Byzantine times a floor of tiles closely set on edge was laid in F' level with the top of the orthostates. The doorways of Rooms C' and D' are preserved and like those of the East Building are 0.67 m. wide. In Room D' the door sill has a narrow ledge 0.10 m. high and 0.05 m. wide, which prevented the door from swinging outward.

Measurements of architrave block (broken at both ends, and defaced; front and back picked in period of reuse; bottom smooth; no contact surface preserved):

Length, 0.70 m.
 Height, 0.65 m.
 Width, 0.33 m.
 Height of taenia, 0.04 m.
 Projection of taenia, 0.01 m.
 Height of regula, 0.07 m.
 Guttae thin and broken, but width seems to be 0.01 m.; spacing, 0.026 m.

A single terracotta antefix, incomplete, but sufficient to give the design, two smaller fragments of the same system (Fig. 189), and a fragmentary circular edge tile with plastic rosette (Fig. 190) represent all that remains of the roof. They cannot however belong to the original building, but must be either of the second phase, or more probably of Roman date.

Against a dark red background the design is reserved in clay and executed in low relief. The clay does not have the ivory slip of the temple antefixes but is of a rather dull light brown; outlines of the relief are not sharply defined and the palmette is carelessly drawn. Eleven-petaled palmette rising from system of volutes and S spirals; below, similar palmette, reversed. Height, 0.17 m.; width at base of palmette, 0.145 m.

The building can be dated with a fair amount of accuracy by the pottery found in the rooms, which points preponderantly to the latter half of the fourth century. Some hundred and fifty years later the floor level was raised the full height of the orthostates and the new cross walls built. This date is suggested by the type of plate common at the upper level (Fig. 197). In graves it occurs together with Megarian

¹⁶³ *B.M.C.*, Central Greece, pl. XVII.

¹⁶⁴ *A.J.A.*, 1915, p. 448. See pp. 401 and 511.



Fig. 189. Fragments of Antefixes from North Gate Buildings

bowls and late third-century type of unguentarium.¹⁶⁵ Still more accurate is the evidence of Boeotian coins dated by Head 220-197 B.C.

It is reasonable to suppose that the whole network of regularly laid out buildings, other portions of which appear in the trial trenches, is contemporary and that it formed part of the city plan when the acropolis area was enlarged by the construction of System II, for the early foundations under the present Northeast Gate Building (see p. 487), so similar in style to those under discussion, must postdate the wall; otherwise they would have lain outside the fortified area. Our examination of the pottery there confirms the date arrived at for System II.



Fig. 190. Fragment of Cover Tile from North Gate Building

POTTERY

The pottery found immediately beneath the foundations of the buildings is naturally of a mixed character, ranging indeed from the middle of the sixth century to red-figured of about the third quarter of the fifth century. Most of the pottery is very fragmentary and two examples will suffice for illustration.

1. Fig. 191. Jug, covered with thin black glaze to about three centimeters above base. Flat base. Neck and handle restored. The handle may not have risen as much above the rim as it does in the restoration. Height, 0.135 m.; diameter, 0.06 m. The jug belongs to a class characteristic of the second half of the sixth century. It may be compared to Rhitsona Grave 80.229,¹⁶⁶ although the shoulder of our example is somewhat more angular. This grave is dated by the Boeotian kylikes it contains to the last quarter of the sixth century.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery*, pp. 21 ff., pl. XVIII.

¹⁶⁶ Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, p. 83 and pl. XII.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80. and *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-1908, pp. 308 f.



Fig. 191. Jug (No. 1) from
beneath Foundations

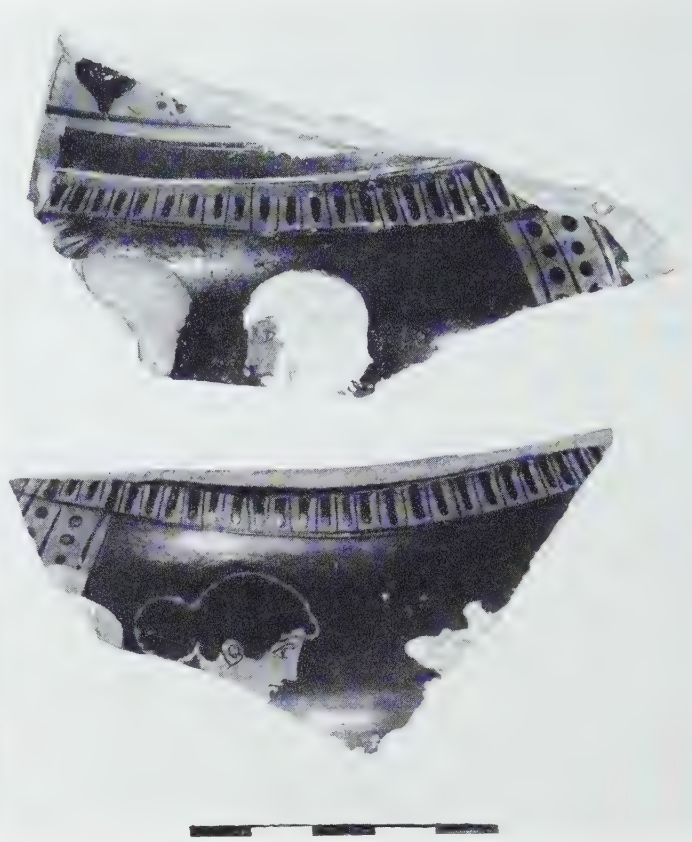


Fig. 192. R.-F. Fragments (No. 2) from beneath Foundations



Fig. 193. Small Jar (No. 3)



Fig. 194. Pyxis (No. 4)



Fig. 195. Bowl (No. 5)

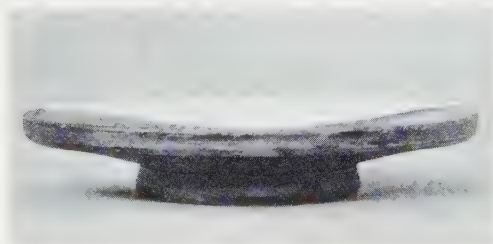


Fig. 196. Plate (No. 7)

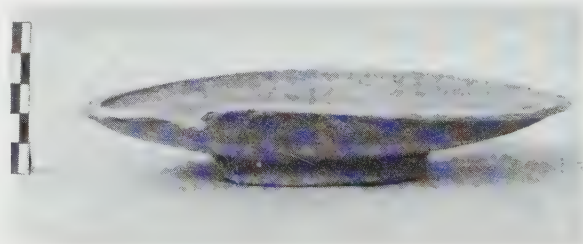


Fig. 197. Plate (No. 18)

Pottery from North Gate Buildings

2. Fig. 192. Two fragments of a column-krater. A. Farewell scene? Ivy and berries in black on the neck of the vase. The krater must be of the time between the Villa Giulia krater,¹⁶⁸ where the rather individual drawing of the eye is exactly duplicated, and the calyx-krater in New York¹⁶⁹ by a lone associate of Polygnotos.

Ca. 450-440 B.C.¹⁷⁰

A third fragment, probably part of the same vase (not illustrated), preserves a right arm holding patera and the arms of a draped figure opposite.

The pottery found within the buildings is discussed as far as possible in chronological order.

3. Fig. 193. Small jar; contained lead when found; crucible? Around outer edge uneven band of glaze varying in color from metallic black to red; inside completely, though unevenly, glazed. Height, 0.034 m.; diameter, 0.054 m.

4. Fig. 194. Small pyxis with concave sides and flaring rim and base. Clay: buff. Glaze: red interior, black exterior.¹⁷¹ Height, 0.034 m.; diameter, 0.069 m. See above, p. 459, No. 7.

5. Fig. 195. Small bowl with ring base and incurving rim; rim broken; pale buff clay, thin black glaze with red patches. Height, 0.034 m.; diameter, 0.073 m.

6. Fig. 202. Bowl of shape similar to No. 5. Body much restored. Very thin black glaze worn off in patches. Height, 0.06 m.; diameter, 0.122 m. The curved profile of this and No. 5 marks them as no later than the fourth century.

All these shapes so far discussed from within the building are characteristic of the fourth century, although with a better glaze and slightly different profile they already occur in the fifth. They are still found at Priene¹⁷² but are covered with a poorer quality of glaze.

7. Fig. 196. Plate on ring base covered with black glaze. Large piece restored. Diameter, 0.128 m.; height, 0.027 m. More definitely of the fourth century. The earliest form of the plate which becomes so common in Hellenistic and Roman times.

8. Fig. 204. Footless kylix on ring base with incurving handles and very slightly flaring rim; partly restored; covered with a thin red-black glaze. Diameter, 0.153 m. (with handles; 0.102 m. without handles); height, 0.042 m. These incurved handles are characteristic of the mid and later fourth century.¹⁷³

9. Fig. 201. One-handled kantharos with low conical foot; handle and much of body broken; thick red to black glaze. Height, 0.085 m.; diameter, 0.097 m. The one-handled cup is more common in the north than in Greece proper, especially in Macedonia where it is said to represent a fusion of Northern with Hellenic elements. The conical foot appears early in Boeotian kantharoi, but the cylindrical in place of the ribbon handle, and the curve, are late features. See below, p. 493, No. 16.

¹⁶⁸ Furtwängler-Reichhold, pls. 17-18.

¹⁶⁹ No. 07.286.66: Richter, *Red-Figured Vases*, no. 127, pls. 126 and 129, "ca. 440."

¹⁷⁰ From the report by Miss Pease. See above, p. 456.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona in Boeotia*, pl. XI, 7; pp. 21 ff., pp. 42 ff. Grave 57, late fifth or early fourth century. The shape occurs in Rhodes in similar context. Cf. *Clara Rhodos, passim*. It can, however, extend over a longer period of time. See Addenda, No. 3.

¹⁷² Priene, p. 421, fig. 538; p. 122, fig. 539.

¹⁷³ Discussion in Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery*, pp. 30 ff. Comparatively few examples occur at Olynthus, destroyed in 348 B.C.

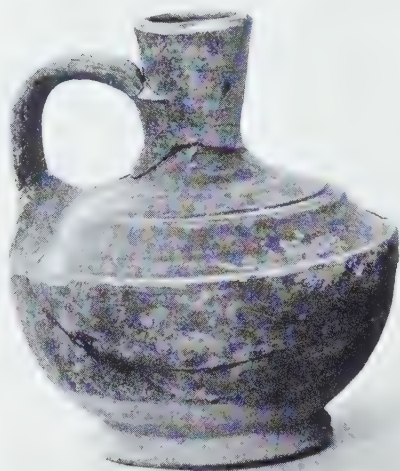


Fig. 198. Jug (No. 10)

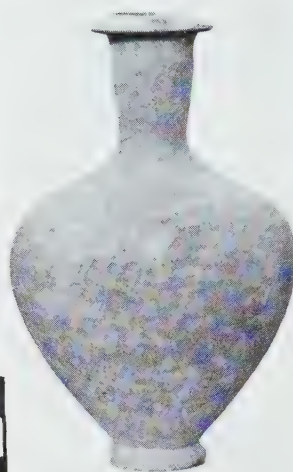


Fig. 199. Unguentarium
(No. 16)

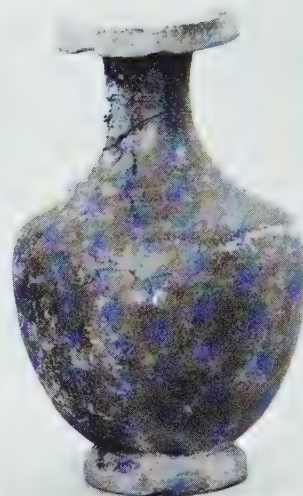


Fig. 200. Jug (No. 13)

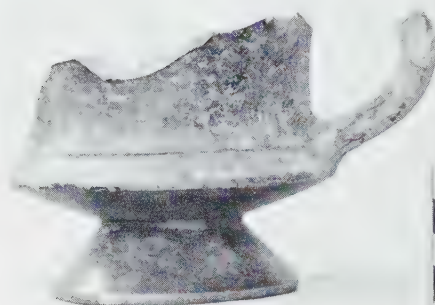


Fig. 201. One-Handled Kantharos
(No. 9)

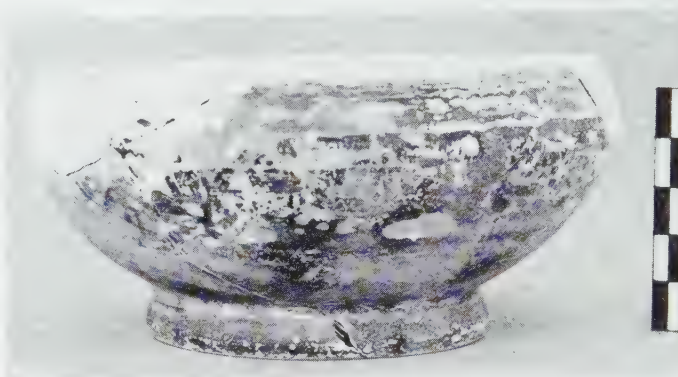


Fig. 202. Bowl (No. 6)

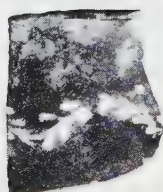


Fig. 203. Sherd
(No. 14)

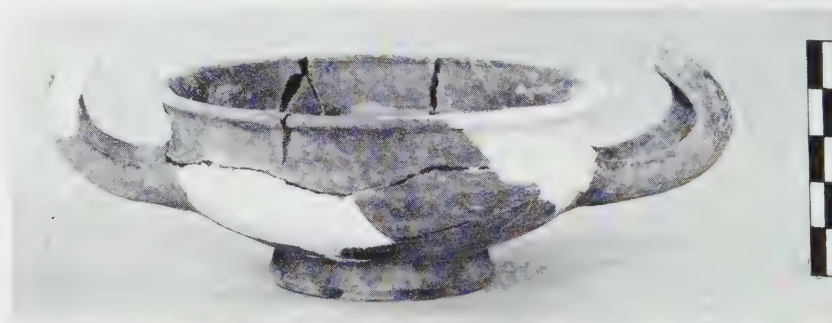


Fig. 204. Kylix (No. 8)

Pottery from North Gate Buildings

10. Fig. 198. Small one-handled jug of buff clay; raised solid base; body sharply profiled with lower part convex, upper profile varied, concave band at base of handle; cylindrical neck with slight flare; black glaze. Height, 0.085 m.; diameter, 0.077 m. A similar jug, but not identical, was found in a grave at Delphi which, by accompanying terracottas and skyphos is dated around 400 B.C. The type also occurs at Olynthus. The shape is a predecessor of the white-slipped lagynos popular in the second century. See below, p. 493, No. 11.

11. Fig. 208. Jar or pyxis with urn-shaped body and strongly modeled foot; handles broken; cover missing. Two upright cylindrical handles, a knob or spur at either side of each; reddish clay; body covered with black glaze except for reserved band around middle and on shoulder; on former a series of seven-leaved palmettes executed in black glaze, on latter two rows of careless blobs. Height, 0.143 m.; diameter, 0.122 m. This shape has a long development possibly beginning as early as the late sixth century, but our example is of the fourth century.¹⁷⁴

12. Fig. 207. Small hydria with elaborately profiled foot and body vertically ribbed in Gnathia style; horizontal handles, very small and twisted; neck long and encircled by laurel wreath at a point where upright handles cant. Reddish buff clay. Thick pink paint over which traces of gilding; glaze poor. Height, 0.174 m.; diameter, 0.103 m. According to evidence assembled by Courby,¹⁷⁵ Gnathia ware begins to appear in the middle of the fourth century. Breccia¹⁷⁶ dates his Egyptian material to the last decades of the fourth or early third. The wares with decoration in white or gilt, however, do not become common until the last quarter of the fourth century or early third.¹⁷⁷ The last quarter of the fourth century also is the date proposed by Homer Thompson for vases of his group B1-7 from the Agora at Athens, a group which has a good deal in common with our North Gate pottery.¹⁷⁸

13. Fig. 200. Small jug with low ring foot; rim turns down and has sharp edge; handle missing; thin black glaze. Height, 0.09 m.; diameter, 0.056 m.

14. Fig. 203. Bit of very thin ware with vine pattern in white paint.

15. Fig. 205. Trefoil-mouthed jug with spherical body and slender neck; edges of rim very sharp¹⁷⁹ and turned down; handle missing; black glaze; on neck and shoulder traces of vertical strokes in thick paint, probably white originally; starting at base of handle, incised degenerate vine or tendril pattern in band formed by parallel incised lines. Height, 0.132 m.; diameter, 0.076 m.

16. Fig. 199. Unguentarium of early type with comparatively short neck, swelling body, and small base; clay grey, originally covered with yellow slip painted with black to grey parallel bands. Height, 0.11 m.; diameter, 0.071 m. Similar shape from Thompson's Group B (B7) from the Athenian Agora (late fourth—early third century B.C.).

17. Fig. 206. Small hydria. Upright handle missing. Buff-pink clay; black glaze; degenerate wreath of gilt over pink paint around neck; upper surface of lip reserved in clay except for a raised ring covered with black glaze; inside of neck black glaze. Height, 0.138 m.; diameter, 0.073 m. These vases are about contemporary with the Gnathia hydria.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. *C.V.A.*, Oxford, 1 (Great Britain, No. 3), p. 40, no. 18, and pl. 47, 8; "late fourth century" (Beazley). The shape is somewhat later than that found at Olynthus.

¹⁷⁵ Courby, *Les Vases grecs à relief*, p. 186.

¹⁷⁶ Breccia, *Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes (Musée d'Alexandrie), La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, p. 190.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 438 ff.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 330 ff. Most of the pottery, however, from these five Agora groups is later than that from the Halae North Gate Buildings.

¹⁷⁹ Sharp pinching of the rim is not common before the fourth century.



Fig. 205. Trefoil Jug (No. 15)
from North Gate Buildings



Fig. 206. Hydria (No. 17)
from North Gate Buildings

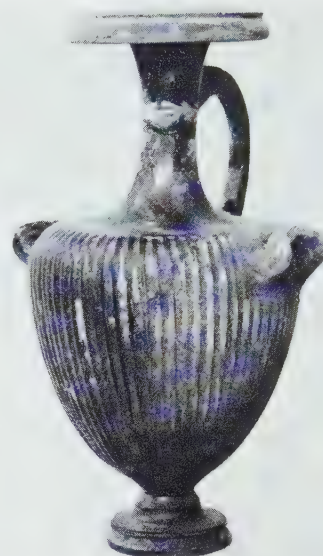


Fig. 207. Hydria (No. 12)
from North Gate Buildings



Fig. 208. Pyxis (No. 11)
from North Gate Buildings

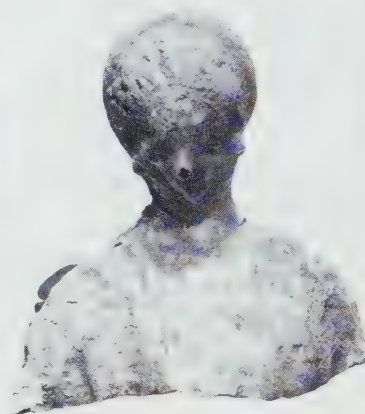


Fig. 209. Terracotta from
North Gate Buildings



Fig. 211. Rooms B and C, East Shops, Seen from West



Fig. 210. Marble Statuette of
Aphrodite from East Shops

18. Fig. 197. Plate with sunken center and raised rim. Poor red glaze. Height, 0.025 m.; diameter, 0.163 m.

TERRACOTTA

The only terracotta found within these buildings was the upper part of a Tanagra figure of a young girl preserved to about the breasts (Fig. 209). Clay grey. Traces of white paint. Height, 0.064 m. Head looking downward to right; hair pulled back from forehead and tied in knot behind; band on hair; earrings. This figurine, too, corroborates the late fourth century date of the pottery, for in one of the Halae graves a number of Tanagra figures of slightly more advanced style were found together with a Boeotian coin for which Head gives the date 315-288 B.C.¹⁸⁰

PART V—THE SHOPS AT THE NORTHEAST GATE¹⁸¹

In its present form this building, clearly used for shops, belongs to the second century after Christ, according to coins of the Antonine emperors and Hadrian found in the rooms. It is a poor construction in which every sort of material is reused and combined. A single wall, the one shaded on the plan, is the lowest course of an earlier building of the same type as the ones preserved at the North Gate (see p. 481). Not only is the socle similar but so too are the orthostates reused in the construction of the second building.

The shops of the Roman period consist of units of two rooms connected by a doorway. The front rooms, so far as they are sufficiently preserved to judge, were all originally paved with heavy flagging stones (Fig. 211), some of them material taken from the first system of walls. Over the flags was a layer of cement in which bits of brick and tile were used giving it a reddish tinge. In Shop II and therefore probably originally in the others the cement also covered the walls.

SHOP I, consisting of Rooms A and B, and entered by a doorway in the left hand corner of A, was the shop of a statue seller. There was no evidence that his wares were made on the premises. Here was found the Parian marble statuette of Aphrodite of the Knidian type (Fig. 210) distinguished, alas, by nothing but its extreme ugliness; a small poros pilaster in the shape of a tree trunk; a piece of a small green marble plinth with a cutting for the inset of a statuette and fragments of other pilasters. The rear room contained nothing.

SHOP II, consisting of Rooms C and D, has a broad entrance, 2.70 m. wide, but apparently no door. It was an open shop which may have been closed by a wooden shutter. A number of hollow stone moulds which might have been used for metal were found here. In room D a corner floor space 1.62 m. × 1.83 m. is cemented and

¹⁸⁰ *B.M.C.*, Central Greece, pp. 87-88, pl. XVI, 1.

¹⁸¹ Plate III.

bordered with a thin coping of stones set on edge. It can hardly have been a water tank, unless the side walls were made of some other material, for the stones were certainly never carried any higher and were laid in a manner which precluded their having served as a foundation for a superstructure. This may have supported the forge of a metalworker or stone moulds used for pouring ingots. If the forge was originally in the front room this would account for the broad entrance and the absence of a door.

Beyond this point the preservation of the walls is very poor indeed. At G we seem to be in the shop of the food seller, for there are traces of a cement-lined basin in the front room and another completely preserved (0.70 m. \times 0.50 m.; depth, 0.90 m.) directly inside of the second (H). These rooms were not separated by walls but by a series of columns of which only one base, the third from the left, is preserved. Of the other two there are only the setting marks and the fragment of a drum. Here the building virtually disappears save for a few scattered blocks and it is impossible to say how far it extended southward. The wall directly north of Tower 1-II does not belong to this building.

Measurements:

Length from A to Tank in H, 29.80 m.
 Room A, 5.30 m. \times 4.75 m. Length of doorstep, 1.61 m.
 Room B, 6.00 m. \times 5.07 m. Length of doorstep, 0.91 m.
 Room C, 4.90 m. \times 4.85 m. Entrance, 2.60 m. wide.
 Room D, 6.85 m. \times 5.00 m.

POTTERY

The pottery is all of the Roman period, although it does not seem possible to date it very closely. Similar vases have been found at Delphi and at Delos in Roman buildings. The coins found in our building point to the second century after Christ as the correct date.

1. Not illustrated; cf. No. 3. Preservation: part of mouth and small piece of body missing. Clay: buff-red. Traces of red glaze. Height, 0.085 m.; diameter, 0.075 m. Trefoil jug. Mouth pinched nearly shut; thick band handle; body rilled, almost conical; low base.

2. Fig. 213. Preservation: over half missing, including all of base. Clay: purple-red, thin and hard. No glaze. Height, 0.073 m. Small jug with vertical three-ribbed ribbon handle; a high, upright, somewhat convex neck; globular body; upper body with impressed¹⁸² plastic ornament suggestive of a twisted rope pattern in short parallel vertical strips; lower body with incised circular lines.

3. Fig. 214. Preservation: part of mouth and small piece of body missing. Clay: buff-red. Traces of red glaze. Height, 0.096 m.; diameter, 0.075 m. Jug similar to No. 1 but with higher, solid base and less pronounced rills.

¹⁸² Probably made with end of thin stick.

4. Fig. 217. Preservation: part of mouth missing. Clay: grey to brown with lime inclusions. Slight traces of thin grey-black glaze. Height, 0.158 m.; diameter, 0.134 m. Jug with somewhat ovoidal body narrowing towards bottom to a flat base; body covered from base of handle downward with rills; neck short and rather narrow; mouth trefoil and sharply pinched in. Vertical band handle from rim to upper body.

5. Fig. 218. Preservation: large part of upper body and one handle missing. Clay: red to orange, fine crushed lime temper. Height, 0.101 m.; diameter, 0.167 m. Bowl with body sharply divided into concave upper and convex lower profile; latter horizontally rilled; flat base; flaring rim with small vertical band; handles directly beneath.

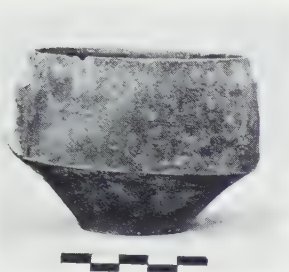


Fig. 212. Glazed Cup
(No. 7)

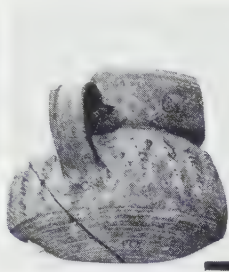


Fig. 213. Jug
(No. 2)



Fig. 214. Trefoil Jug
(No. 3)



Fig. 215. Jug
(No. 6)

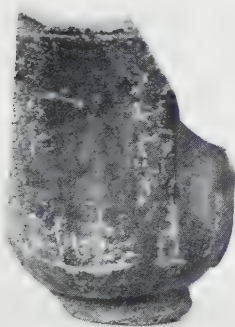


Fig. 216. Glazed Bowl
(No. 8)

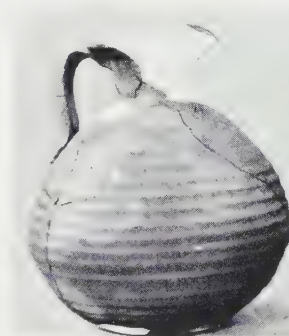


Fig. 217. Trefoil Jug
(No. 4)



Fig. 218. Basin (No. 5)

6. Fig. 215. Preservation: base and much of body missing. Clay: buff-red. Covered with thin red glaze now largely worn off. Height, 0.083 m.; diameter, 0.088 m. Small jug with vertical handle of circular cross section, connecting base of neck and middle of body; rounded base; slightly everted, fluted neck; no lip.

7. Fig. 212. Preservation: large part of body and rim missing. Clay: light red, fairly hard. Covered inside and out with thin red glaze. Height, 0.08 m.; diameter, *ca.* 0.07 m. Tall, straight-sided cup with indented sides in the style of metalwork. Ring base; no handles preserved.

8. Fig. 216. Preservation: handles missing. Clay: pink-buff. Covered with thin red glaze. Height, 0.061 m.; diameter, 0.083 m. (at rim, 0.0735 m.). Deep bowl with body sharply profiled into slightly

convex upper section and concave lower part diminishing abruptly to flat base. Two small vertical ribbon handles starting from just below rim.

SCULPTURE

Fig. 210. Parian marble. Preservation: missing, head and neck, all but small part of upper left arm; base gashed, surface rather heavily incrustated in spots. Height, 0.30 m.; height of figure without base, 0.27 m. Exceedingly poor copy of a type of Aphrodite derived from the one made by Praxiteles for Knidos. Such small replicas were in general use, especially in Roman times in private houses. The nude figure with the drapery resting on the vase is perhaps somewhat more common.¹⁸³

PART VI—THE LATE ROMAN BATH¹⁸⁴

The buildings overlying Tower 4-II and adjacent walls of the Northeast Gate (see General Plan) do not in reality form part of the history of the site, for they were erected after the acropolis ceased to exist as a fortified unit. What we see is the southern end of a building or series of buildings which extended for some distance towards the north, how far we do not know, as no attempt was made to carry the excavations beyond the limit of the fortifications. The buildings were constructed in large part by blocks taken from the Second System. They are dated to the fourth century and the times of Honorius Arcadius and Constantius by a small hoard of copper coins found behind a green serpentine revetment in Room B. The section resting in part on the terrace of Wall IA was built over a broad road approached by two steps from the main street and lined by colonnades supporting columns with smooth shafts and degenerate Doric capitals of late Hellenistic or Roman date. Fragments of these were found in the fill of the street (for shaft see Fig. 18).¹⁸⁵ The rooms recovered formed part of a bathing establishment for which the two wells doubtless supplied water. The water flowed from tile-bottomed tanks of unequal size (C and D) into large circular stone basins. Room A was the caldarium containing a stove and remnants of brick pilasters on which the upper floor rested. An overflow pipe led through a hole in the wall of the room to the south and rested on a channel cut on the top of Tower 3-I at its present level. The establishment must have been one of considerable elegance, for fragments of different colored marbles were strewn throughout the rooms as well as a number of small column and pilaster capitals of the foliage and arabesque types.

¹⁸³ Cf. Shear, "The Sculpture from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 173 f., figs. 3-4; Blinkenberg, *Knidia*, Copenhagen, 1933, where, however, only statues the size of the original are considered.

¹⁸⁴ Wherever the walls pass over earlier constructions they are represented by broken lines.

¹⁸⁵ The shaded blocks to the left of the entrance belong to this colonnade.

PART VII—OBJECTS FOUND OUTSIDE THE TEMPLE AREA, FOR THE MOST PART UNSTRATIFIED

POTTERY

Coarse

1. Fig. 220. Preservation: piece of the neck and rim. Clay: red-black, smoothed and possibly slipped with somewhat finer clay of the same color. Height, 0.15 m.; diameter, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.107 m. Fragment of a large unpainted amphora, probably of the shape found in Boeotia, Euboea, and the Cyclades in Geometric and Orientalizing times.¹⁸⁶ A closer parallel is an amphora from Eretria,¹⁸⁷ with cut-out base, probably of Boeotian origin. The letters, arranged vertically on the neck, are of well-known form with Θ explained as derived from an original initial Ξ.¹⁸⁸ They stand undoubtedly for Μηε[τερές], a liquid measure equal to the contents of a wine amphora.¹⁸⁹ The price of two staters is represented by the two sigmas which, on the Aeginetan standard then in use in Boeotia and probably in Locris as well, would be equal to four drachmai.¹⁹⁰ The style of the letters is characteristic for Boeotia and also resembles that of the archaic Thera inscriptions which Dragendorff dates in the beginning of the sixth century.¹⁹¹
2. Fig. 223. Preservation: piece of one handle only. Clay: coarse, red. No glaze. Maximum width, 0.10 m.; minimum, 0.062 m. Fragment of a broad ribbon handle which grew directly out of the neck of a large vessel; on the outer surface incised pattern consisting of a zigzag at both edges, chevrons in the center and an arc with diagonal hatching at the start of the handle.
3. Fig. 222. Fragment of a kylix with scene of komasts. Only part of a dancing female figure facing left, the limbs executed in white and details of chiton indicated by careless, wavy incision; behind her, part of a palmette; in front, the white foot of an opposing figure; the base line of the decorated zone is white. Type of kylix common around 500 B.C.¹⁹² Height, 0.0525 m.; width, 0.057 m.
4. Not illustrated. Fragment of a kylix with figure wearing short chiton and running to right; behind, the forelegs of an animal (horse or dog) running to right, executed in white paint. Height, 0.032 m.; width, 0.0445 m.
5. Fig. 228. Six joining fragments of a small band-cup with floral decoration on the outside. The design consists of a zone of debased palmettes and lotus buds with carelessly placed white dots on the black-glaze base line; beneath this a reserved line. It belongs to the group of Little Master Cups placed by Ure in his "Type C2" of the end of the sixth century and a substantial part of the fifth.¹⁹³ This agrees with the evidence from Halae graves where a similar kylix was found together with pottery and terracottas of the first half of the fifth century. Height, *ca.* 0.044 m., exclusive of foot.

¹⁸⁶ Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, pl. 6, no. 19.

¹⁸⁷ Kourouniotes, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1903, p. 18, fig. 10, and p. 27.

¹⁸⁸ Buck, *Greek Dialects*², p. 62, no. 76 b: Μηεξίος. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, p. 95 e: Μηεγαρέων. In Attic Inscriptions I.G., I², 704, 623, 470, 710.

¹⁸⁹ The abbreviation is used in inscriptions; cf. Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia*, no. 116, line 36.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. the interesting discussion of wine prices, L. Talcott, "Pottery from a Fifth Century Well," *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 495 ff. "In the third century B.C., when the cost of living was high, Cutilian wine at Delos cost 6 to 4 drachmai a jar."

¹⁹¹ Thera, II, p. 63.

¹⁹² Rhitzona, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1915, p. 124.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 120, figs. 10-11; *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-1908, p. 278.

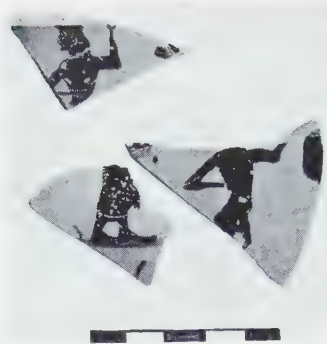


Fig. 219. B.-F. Sherds
(No. 6)

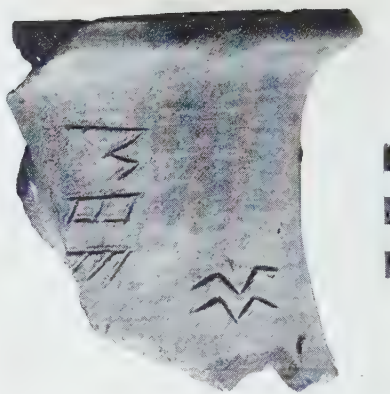


Fig. 220. Neck of Amphora
(No. 1) with Inscription

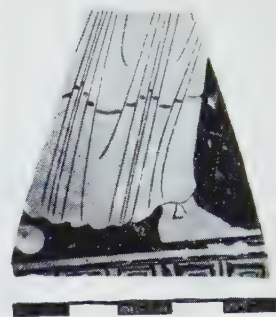


Fig. 221. R.-F. Fragment
(No. 8)

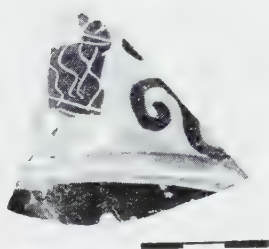


Fig. 222. B.-F. Sherd
(No. 3)



Fig. 223. Fragment of
Handle (No. 2)



Fig. 224. R.-F. Sherd
(No. 7)

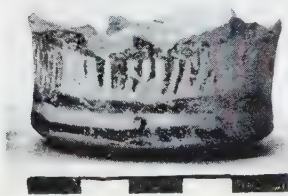


Fig. 225. Pyxis (No. 27)

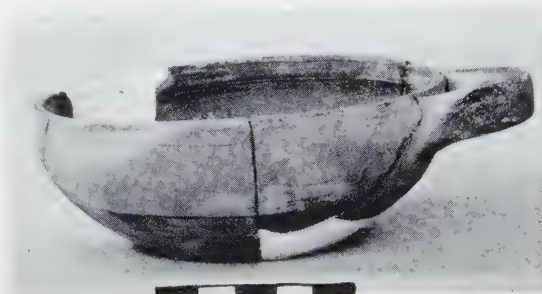


Fig. 226. Glazed Bowl (No. 29)



Fig. 227. Pyxis
(No. 28)



Fig. 228. Kylix (No. 5)

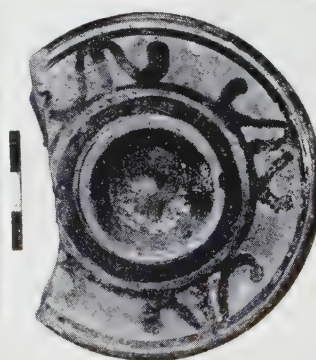


Fig. 229. Lid (No. 26)



Fig. 230.
Unguentarium
(No. 30)

Pottery from the Acropolis, outside the Temple Area

6. Fig. 219. Fragments of black-figured vase with parts of three or more hastily drawn figures apparently arranged in a frieze.

Red Figure

7. Fig. 224. Red-figure sherd from shoulder and neck of amphora or hydria. Meander border; below, part of head, neck and shoulder of female figure.

8. Fig. 221. Red-figure sherd. Meander; above, foot and drapery of female figure advancing right.

Glazed Ware

9. Fig. 232. Preservation: handle, adjoining piece of rim, and small parts of body missing. Clay: buff-pink. Covered with thin glaze of a red-brown hue. Height, 0.08 m.; diameter, 0.054 m. Small jug of general type of Nos. 27 and 28 from the First Temple Area but with squatter, more curved body, and raised, solid base; the lip is thickened but has no defined spout.

10. Fig. 235. Preservation: piece of rim and neck missing. Clay: fine, well levigated, pink-buff; moderately hard fabric. Thin black glaze, largely worn off. Jug with large, spreading ring base, rather squat, globular body; narrow neck separated from body by plastic ring; flaring rim; vertical ribbon handle connecting rim and shoulder. Height, 0.1035 m.; diameter, 0.084 m. Two stripes of dull purplish red paint encircle the jug below the handle.

11. Not illustrated. Preservation: rim and part of neck missing. Clay: buff-red. Covered with thin, very worn red glaze. Height, 0.073 m.; diameter, 0.073 m. Squat jug with ring base; lower part of body shaped like bowl, forming angle with long, sloping shoulder; narrow upright neck and large loop handle, of circular cross section, from base of neck to edge of shoulder. Cf. above, pottery from North Gate, No. 10 (p. 485).

12. Fig. 236. Preservation: part of rim and handle missing. Clay: grey, fine, compact, covered with dull, greyish glaze. Height, 0.132 m.; diameter, 0.096 m. Jug of metallic type, a kind of imitation Gnathia; ring base; pronounced, moulded lip; pyriform body; vertical gouges from below level of handle to above base; at base of handle, circular groove.

13. Fig. 239, left. Preservation: neck only. Clay: buff-pink. Covered with rather dull black glaze tending to brown. Height, 0.077 m.; diameter, 0.057 m. Neck of a jug with cut-away neck; spout squared off and only slightly protruding, sides slightly constricted; ridge at base of neck. Type goes back to the Iron Age and occurs as early as the Middle Bronze Age; in use throughout the sixth century, but rarely after that date.

14. Fig. 239, right. Preservation: neck only. Clay: yellow. Traces of thin black slip now almost completely worn away. Height, 0.081 m.; diameter, 0.074 m. Similar to above, but spout less protruding, sides not constricted; the edge of the spout is thickened.

15. Fig. 231. Preservation: complete except for small lacunae on body. Clay: buff. Traces of black glaze on neck and splashes on body; probably never completely glazed. Height, 0.112 m.; diameter, 0.058 m. Squat jug or lekythos with ring base, long narrow neck, and flaring rim; loop handle of circular cross section which connects base of neck and edge of shoulder. In shape, like the squat lekythoi with palmette pattern of the late fifth and early fourth centuries.

16. Fig. 238. Preservation: handle broken. Clay: red. Very glossy black glaze. Height, 0.068 m.; diameter, 0.074 m. Kantharos of unusual shape; conical foot; concave body with shallow bottom; single handle starting from angle of body but not meeting rim or upper wall. See above, North Gate Pottery, No. 9 (p. 483).



Fig. 231. Glazed Lekythos
(No. 15)



Fig. 232. Glazed Jug (No. 9)

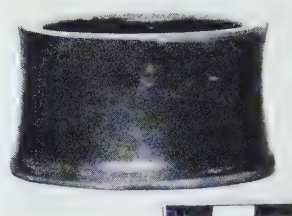


Fig. 233. Glazed Pyxis
(No. 18)

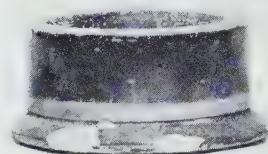


Fig. 234. Glazed Pyxis
(No. 19)



Fig. 235. Jug (No. 10)



Fig. 236. Jug (No. 12)

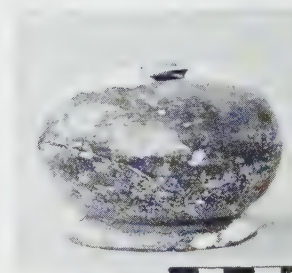


Fig. 237. Inkwell
(No. 17)

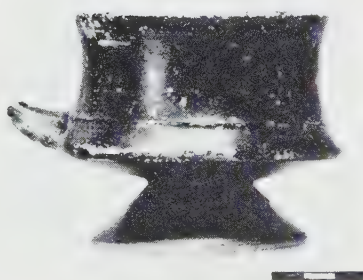


Fig. 238. Kantharos (No. 16)

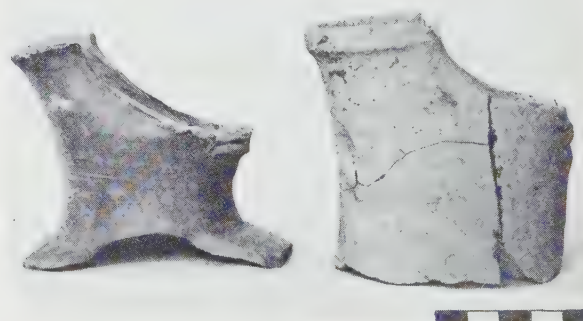


Fig. 239. Glazed Jug Necks (Nos. 13 and 14)

Pottery from the Acropolis, outside the Temple Area

17. Fig. 237. Preservation: all of rim, some of sides, and small piece of base missing. Clay: buff. Covered with black glaze of good quality. Height, 0.063 m.; diameter, 0.09 m. Inkwell. Raised flaring base; body compressed sphere with small aperture on top.
18. Fig. 233. Preservation: complete. Clay: red, Attic. Covered with good black glaze. Height, 0.034 m.; diameter, 0.061 m. Small jar or pyxis with flat base and slightly concave sides narrower at top than at bottom. Early example of shape. For this and following see note 171.
19. Fig. 234. Preservation: complete except for chipping of base. Clay: red, Attic. Good black glaze inside and out. Height, 0.029 m.; diameter, 0.051 m. at base and 0.0505 m. at rim. Small jar or pyxis with very slightly concave sides and no differentiated rim; a solid, flaring base separated from body by deep groove; just above groove a band of reserved clay.

Miscellaneous

20. Not illustrated. Handle and rim fragment of a Corinthian column-krater; plastic band below rim; on plaque of handle, rays; on upper surface of rim, two dull red lines. Clay: reddish yellow. Glaze rather thin; black tending to brown. Height, 0.086 m.; diameter, 0.191 m.; width, 0.191 m.
21. Not illustrated. Handle and fragment of rim of column-krater; on plaque of handle, a single carelessly executed lotus on reserved field framed in black glaze. Clay: fine, dull, pinky grey. Height, 0.0675 m.; width, 0.185 m.
22. Fig. 34, 10. Fragment of a large shallow bowl with wide flat rim; glazed on the inside with the characteristic early black to brown glaze and also on outside of rim; upper surface of rim has vertical dashes around the edge and a pattern of carelessly executed palmettes and spirals. There are pointed knobs on the outer edge of the rim. Height without knob, 0.076 m.; width, 0.165 m.
23. Not illustrated. Fragment of a similar bowl; vertical dashes followed by a row of dots; in place of the spiral palmette design, wave pattern. Height, 0.071 m.; width, 0.139 m. These fragments belong to the general class of Vourva-shaped bowls but are a late variety. The degenerate palmettes place them towards the end of the fifth century.¹⁹⁴
24. Fig. 34, 8. Fragment of similar bowl. Height, 0.064 m.; width, 0.075 m.
25. Fig. 34, 11. Rim fragment with knob. Buff clay, iridescent brown-black glaze. Spiral and palmette patterns. Width, 0.075 m.
26. Fig. 229. Preservation: about one third missing. Clay: buff-red. Height, 0.024 m.; diameter, 0.086 m. A cover with a hollow button for handle; on reserved surface a pattern of three-leaved palmettes between circular bands.
27. Fig. 225. Preservation: all of rim missing. Clay: buff-red. Height, 0.029 m.; diameter, 0.051 m. Body of a thin-walled pyxis of Corinthian looking clay; decorated with a linear design of bands and vertical strokes in a thin red glaze; circular bands on flat base; sides slightly concave. Type of the late sixth and fifth century.
28. Fig. 227. Preservation: edge of cover broken. Clay: very light yellow Corinthian. Traces of red glaze on inside. Height without cover, 0.025 m.; height with cover, 0.032 m.; diameter, 0.044 m. Small pyxis of a typical Late Corinthian II shape. Probably end of fifth century B.C. A similar pyxis was found at Halae in a grave together with a vase in the style of Meidias.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, p. 32, for comparative material.

29. Fig. 226. Preservation: part of rim and body missing. Clay: buff-red. Black glaze on inside and on handle only. Height, 0.043 m.; diameter, 0.11 m. Bowl with flat base, curving sides, and no differentiated rim; a single horizontal handle at level of rim. Similar bowls were still in use at the time of the battle of Chaeronea, 338 B.C.¹⁹⁵

30. Fig. 230. Preservation: complete. Clay: buff-red. Very thin walls with band of red glaze around rim and upper neck. Height, 0.074 m.; diameter, 0.047 m. Roman type of unguentarium.

31-45. Fragments bearing graffiti are illustrated in Fig. 240. Nos. 1, 2, 4-7, and 15 of the figure are bases of bowls or skyphoi; 8 and 14 are jug fragments; 9, 10, and 12, kylix handles; and 11 part of a skyphos. The graffiti are, for the most part, discernible on the photograph. Fig. 240, 4 reads ΔΑΜΟΚΟΙΛΟΞ; ∟ is incised at the base of the handle of 8; Α of 9 lies between the handle bases; a second K is incised on a portion of 14 not showing; Α shows faintly on the base of 15.

46-54. Fig. 241. The Megarian bowl fragments belong to the middle and late Athenian styles—the combined figure and floral decoration (late third to early second century B.C.) and “à godrons” decoration of the mid and late second century.¹⁹⁶ Of the early floral style, there are only a few small fragments. The better preserved and most interesting fragments are illustrated.

No. 46. Fig. 241, 1, gives three of the eight fragments which probably come from the same bowl with flaring rim. Clay: buff-red; glaze red to black, fairly lustrous. Three zones of decoration, separated by relief bands:

- (a) Rim, series of three repeated figures.
 - (1) Figure facing left (not illustrated).
 - (2) Winged figures with arms outstretched running right.
 - (3) Object which is not the same the three times it is represented on the sherds.
 - (i) Like bird alighting.
 - (ii) Shapeless, may be bird (not illustrated).
 - (iii) Conventionalized tree?
- (b) Apparently alternating winged figure walking left with object in hand, and wingless figure blowing double pipes to right.
- (c) Figure facing right blowing double pipes in front of animal (?).

No. 47. Fig. 241, 2, shows five of nine fragments from same bowl with incurved rim. Buff-pink clay, brown to black matt glaze. On rim, ovolo; below, alternating heads of winged figures and figures with upraised arms. Along middle register (not shown) a row of robed figures running right. Six-petaled rosettes on base surmounted by alternating diamond-shaped and acanthus leaves.

No. 48. Fig. 241, 3. Fragment from body and base of bowl. Thick, hard red clay; glaze thin black with metallic lustre. Below rim, at least two rows of small globules. On body, acanthus leaf with dolphin on either side of base and a string of the globules swinging in garland fashion above leaf and fish.

No. 49. Fig. 241, 4. Fragment of body and base. Feet of figure moving right in a zone above a row of acanthus leaves. Probably rosette on base.

No. 50. Fig. 241, 5. Fragment of body, near base. Buff clay with tinge of grey. Thin matt glaze; black with reddish tinge, slight metallic lustre. Triple concentric pendent semicircles, a spiral swastika preserved within one; similar semicircles rising from base, one containing a leaf-shaped pattern; background of dots.¹⁹⁷

No. 51. Fig. 241, 6. Fragment of base and lower wall. Buff red to red clay. Thin, matt red glaze with occasional black spots. Tendrils and leaves springing from base medallion. Rose or,

¹⁹⁵ Seen in National Museum, Athens.

¹⁹⁶ For a discussion of the bowls, cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 451 ff.

¹⁹⁷ Zahn, *Jahrbuch*, XXIII, 1908, p. 64, fig. 24, and cf. p. 73, fig. 32; Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, p. 405, fig. 530, no. 34.

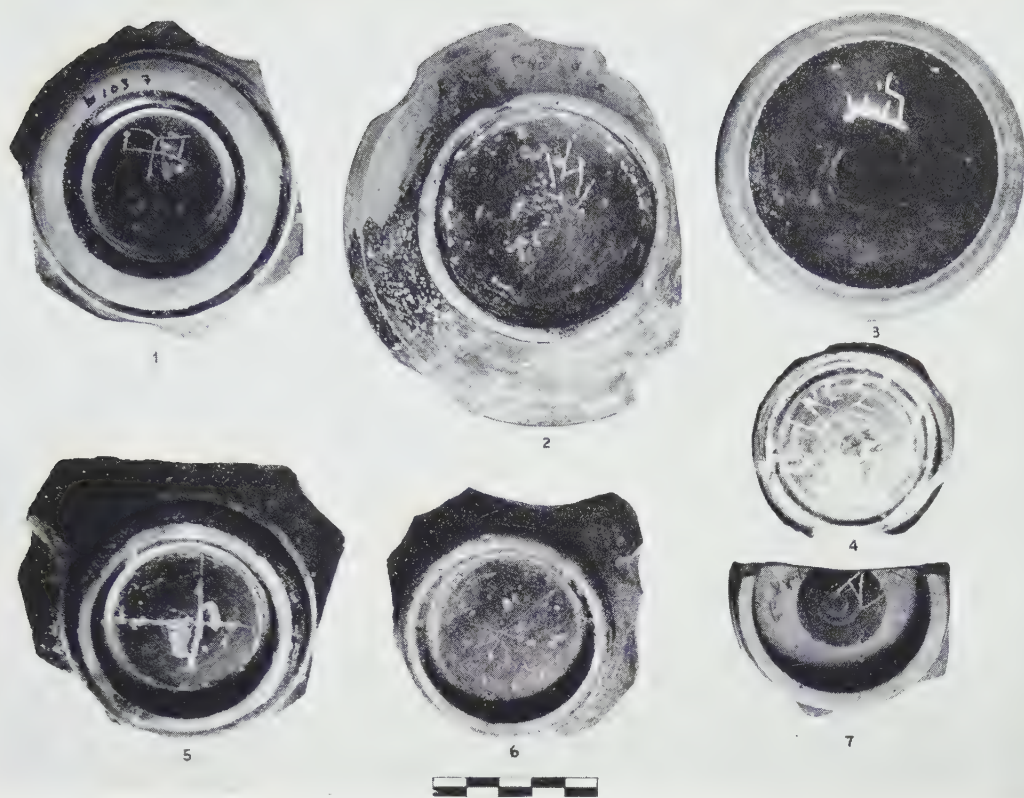


Fig. 240. Glazed Fragments with Graffiti (Top, Nos. 31-37; Bottom, Nos. 38-45)

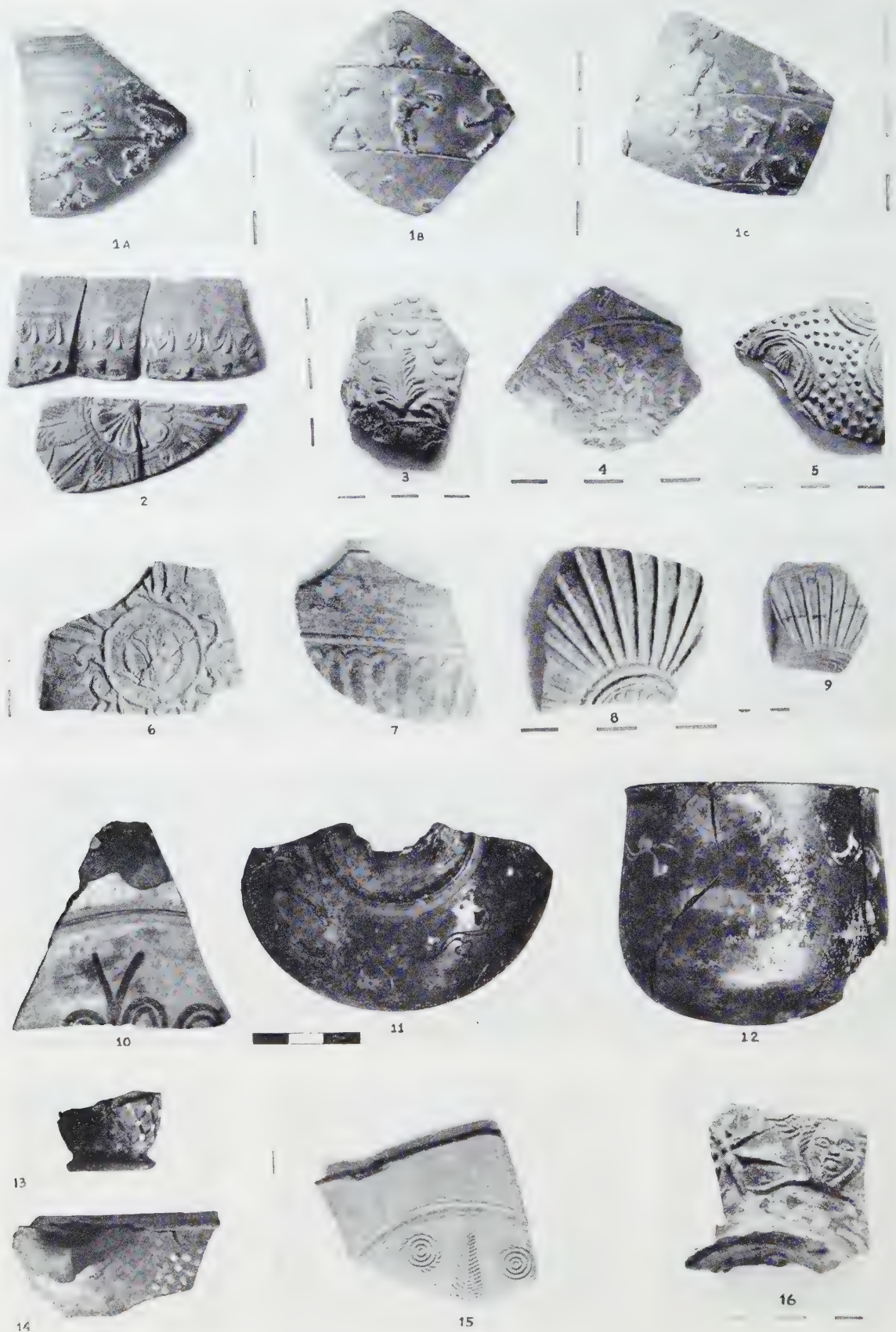


Fig. 241. Megarian, Hellenistic, Painted, and Miscellaneous Sherds (Nos. 46-61)
From the Acropolis, outside the Temple Area

less probably, a bee in medallion surrounded by six small star rosettes. This medallion, with rosettes instead of an inscription, recalls the Rhodian amphora stamps.

No. 52. Fig. 241, 7. Fragment of upper body and flaring rim. Reddish clay and matt red glaze. Decoration "à godrons."

No. 53. Fig. 241, 8. Fragment of base and lower wall. Buff clay with pink tinge; black glaze with metallic sheen. Decoration "à godrons" with rosette in base medallion.

No. 54. Fig. 241, 9. Two joining fragments of base and wall. Hard grey clay; matt black glaze. "À godrons" ornament; row of circles around base medallion.

55-59. Numerous fragments of Hellenistic ware with thin, metallic black glaze and buff or white slip-painted ornament were found, in most cases small and badly preserved. The deep-bodied kantharos (Fig. 241, 12) is a common type, ornamented with a simple ivy or laurel band (cf. Fig. 203 from the North Gate).¹⁹⁸ Fig. 241, 10 belongs to a large plate with heavy rim, glazed on the inside and painted with garlands and ribbons (the white paint of the fragment illustrated has worn off, leaving a dark print on the glaze). About half of a bowl with incurved rim (Fig. 241, 11) is a decorated example of a very common Hellenistic shape inherited from the earlier classical period.

Lekythoi of the type of Fig. 241, 13 (lower body and base only), covered with a black net pattern punctuated with white dots, do not outlast the fourth century. Fig. 241, 14 is the fragment of a bowl (?) with flat rim and bridged spout directly under the rim; the cluster of white painted dots suggests a grape or berry pattern.

60-61. Among the miscellaneous sherds may be appended Fig. 241, 15, 16, the latter the base and lower wall of a jug, or possibly a skyphos of buff clay and dull red glaze. The relief at the wall base preserves a star rosette and a full front face (Medusa?). The former illustration is a sherd of Late Roman B ware, fourth century after Christ.¹⁹⁹



Fig. 242. Lower Part of Poros Relief (No. 1)

SCULPTURE

1. Fig. 242. Material: poros. Preservation: feet and lower part of drapery of a female figure in relief; originally framed by projecting sides now broken; surface corroded by long subjection to the action of sea water. Preserved height, 0.51 m. left, 0.26 m. right; projection of plinth, 0.26 m.; width, 0.63 m.

The figure is that of a woman standing in frontal position wearing a long chiton. The garment, gathered in three folds to either side and left plain in the middle, just clears the feet and falls to the ground in a double arch. The surface of the feet has been almost entirely worn away, so that we cannot say whether they were encased in sandals. A very close parallel to our fragmentary piece is the Kore from the Acropolis, No. 582,²⁰⁰ where the arrangement of the drapery and the angle at which the feet emerge below the edge of the garment are similar. Our sculptor betrays a provincial hand, however, in the treatment of this very edge; for while in the one case the double arch is the result of the natural fall of the drapery over the instep, the garment of the Halae figure is

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Thompson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 311 ff., A31, B4, B21-25. The kantharos loses its popularity after the fourth century. Cf. pp. 444 ff.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Waagé, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 296 ff.

²⁰⁰ Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, pl. 14, 5, and p. 9; Schrader, *Die Archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*, pl. 12, p. 17.



Fig. 243. Marble Head
(No. 2)

sharply undercut and does not reach the instep. The arch of the drapery therefore remains unmotivated. The Acropolis Kore is dated in the first half of the sixth century by both Schrader and Payne, and of the whole group of similar Korai Payne says "the suppression of all modelling within the contours of the body, and the severity of the drapery point to a date well before the middle of the sixth century." Archaic relief statues in frontal position are not common and the best parallel is offered by the stele of Kitylos and Dermis from Tanagra (National Museum, No. 56).²⁰¹ This statue belongs in character with those of the first temple area. Found in the possession of a local peasant.

2. Fig. 243. Material: marble with rather large crystals. Preservation: head only, with front of face and hair entirely missing; left side also mutilated.

Head of a Kore of the general type of Acropolis 685,²⁰² to judge by the schematic arrangement of the hair over the skull, the fine strands in front of the ear and the position of ear and earring. The fillet of our Kore is somewhat narrower than that of the Athens statue, but there is the same domed contour of the skull, although somewhat more pronounced in our head. Even when allowance has been made for the exaggeration of the effect of narrowness caused by the mutilation of the front of the head, the skull remains unusually high and narrow. Acropolis 685 is placed by Payne in a group of the last two decades of the sixth century. It is unfortunate that we have so little of this statue, for it was an imported piece of superior workmanship. Found

outside the west acropolis wall.

3. Not illustrated. Material: marble of same crystal-line type as No. 2. Preservation: surface very much worn; small fragments of female drapery with carefully executed groups of crinkled folds. Material and workmanship make it probable that Nos. 2 and 3 are all that remain of a cult statue of Athena. Preserved height, 0.065 m.

4. Fig. 244. Material: marble. Preservation: piece of hair and stephane of a female statue. The hair is arranged in narrow parallel waves over the forehead. Maximum height, 0.075 m. Unstratified.

BRONZE

A certain number of objects found in late Hellenistic to early Roman context are probably surgical instruments, although a few might also come from a lady's toilet table.

1. Fig. 61, 7. Spatula (?), very much corroded.

2. Fig. 61, 6. Long shaft, pointed at one end, bowl of small spoon at other; towards the spoon end the shaft



Fig. 244. Fragment of Marble Head
(No. 4)

²⁰¹ Collignon, *Statues Funéraires*, p. 60, fig. 32. Cf. also National Museum, Athens, No. 82; relief of two effigies of the armed Athena; Svoronos, *Le Musée National*, pl. XXVI, p. 101.

²⁰² Payne, *op. cit.*, pls. 73-75, p. 35; compare especially the side view, pl. 74, 2.

is ornamented with two groups of incised bands. Length, 0.138 m.; diameter of bowl, 0.006 m. The type is Roman. There is an almost exact parallel at Olympia.²⁰³

3. Fig. 61, 5. Instrument pointed at one end and with a scooped blade at other; just above the scooped end the shaft swells to a diamond shape then diminishes again. Length, *ca.* 0.148 m. Very like a surgical instrument found at Colophon²⁰⁴ and others from Olympia.²⁰⁵

4. Fig. 61, 4. Probe (?). Length, 0.152 m. According to Milne, a simple double probe with tapered ends.²⁰⁶

5. Fig. 61, 3. Two short incurving prongs joined by simple shaft. Length, 0.145 m. Probably a bifurcated prong.²⁰⁷ As Halae lies by the sea, one thinks of netting needles, which are similarly shaped, though the prongs are as a rule less pointed.

6. Fig. 71, 2. Fibula of well-known Roman type with hinged pin; shaft of pin missing; the bow is ornamented with longitudinal incised lines and ends in knob at catch end. Length, 0.054 m.; height, 0.027 m. Dated approximately to second half of the third and fourth century after Christ.²⁰⁸

7. Fig. 71, 3. Probably the upper end of the handle of a ladle of Hellenistic or Roman times. Preserved length, 0.055 m. The handles, however, are usually pierced a number of times, so that they have the appearance of a sieve. These ends were probably used as "froth" spoons like the ones in the British Museum²⁰⁹ and Karlsruhe.²¹⁰

8. Fig. 61, 8. Fishhook? Solid bronze cylinder divided into two curved prongs like anchor. Length, 0.05 m.

9. Not illustrated. Long curl of bronze, the surface incised with parallel grooves of varying fineness.²¹¹ Length, 0.34 m.

10. Fig. 245. Implement for spearing fish? Length, 0.251 m. Very much bent out of shape. Consists of a shaft pointed at lower end and with a short crossbar for handle; about one third from top another crossbar (now bent), the ends of which curve like a fish's tail.

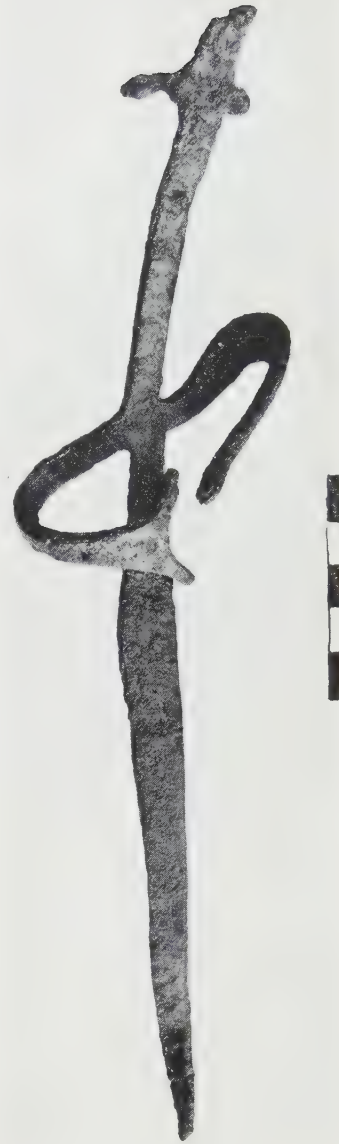


Fig. 245. Bronze Implement (No. 10)

²⁰³ *Olympia*, IV, pl. LXV, 1113.

²⁰⁴ Caton, *J.H.S.*, XXXIV, 1914, pl. XI, 26.

²⁰⁵ *Olympia*, IV, pl. LXV, 1114 and 1118; cf. Milne, *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times*, pls. XII ff.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. X.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. XXI, 3.

²⁰⁸ G. M. A. Richter, *Metropolitan Museum, Greek, Roman and Etruscan Bronzes*, pp. 329-330, no. 1059.

²⁰⁹ Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek, Roman and Etruscan Bronzes in the British Museum*, p. 322, fig. 76.

²¹⁰ Schumacher, *Karlsruhe, Beschreibung der Sammlung antiker Bronzen*, p. 97, no. 526.

²¹¹ *Olympia*, IV, pl. V, 22-29.

11. Not illustrated. Hairpin, or tweezer; one end broken.²¹²
12. Fig. 61, 10. Bronze knuckle bone.
13. Not illustrated. Awl; the sharply pointed end, now somewhat bent, originally fitted into a handle.
14. Not illustrated. Large boss, probably from a shield to which it was attached by a nail passing through the central hole.²¹³ Diameter, 0.095 m.
15. Fig. 246. Statuette. Missing: left hand, both feet and ankles. Height, 0.082 m. Surface corroded; features obliterated. Youth resting right hand on hip; left arm extended, may originally have held patera; weight on right leg, left leg advanced; head turned slightly to left. Poor Roman work. Found at the southeast corner of the acropolis.

Miscellaneous objects too fragmentary to be measured or photographed:

- (a) Bronze phiale; only a few fragments with central boss.
- (b) Bands from boxes and chests of wood. They are full of nail holes.
- (c) Bronze key hole.
- (d) Strigil.
- (e) Vase, probably a small covered jar.
- (f) Curved band of thin bronze, possibly a fillet for the hair.
- (g) Nails of varying lengths; longest 0.20 m.

LAMPS ²¹⁴

1. Fig. 248, 5. Preservation: complete. Clay: red-brown; iridescent black glaze on inside and outside of nozzle and rim. Height, 0.028 m.; length, 0.086 m. Low, open bowl with flat base; profile angular; flat slightly projecting rim; nozzle short with circular opening, rises somewhat above level of rim; no handle. Type II.²¹⁵

Some lamps of this type were found under the pavement of the temple square and can therefore be dated before the end of the 6th century. This agrees with the Corinth dating (Broneer, p. 37).

2. Fig. 248, 4. Preservation: hole in bottom, handle missing. Clay: pale red; fairly good black glaze over all but exterior base. Height, 0.021 m.; length, 0.083 m. Sides curve inward from flat base to fairly large circular opening; rising nozzle with oval opening; small horizontal handle. Most

²¹² Objects of similar shape but more elaborate decoration from Gorica; Truhelka, *Wiss. Mitt. aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, VIII, 1902, p. 34, figs. 63-64.

²¹³ See above, p. 462, Nos. 7-12.

²¹⁴ Types referred to are those in Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, *The Terracotta Lamps*; hereafter referred to as Broneer.

²¹⁵ Cf. Broneer, fig. 14, 11, for the closest parallel.



Fig. 246. Bronze Statuette (No. 15)

like Corinth, Type IV.²¹⁶ This type has a long life from the late sixth century to the end of the fourth century, but our lamp seems to belong to an early, though not the earliest, variety and may safely be placed in the late sixth to early fifth century.²¹⁷

3. Fig. 247, 8. Preservation: complete. Clay: yellow. Thin glaze which only partially covers the surface. Height, 0.035 m.; length, 0.084 m. Flat base; simple open bowl with incurved rim. Type IV.



Fig. 247. Lamps (Nos. 3, 5, 9, 10, 14-16, 18)

4. Fig. 248, 2. Preservation: complete. Length, 0.076 (?). Nozzle narrower than preceding. Type IV.

5. Fig. 247, 5. Preservation: all of nozzle and adjoining part of top of bowl missing. Clay: red, covered with much-worn, brown-black slip. Height, 0.03 m.; length, 0.082 m. (? restored and therefore of doubtful accuracy). Flat base; slightly rising horizontal handle. Type IV.

6. Not illustrated; cf. no. 3. Preservation: complete. Clay: red, covered with lustrous metallic glaze shading from brown to terracotta red. Height, 0.036 m.; length, 0.083 m. Flat base. Type IV.

²¹⁶ Broneer, fig. 14, 17-21, and pl. II, 71, 82.

²¹⁷ Cf. Broneer, p. 39, especially the observation on the shape of the nozzle. Cf. also *Excavations at Olynthus*, V, p. 268, Group IV, pls. 197-198.

7. Not illustrated; cf. no. 3. Preservation: complete. Clay: pale red. Thin black glaze, worn off in large part. Height, 0.04 m.; length, 0.09 m. Flat, offset base. Type IV.

8. Not illustrated; cf. no. 3. Preservation: complete. Clay: yellow. Completely covered with thin brown-black glaze. Height, 0.031 m.; length, 0.077 m. Flat, slightly offset base; nozzle blunt. Type IV.²¹⁸



Fig. 248. Side Views of Lamps Nos. 1-2, 4, 13, 17-18, 20.
All Scale of Top Figure

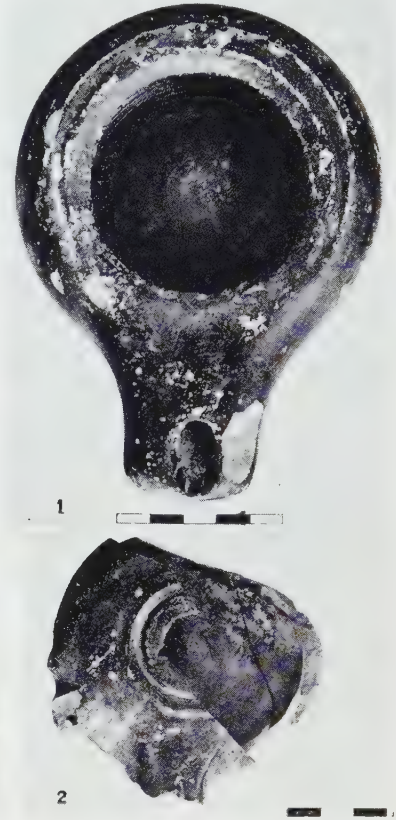


Fig. 249. Lamps
(Nos. 11 and 12)

9. Fig. 247, 6. Preservation: top partly broken away. Clay: pale red. Covered with thin black glaze. Height, 0.034 m.; length, 0.091 m. Base flat with slight concavity towards center; spout rather long; top open but with discus differentiated from rim and sloping inward. Found among fallen building blocks of Temple Area and antedates the second bastion of the fourth century. Identical with Corinth type VI²¹⁹ except that the base is flat. The Corinth date is "second and third quarters of the fifth century."

10. Fig. 247, 7. Preservation: complete; upper surface chipped. Clay: yellow with reddish tint. Covered with rather thin iridescent black glaze. Height, 0.053 m.; length, 0.142 m. Circular open bowl with curved sides; top grooved and inclining inward; blunt nozzle; wick hole oval and rather

²¹⁸ Cf. Broneer, fig. 14, 18.

²¹⁹ Broneer, pp. 43 f., pl. III, 102-112.

small; base flat. Found among fallen building stones in Temple Area and therefore antedates the building of the second bastion in the fourth century. Closest to Corinth Types VI and VII.²²⁰ Type VI is the characteristic shape of the fifth century; VII begins at the end of the fifth and characterizes the fourth century.

11. Fig. 249, 1. Preservation: top of nozzle broken. Clay: yellow. Thin, worn, black glaze. Height, 0.031 m.; length, 0.078 m. Base raised with slightly concave profile; bowl curving; flat disk of top divided from rim by groove; open center; blunt nozzle. Type VII, of the late fifth and fourth centuries.²²¹

12. Fig. 249, 2. Preservation: missing, back, left side of bowl, and large part of nozzle. Clay: red. Covered with black glaze. Height, 0.033 m. Rather low circular bowl forming an angle with rim; groove around small central opening; two knobs (one perforated) on right edge of rim; originally two nozzles. Fragmentary, but important as the only example from Halae of the Hellenistic knobbed lamp. Type IX²²² dated third century B.C.

13. Fig. 248, 6. Preservation: complete, but nozzle chipped. Clay: grey and hard. Covered with thin black glaze. Height, 0.044 m.; length, 0.108 m. Deep bowl with small depressed circular opening surrounded by flat-topped ring or neck; long nozzle with large irregular opening for wick; vertical ribbed handle rising slightly above top of bowl; base flat. All lamps of this type were found in Hellenistic context, some together with the Boeotian coin which Head dates 220-197 B.C.;²²³ obverse, head of Demeter; reverse, Poseidon leaning on trident. This agrees approximately with the Corinth dating "first half of second century" for Type XV.²²⁴

14. Fig. 247, 1. Preservation: handle missing. Clay: grey. Thin black glaze. Height, 0.039 m.; length, 0.101 m. Type XV.

15. Fig. 247, 2. Preservation: nozzle missing. Clay: burned. Thin black glaze. Height, 0.04 m.; length, 0.082 m. Type XV.

16. Fig. 247, 3. Preservation: about half of rear of lamp missing. Clay: burned black. Height, 0.044 m.; length, 0.103 m. Like preceding but with proportionately longer, more triangular nozzle. Type XV.

17. Fig. 250, 6, and 248, 3. Preservation: handle and part of nozzle broken off. Clay: red. Covered with red glaze. Height, 0.036 m.; length, 0.09 m. Deep round bowl with vertical sides narrowed slightly by an angular return to a flat base; top concave with high rim and small circular opening; smaller hole between the nozzle and opening; nozzle blunt and widening towards end with large irregular opening. Type XVI, Group 2.²²⁵ Examples at Corinth are few and may belong either just before or after the destruction of the city.

18. Fig. 247, 4, and 248, 7. Preservation: two pieces; break on left side of rim. Clay: grey as a result of burning. No traces of glaze. Height, 0.029 m.; length, 0.10 m. Moulded lamp; low, curved bowl with ring base; long nozzle with triangular end; central opening surrounded by three irregularly shaped plastic rings; on rim, indistinct floral or vegetal design; plastic rib from center to nozzle and continuing around it; lateral ribs at base of nozzle. Type XVIII, the first of the Hellenistic lamps to be made consistently in a mould; close parallel to a lamp in the National Museum at Athens.²²⁶ Our lamp belongs to the latest group within this type.

²²⁰ Broneer, fig. 14, 28-35, pp. 43 ff.

²²¹ Broneer, pp. 45 ff., pl. III, 126, fig. 21.

²²² Broneer, pp. 47 ff., fig. 14, 37, and fig. 39.

²²³ *B.M.C.*, Central Greece, p. 41.

²²⁴ Broneer, fig. 14, 49; pl. V, 195.

²²⁵ Broneer, fig. 14, 51; fig. 25, 287.

²²⁶ Broneer, fig. 27, 2.

19. Not illustrated. Preservation: nozzle only. Covered with fine red glaze. Length, 0.07 m.; width of nozzle, 0.04 m. Fragment of a relief lamp of excellent workmanship. Double volute pattern. Late Hellenistic and early Roman type; although it might belong to any one of the Corinth types XX-XXIV, I believe it to be closest to XXI a, which represents the transitional period between Hellenistic and Roman.²²⁷

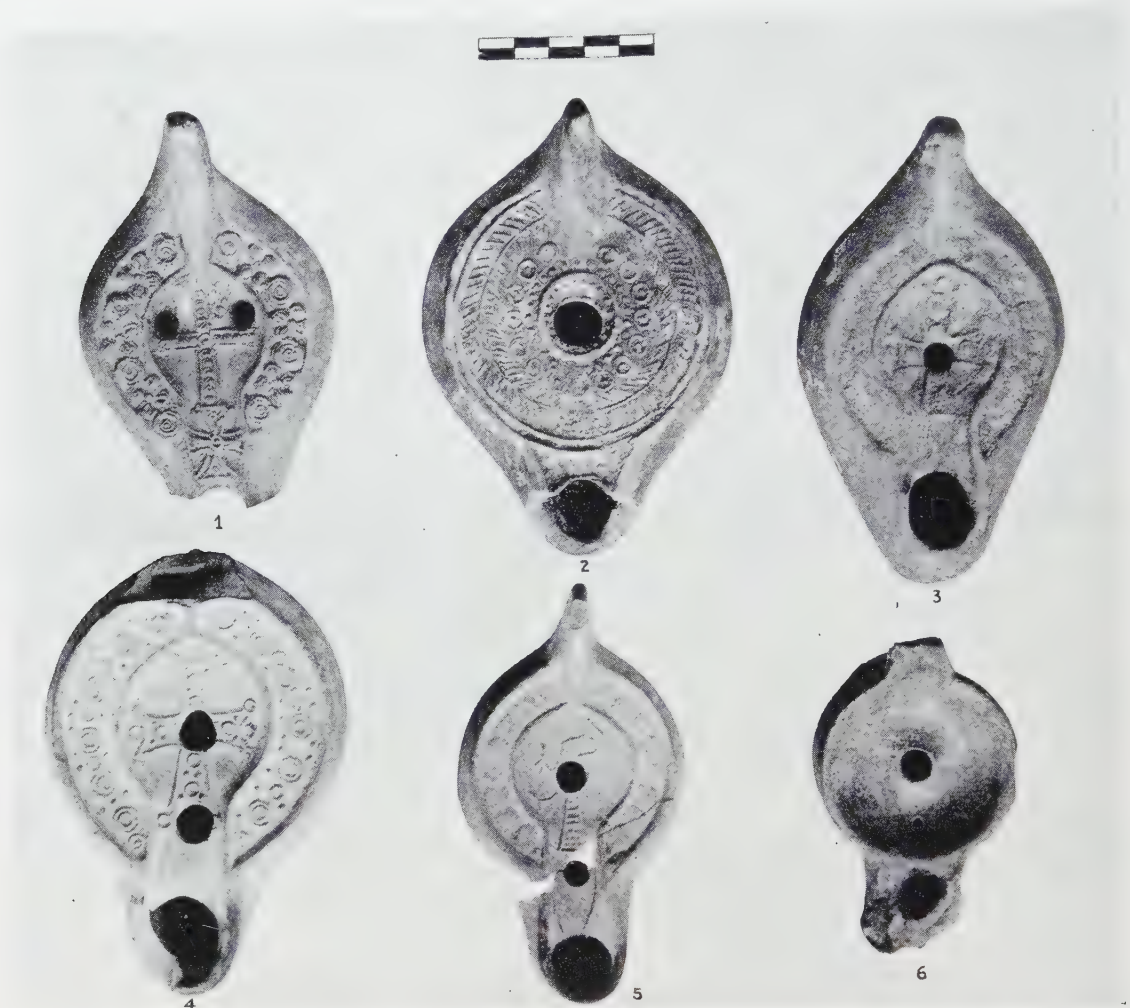


Fig. 250. Lamps (Nos. 17, 20-24)

20. Fig. 250, 2, and 248, 1. Preservation: complete except for slight break at nozzle. Clay: red. Covered with thin red glaze. Height, 0.031 m.; length, 0.126 m. Rather low bowl with curved sides and short nozzle; short, solid handle continuing outer curve of bowl and rising above it; small central hole in disk. On circular disk a design in concentric rings: (1) herring-bone, (2) dotted circles, (3) solid dots, (4) solid dots surrounded by irregularly shaped plastic ring. Found in the late

²²⁷ Broneer, pp. 73 ff., and 167 ff., pls. VII-IX.

Roman fill of street leading from North Gate but cannot be more accurately dated. Type XXVIII a of the third and fourth centuries after Christ.²²⁸

21. Fig. 250, 1. Preservation: nozzle broken. Clay: red and hard. Covered with thin red glaze tending towards purple. Height, 0.03 m.; length, 0.11 m. Like 20 in profile but top more oval; disk and rim depressed, separated from each other by a plastic band; disk closed except for two small holes either side of cross; broad channel from disk to wick hole. On disk, Christian monogram ornamented with circles; at base of nozzle, a Maltese cross; on rim, row of alternating rosettes and concentric circles bordered with plastic band. Type XXXI.²²⁹ This and the following lamps, whenever found in datable context, belong to buildings or areas dated the second half of the fourth century after Christ by coins of Constantius II, Arcadius, and Honorius.

22. Fig. 250, 3. Preservation: complete. Clay: red and hard. No glaze. Height, 0.033 m.; length, 0.13 m. Shape and arrangement of design as above. On disk, Maltese cross ornamented with circles and dots; hole in center of cross; on rim indistinct design of circles and rosettes (?) on base a small cross composed of circles. Type XXXI.

23. Fig. 250, 4. Preservation: handle missing, opening of nozzle chipped. Clay: pale pink buff. Height, 0.035 m.; length, 0.124 m. Arrangement of design as above, but top somewhat more circular; small ring base; plastic ridge from base to knob handle; on disk, Maltese cross ornamented with circles; hole in center of cross and at base; band of circles—concentric and single interspersed with dots—on rim. Type XXXI.

24. Fig. 250, 5. Preservation: complete except for small lacuna at side and top; handle chipped. Clay: red. Height, 0.027 m.; length, 0.119 m. All details of shape as above; same plastic ridge from base to handle. In center of disk bird in profile, ornamented with dots and lines, facing towards handle; on rim, band of alternate rosettes and crisscrossed squares. Type XXXI.

25. Not illustrated. Preservation: nozzle broken. Clay: grey-red. Height, 0.032 m.; length with handle, 0.105 m., without handle, 0.085 m. On disk, cross ornament and circles from which suspended Greek cross; rim, circles, two rosettes; ring base. Two holes. Type XXXI.

26. Not illustrated. Preservation: neck hole broken. Clay: red. Length, 0.11 m.; height, 0.03 m. Circular, flat disk; within herring bone, bands of circles and dots. Solid handle.

In addition to the lamps catalogued and illustrated there are two more examples of Type II, one of IV, one of VII, one uncertain because of fragmentary condition but most like XII, twelve of XV, two so fragmentary as to be unidentifiable,—making forty-five lamps in all.

SPOOLS

The spools are all of the same type and are sufficiently illustrated by Fig. 251. They are unperforated, made of very hard red clay with particles of solid matter such as stone in the biscuit, fairly uniform, though not identical in height. (Average height, 0.045 m.)

²²⁸ In ornament it is nearest Broneer, fig. 48, 2, 3, 9, 10, although the arrangement of the pattern is quite different.

²²⁹ Broneer, pp. 118 ff., pls. XXI-XXII.

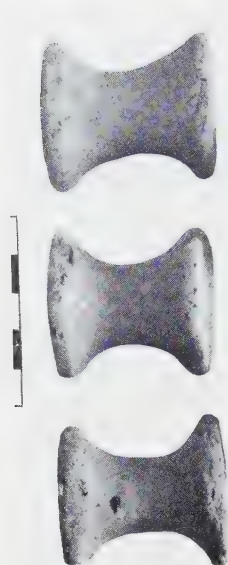


Fig. 251.
Clay Spools



Fig. 252. Loom Weights (Nos. 5-6, 12, 15-16) and Whorl (No. 47)



Fig. 253.
Glazed
Weight or
Whorl
(No. 42)



Fig. 254.
Loom Weight
(No. 7)



Fig. 255. Loom Weights (Nos. 10-11, 13, 17, 43-45)

LOOMWEIGHTS

The two most frequent shapes are: (I) the pyramid, (II) the flat, circular disk.

(I) The pyramids may be subdivided into:

(A) The small equilateral pyramid with only slightly truncated apex.

(B) The more markedly truncated pyramid with two wide and two narrow sides.

(I-A, **1-13**). Fig. 252, 2, 3, 6; Fig. 254; Fig. 255, 4, 6, 7. A fine buff clay and a coarser red clay often with particles of stone in the biscuit are usual; occasionally there is a coarse stony brown clay and the coarser red clay is sometimes covered with a finer yellow slip. These weights are rarely as large as those of class B, varying in height from 0.034 m. to 0.092 m., but averaging about 0.045 m.-0.055 m. This type never has more than one suspension hole. Frequently there is a vertical depression at the apex which never opens into the horizontal hole; its purpose is unknown to me. The base is often slightly concave.

(I-B, **14-17**). Fig. 252, 4, 5; Fig. 255, 5. The heights of class I-B are more uniform, averaging 0.08 m.-0.09 m. They are made both in the buff and the red clay, but the coarser red variety predominates. The base is flat for the most part and two suspension holes are the rule.

Types A and B stand in no chronological relation to one another as they are frequently found together, but those of class A are more numerous.²³⁰

The very small pyramidal weights such as Fig. 252, 2, 3 were probably votive, as their size and the awkward placing of the hole in at least one example precludes their having been of practical use. Some were found among the pottery and offerings of the temple area and showed signs of burning.

(II) In the second group the same varieties of clay are used. There are two main subdivisions:

(II-A) Hand-made, cushion-like disks with rounded edges and marks of the thumb which pressed them into shape. They are not always perfectly circular in outline; this is the earlier type and makes more frequent use of the finer buff clay.

(II-B) Flat disks with more sharply defined edges sometimes showing signs of having been trimmed with a knife. Not always perfectly circular in outline but more frequently so than group A. At Halae this is the later type, some occurring in strata dated by Boeotian coins of the end of the third to the beginning of the second century B.C.²³¹

At Olynthus the flat, well-made disk was rare, showing that at the time of the destruction of the city in 348 B.C. the type was not yet in general use.²³²

Stamped designs, sometimes from gems, impressions of shells, and incised initials or single letters are found on both types, although more frequently on Type II (see

²³⁰ The pyramidal type goes out of favor toward the end of the fourth century B.C. in the Athenian Agora. Cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 474-476. But the typological history of loomweights varies greatly between localities.

²³¹ *B.M.C.*, Central Greece, p. 41; pl. VI, 8.

²³² *Excavations at Olynthus*, II, pp. 119 ff. (L. M. Wilson).

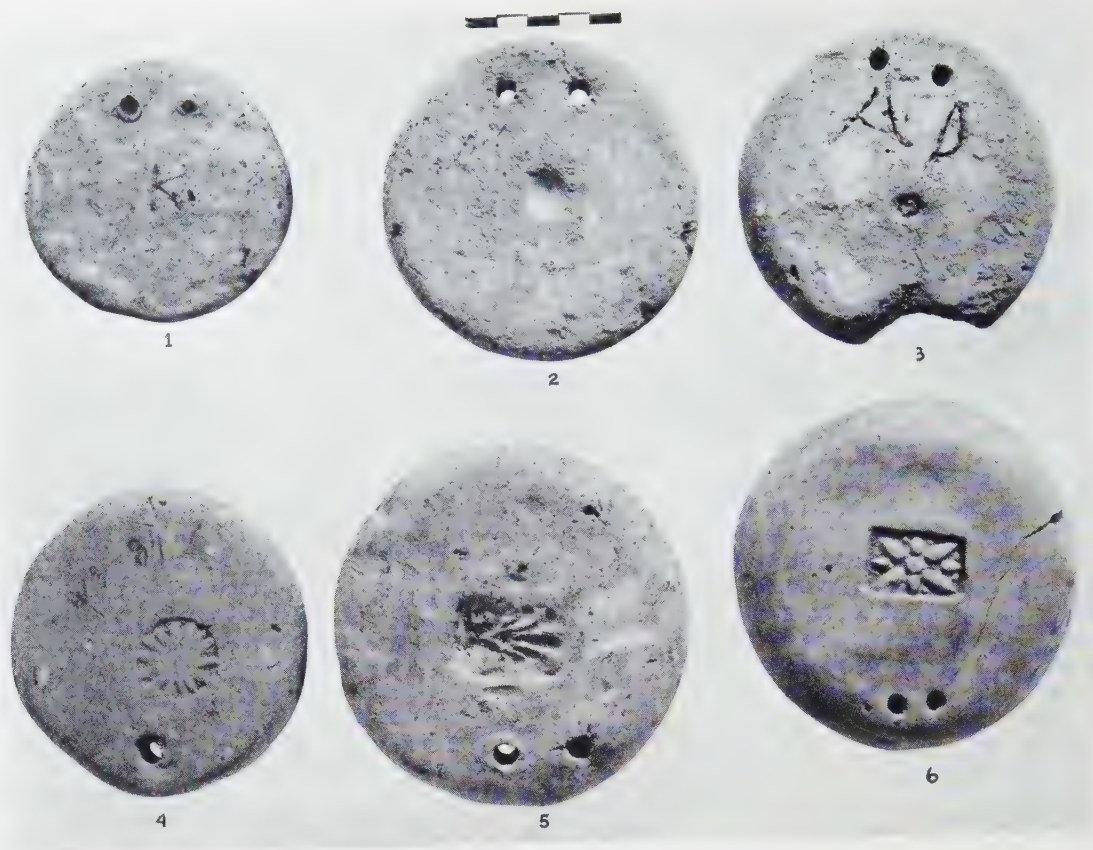


Fig. 256. Disk Weights (Nos. 18, 19, 25-27, 30) with Stamped and Incised Decoration



Fig. 257. Disk Weights (Nos. 21, 32, 34-37) with Stamped Decoration

Figs. 254 and 252, 5 for Type I with incision). The finer stamps are usually on the hand-made examples. There are twenty-two weights of Type II-A (illustrated by Fig. 256, 6), uniform in size, of buff clay, not baked very hard, and stamped with identical designs. They were all found together in Room F' of the West Building at the North Gate. As these were probably the official buildings connected with the activities of the temple and priests, they may have been used for the weaving of the *πεταμννφάντειραι* mentioned in an inscription of the middle of the third century B.C.²³³ Together with them were found a number of other weights which, while of the same clay, size, and manner of manufacture, were without the distinguishing stamp; some had initials scratched on them or bore a different stamp.



Fig. 258. Disk Weight (No. 22) with Stamp

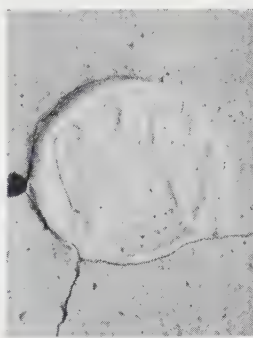


Fig. 259. Disk Weight (No. 23) with Stamp



Fig. 260. Disk Weight (No. 24) with Stamp

Catalogue of Type II-A with Decoration

18. Fig. 256, 6. Preservation: complete, but cracked. Clay: fine yellow. Diameter uneven, but averages 0.103 m.-0.12 m. Two suspension holes; in a rectangle 0.03 m. by 0.02 m., a design of eight radiating petals. One of the twenty-two similar weights noted above.

19. Fig. 256, 5. Preservation: complete. Clay: fine yellow. Average diameter, 0.113 m. Surface very uneven. Two suspension holes. In a rectangle 0.038 m. by 0.022 m. a palmette with volutes of late type.

20. Not illustrated. Preservation: only about one third. Clay: yellow. Three suspension holes and inscribed A.

21. Fig. 257, 6. Preservation: slight break at the edge. Clay: yellow. Diameter, 0.11 m. Same, with larger incised A. Found in same room as the set to which No. 18 belongs.

22. Fig. 258. Preservation: only a fragment. Clay: yellow-pink. Oval stamp (0.018 m. by 0.013 m.) of a winged figure (Eros) with bow outstretched, seated on dolphin. Very fine but faint work. Probably from gem.

²³³ See pp. 401 and 479.

23. Fig. 259. Preservation: complete but cracked. Clay: yellow; not baked very hard. Diameter, 0.083 m. Two suspension holes; a circular stamp with long-robed victory walking right and holding a branch in either hand; tree in foreground.

24. Fig. 260. Diameter, 0.12 m.; diameter of stamps, 0.018 m.-0.015 m. Circular stamps, one illegible, one with winged figure advancing to right.

Catalogue of Type II-B with Decoration

25. Fig. 256, 4. Preservation: complete. Clay: hard, greyish tinge. Diameter, 0.097 m. Irregular and slightly pinched at top, where there is only one suspension hole. Stamped with rosette.

26. Fig. 256, 3. Preservation: break at lower end. Clay: brick red, very hard, with stones. Diameter, 0.098 m. Two suspension holes; small circular punch near center. Incised A D.

27. Fig. 256, 2. Preservation: complete. Clay: brick red. Diameter, 0.102 m. Two suspension holes. Stamped with small fluted sea shell.

28. Not illustrated. Preservation: small break at edge. Clay: red with stones. Diameter, 0.103 m. Two suspension holes and stamped with similar but larger shell, as above.

29. Not illustrated. Preservation: complete. Clay: brick red and hard, with stones. Diameter, 0.136 m. Two suspension holes and stamped with sea shell.

30. Fig. 256, 1. Preservation: complete. Clay: yellow with greenish tinge. Diameter, 0.083 m. Rather uneven disk with two suspension holes and incised K.

31. Not illustrated. Preservation: complete. Clay: yellow. Diameter, 0.12 m. Rather heavy, marked with concentric circles; two large suspension holes. (A second, similar, with diameter of 0.107 m.)

32. Fig. 257, 1. Preservation: complete, but surface damaged along the edge. Clay: red and very hard. Diameter, 0.113 m. One suspension hole and triangular impression with ivy leaf.

33. Not illustrated. Preservation: about a third missing. Clay: brick red and stony. Triangular stamp of ivy leaf, same as for 32, repeated twice.

34. Fig. 257, 2. Preservation: complete. Clay: red and stony. Diameter, 0.116 m. Two suspension holes and oval stamp of two hands, one spread, the other in side view, repeated three times. Oval, 0.015 m. by 0.012 m.

35. Fig. 257, 3. Preservation: broken around the edge. Clay: red turned somewhat black from burning. Diameter, 0.11 m. Two suspension holes and rectangular stamp, indistinct, but probably meant to represent a turret. Rectangle, 0.019 m. by 0.014 m.

36. Fig. 257, 4. Preservation: about a third of lower end missing. Clay: yellow with many impurities and very hard. Diameter, 0.10 m. Two suspension holes and large stamped design of wheel within circle.

37. Fig. 257, 5. Preservation: complete. Clay: dark red and very hard. Diameter, 0.115 m. Two suspension holes and inscription EYTYXOY stamped within a rectangle (0.072 m. by 0.015 m.). There were three other weights with identical stamp and one with the same inscription, but from a smaller stamp (0.05 m. by 0.012 m.) and with the final Y omitted.

38. Not illustrated. Preservation: complete, edge damaged. Clay: hard red. Diameter, 0.15 m. Two suspension holes; in center indistinct stamp, possibly a bird seated to left. There is another weight with the same stamp, diameter, 0.145 m.

39. Not illustrated. Preservation: complete. Clay: hard red. Diameter, 0.102 m. Two suspension holes stamped with dolphin (?).
40. Not illustrated. Preservation: complete. Clay: red, hard, with stones. Diameter, 0.096 m. Two suspension holes and stamped radiating star.
41. Not illustrated. Preservation: complete. Clay: hard, red, with stones. Diameter, 0.106 m. One suspension hole and faintly stamped radiating star.

Miscellaneous Weights

42. Fig. 253. Preservation: broken at the top and chipped at the lower edge. Clay: buff-pink. Height, 0.033 m.; diameter at bottom, 0.036 m. Clay cone with flaring sides, pierced vertically. Objects of this kind are usually described as loomweights, although the very large vertical hole of our example hardly seems practical for such a purpose. The same objection could be brought against its use as a spindle whorl. On the base the design, which is carried out in black and red, consists of a ring of dots enclosed within an inner circle of blocks immediately around the hole and an outer one of red again followed by a black circle; similar design on the sides but incompletely preserved.²³⁴
43. Fig. 255, 1. Preservation: complete. Clay: fine, yellow. Height, 0.055 m. Small pear-shaped weight with one horizontal suspension hole. Possibly a votive object, as it was found in the Temple Area among the burned objects, or a weight for a dress.
44. Fig. 255, 2. Preservation: complete. Clay: fine yellow-red without stones. Height, 0.077 m. Shape between conical and pyriform with maximum diameter slightly above base; one horizontal suspension hole.
45. Fig. 255, 3. Preservation: complete; chipped at the upper end. Clay: yellow-red. Height, 0.091 m.; diameter, 0.053 m. Shape as above with maximum diameter just below middle; one horizontal suspension hole.
46. Not illustrated. Preservation: complete. Clay: red, stony. Height, 0.105 m. Flat, almond shaped; one suspension hole.
47. Fig. 252, 1. Preservation: complete. Material: steatite. Small cone-shaped weight or spindle whorl, vertically pierced; the sides and bottom are scratched in a crude zigzag.
48. Not illustrated. Preservation: complete. Material: white marble. Diameter, 0.071 m.; thickness, 0.016 m. Hole drilled through middle.

BONE

1. Fig. 78, 20. Shaft pointed at one end and forming a very shallow circular spoon at the other. Such spoons have been found at a number of temple sites. Probably of the fourth century B.C. and later.²³⁵
2. Fig. 78, 25. Delicate shaft ending in small spatula, upper end broken. Length, 0.109 m.
- 3-4. Not illustrated. Small bone "curtain" rings. Diameter, 0.023 m., 0.022 m.

²³⁴ *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pl. VI, 12, and p. 166.

²³⁵ Cf. *Artemis Orthia*, pl. CLXXV, 12, 13; *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 212, fig. 925; *Thera*, III, p. 180, fig. 189; *Expedition Sieglin*, II, part 3, pl. LIX, 8; *Argive Heraeum*, II, pl. CXL, no. 84.

5. Not illustrated. Hollow cylindrical handle, the end cut so as to pass inside the hollow shaft of some metal implement. Length, 0.057 m.

6. Fig. 78, 18. Small spatula. On account of rounded upper end this cannot be a stylus. Length, 0.069 m.

7. Fig. 78, 19. Small spatula or stylus of careless workmanship.²³⁶ Length, 0.067 m.

8-14. Fig. 78, 14, 16, 21-24, 26. Different type of stick-pins from the simple roughly worked nail-headed pin (Fig. 78, 14) to the finer examples (Fig. 78, 21, 24)—all broken—with ornamental heads in a series of balls and disks.

(8) Fig. 78, 14. Simple nail head. Length, 0.121 m.

(9) Fig. 78, 16. Crude example of the ornamental head, ball above simple disk and surmounted by two disks. Length, 0.10 m.

(10) Fig. 78, 26. Broken shaft; finely worked and polished. Length, 0.11 m.

(11) Fig. 78, 24. Delicate shaft (broken) surmounted by head consisting of three disks and a ball with small button top. Length, 0.072 m.

(12) Fig. 78, 23. Bit of broken shaft. Length, 0.06 m.

(13) Fig. 78, 22. Upper end with part of shaft; heavy shaft surmounted by head composed of half ball, wide groove, and nail head.

(14) Fig. 78, 21. Broken at both ends; head of three thin disks and one heavier disk probably originally surmounted by ball now broken off. Length, 0.04 m.

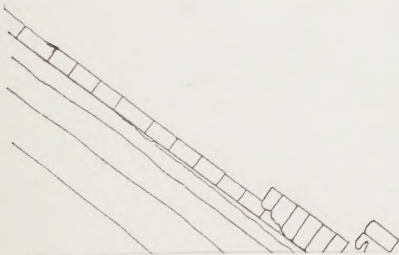
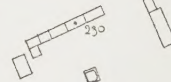
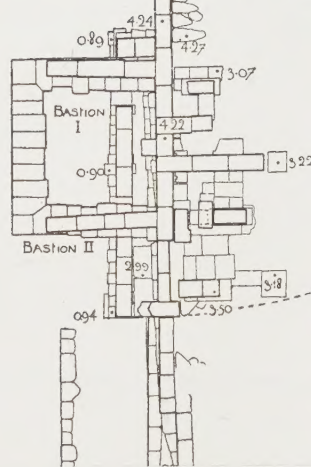
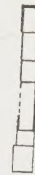
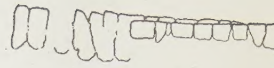
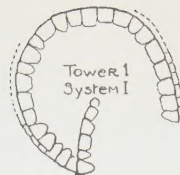
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ADDENDA

1. p. 397, footnote 22. Cf. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, II, pp. 98 f. and figs. 210 ff. for a later smaller altar with solid base. *Olympia*, II, p. 163 and pl. XCV, 1 shows two overlapping rectangular foundations of poros associated with the Heraion and the altar of ashes mentioned by Pausanias, V, 14, 6.
2. p. 454. Some of the architectural terracottas of the earlier building may have been mended and reused and others replaced. This would account for the divergent measurements of cornices with the same pattern.
3. p. 483, footnote 171. Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors*, *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 133 ff.
4. p. 404, Fig. 34, 3. Three joining fragments of a vase similar to No. 1.

²³⁶ Cf. *Argive Heraeum*, II, pl. CXL, no. 85.



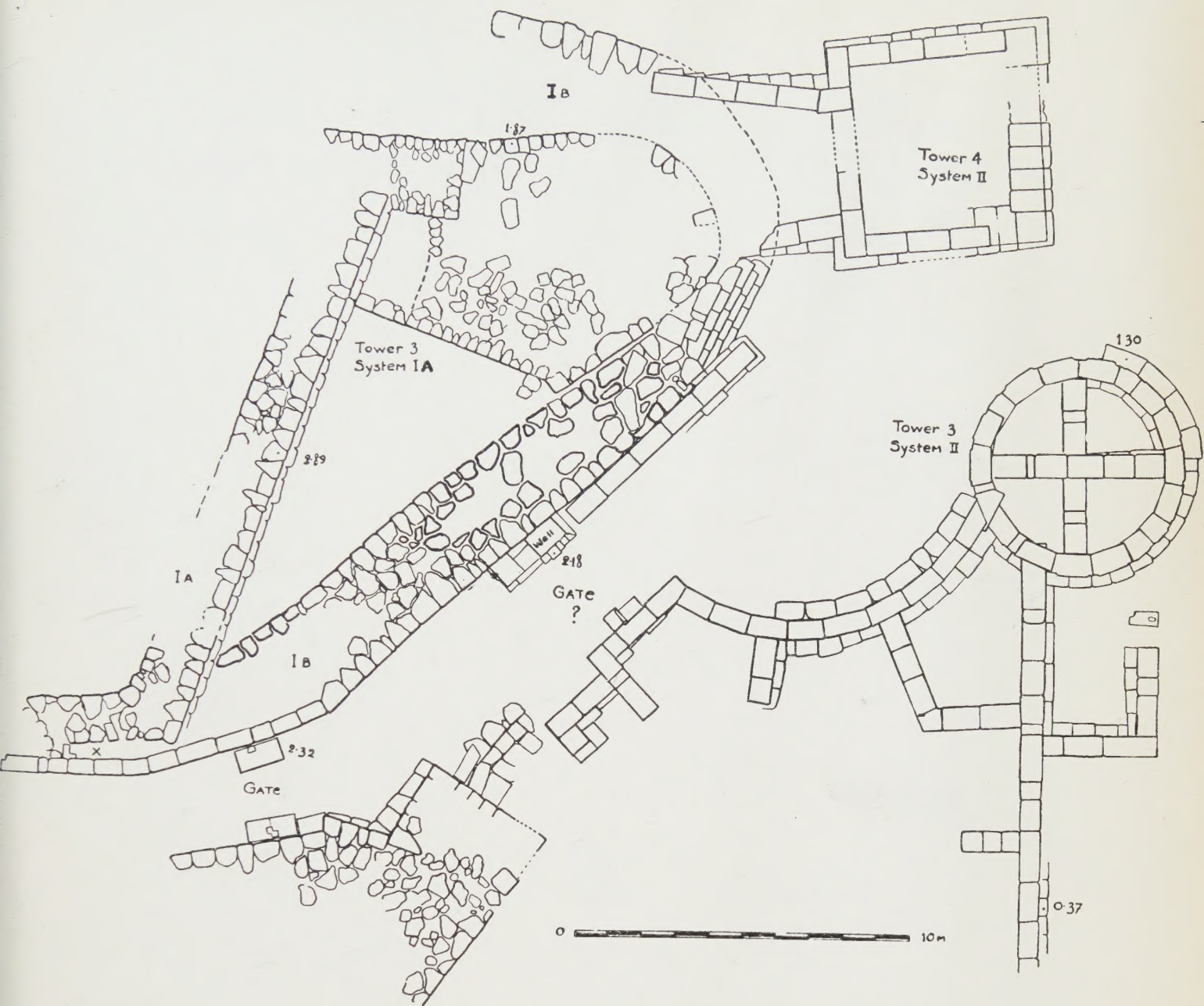


PLATE IV. NORTHEAST GATE

